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ART. I.—*Life of Thomas Telford, Civil Engineer, written by himself; containing a Descriptive Narrative of his Professional Labours: with a Folio Atlas of Copperplates.* Edited by JOHN RICKMAN, Esq., one of his Executors. *With a Preface, Supplement, Annotations, and Index.* 8vo. London: 1838.

AMONG our various mental exercises, there is none more interesting in its nature, or more salutary in its effects, than that of tracing the intellectual progress of a strong mind struggling with the adverse currents of birth and fortune, and, by the force of talent and character alone, attaining an elevated place in society. Nor is this study less instructive when those powers whose developement we trace have found their highest application, either in objects of European importance, or in those of a more domestic character and limited influence, which add to the wealth, or the security, or the honour of our native land.

Contributing as they do to our most immediate and pressing wants—appealing to the eye by their magnitude, and often by their grandeur, and associated, in many cases, with the warmer impulses of humanity and personal safety—the labours of the mechanist and the engineer acquire a contemporary celebrity which is not vouchsafed to the results of scientific research, or to the productions of literature and the fine arts. The gigantic steam-vessel, which expedites and facilitates the intercourse of

nations—the canal, which unites two distant seas—the bridge and the aqueduct, which span an impassable valley—the harbour and the breakwater, which shelter our vessels of peace and of war—the railway, which hurries us along on the wings of mechanism—and the light beacon, which throws its directing beams over the deep—address themselves to the secular interests of every individual; and obtain for the engineer who invented, or who planned them, a high and a well-merited popular reputation.

In studying these great efforts of genius, we cannot fail to be struck with the wide range of scientific knowledge which they embrace, as well as with the extraordinary sagacity and practical skill which they display. But our surprise is greatly increased when we learn that the inventors and engineers who executed them, were neither mathematicians nor natural philosophers, but, generally speaking, individuals of humble station, who, by habits of observation almost innate, by powers of discrimination almost intuitive, and by practical knowledge gathered in the workshop or acquired in manual labour, gradually rose to professional celebrity, and secured to themselves the confidence of the public. That this has been pre-eminently the case in England, requires no other proof than to mention the names of Watt, Arkwright, Smeaton, Brindley, Rennie, and Telford, men to whom their country owes the deepest obligations; though, with one exception, it has left these obligations to be testified by the honours which private admiration confers, and by monuments which individual enthusiasm has reared.

It would be a curious enquiry, which, did our limits permit us, we should willingly pursue, to ascertain that specific bent of mind, and that peculiar faculty of combining the data of traditionary and acquired knowledge, which, in these eminent men, supplied the place of direct instruction in the principles of mathematics, mechanics, and general physics. In a letter addressed to the writer of this article, Mr Watt distinctly stated that he never attended Dr Black's chemical lectures, as had been alleged, and 'was unfortunately prevented by the necessary 'avocations of his business from attending any other lectures at 'college;' and, if we mistake not, he has either stated to ourselves, or in some of his writings, that he had a natural inaptitude for mathematical enquiries: yet there was no individual among the chemical or mechanical philosophers of the day, whose knowledge of these subjects was so varied and correct, and who had treasured up with equal care those irrefragable results which could safely be applied in the construction of great works. Mr Telford, also, had a singular distaste for mathematical studies, and never even made himself acquainted with the elements of

geometry. So remarkable, indeed, was this peculiarity, that when we had occasion to recommend to him a young friend as a neophyte in his office, and founded our recommendation on his having distinguished himself in mathematics, he did not hesitate to say, that he considered such acquirements as rather disqualifying than fitting him for the situation. That this opinion, which is far from being an uncommon one among engineers, is not utterly groundless, may be inferred from a comparison of the labours of some foreign engineers who were great mathematicians, with those of the distinguished men above enumerated; but we are clearly of opinion that such a doctrine cannot be gravely maintained by any person who has viewed the subject in all its phases. If sound practical knowledge and habits of accurate observation should be found incompatible with mathematical and physical attainments, we would at once pronounce in favour of *science* as the distinguishing quality of the engineer; but we hold both to be essentially requisite in the construction of works in which the materials are exposed to the disintegrations of chemical and atmospherical agents—to the superincumbent pressure of solid and fluid bodies—to the action of complicated mechanical forces—to the direct assaults of the lightning and the tempest, and to various contingent pressures which require to be foreseen and resisted. We cannot, indeed, conceive how the uninstructed engineer can bring to the aid of his own practical experience any other than a species of traditionary knowledge, the applicability of which he takes for granted, and the correctness of which he is not able to put to the test of a rigorous examination. The truth of these observations is especially manifested in the history of our Lighthouse engineering, which consisted of a succession of blunders, till the aid of mathematical and optical knowledge was reluctantly admitted into its service.

Now, though we have the highest opinion of the beauty and stability of most of the great works which adorn England, and cheerfully proffer our tribute of admiration to those who planned and constructed them; yet it remains to be seen how they resist those destructive agencies of which time is daily accumulating the effects: and the mathematical engineer may fairly enquire, in the progress of his art, whether or not these structures could, with equal efficiency, have been erected on a smaller and lighter model—with a less expenditure of money, and with the exposure of a narrower surface to the corrosion of the elements. Time alone can solve such problems: but whatever be the result, and we hope it will be a favourable one, we have no hesitation in asserting, that in the present advanced state of physical, me-

chanical, and chemical knowledge, when the rapidly increasing wants of society have made new demands upon genius, an engineer who is not tolerably versant in mathematical science, and thoroughly instructed in mechanics, hydrodynamics, chemistry, optics, and mineralogy, is not qualified to superintend those national undertakings which are now altering the very 'form and 'pressure' of social life.

Setting aside the consideration of canals, harbours, roads, and bridges, as the structures of other days, we have now lighthouses on every headland and in every port—gas-works in every village—suspension bridges over every stream—steamers on every lake, frith, and ocean—and railways, like the gossamer paths of the spider, stretching their iron gradients over the length and breadth of the land. On these subjects our ancestors have bequeathed to us no traditionary knowledge, and experience has not yet revealed her trustworthy results. Experiments, therefore, and experiments conducted by scientific men, and combined with the precision of mathematical analysis, are absolutely necessary to supply these defects;—to determine the durability and cohesive strength of those solid materials which must soon whirl with new velocities, labour under new strains, and perform new functions in the world of mechanism. We must make our beams of timber invulnerable by plunging them in the Styx of mercurial solutions;—we must demand from iron its adamantine strength by the due combination of its crystalline elements;—we must make *one* bar equal to *two*, by giving it scientific rigour; and, after exhausting every preventive device, we must provide adequate bulwarks to resist the explosive forces of gas and of steam.

That these views are well founded and generally entertained, is evident from the remarkable fact, that no fewer than *four* universities or colleges have, in the course of last winter, and apparently without any knowledge of each other's intentions, made arrangements for organizing courses for civil engineers; and we have no doubt that in all of them these courses will be opened for students during the ensuing winter. If we demand from our lawyers a regular course of study in matters where our civil rights only are concerned, and claim from our medical advisers and religious instructors not only a long noviciate in their studies, but a positive proficiency in their professional pursuits, shall we not, with equal reason, insist upon a thorough and profound knowledge of civil engineering in cases where property on the largest scale is at stake, where millions of lives are in peril, and where the highest national interests are involved?

Our universities were all established in times when there were only *three* learned professions; and their modes of instruction were,

of course, accommodated to the condition of an age but little advanced in civilisation and knowledge. Attempts, indeed, have been occasionally made to adapt them to a change of circumstances; but, generally speaking, they have been feeble and ineffectual, and have not been sustained by adequate endowments on the part of the nation. Institutions resting on individual or corporate responsibility have, to a certain extent, supplied their defects and added to their number; but, unless our ancient colleges shall put forth their remaining strength, and by combining the vigour of manhood with the respectability of age, shall recommend themselves to the patronage of the country, they will soon find themselves in the rear of younger and more active establishments. It is not required that they shall prostrate themselves before the equivocal wisdom of inexperienced commissioners. Additions and adaptations springing from themselves, and fostered by the sovereign, are alone necessary to give to the educated youth of the present day those instructions which will fit them for the numerous professions which have not been honoured with the appellation of learned. In such a change of system every class of the community is concerned. Thousands preserve their rights without the intervention of law; millions live and die without medical aid; and too many, we fear, wend their way to another world without the aid of the village pastor, or the blessing of the venerable diocesan. But there is not a man, woman, or child, who has the powers of mastication, deglutition, and locomotion, who is not interested in the present rapid progress of the useful arts, in the increasing auxiliaries to commercial enterprise, and in those magnificent undertakings which stimulate the industry, augment the resources, and exalt the character of the nation.

Having made these preliminary observations on the present state of civil engineering, we shall now proceed to give our readers some account of the life and labours of Mr Telford. The work placed at the head of this article, though entitled a 'Life,' is more properly an account, partly historical and partly descriptive, of the various practical operations connected with the important public works which he planned and conducted. These works may be arranged under the heads of Civil Architecture, Bridge-Building, Road-Making, Inland Navigation, Drainage, the Construction of Docks, and the Improvement of Harbours; and, in order to render his great experience in these important objects generally useful, he has illustrated his descriptions with numerous drawings and plans, executed on such a large scale as to furnish, by admeasurement, the exact dimensions of every part of the object. To Mr Telford's narrative is subjoined a short

supplement by Mr Rickman; containing some interesting biographical details, and an estimate, by no means exaggerated, of the moral and social character of his friend. This is followed by a long appendix of valuable documents, illustrative of the historical and descriptive details contained in the body of the volume. The whole work has been edited by Mr Rickman in a way most creditable to himself, and highly honourable to the memory of Mr Telford.

In perusing the narrative which this celebrated engineer has given of his own labours, every page gives us reason to regret that it possesses in so slight a degree the character of an autobiography. Mr Telford's great modesty has prevented him from speaking of himself as he ought, and recording those personal incidents and adventures whose lights and shadows would have so agreeably diversified the otherwise technical outline of his useful and lengthened career. His acquaintance with persons the most exalted in rank and official station, gave him opportunities of witnessing the conduct of public men in matters where party influence could not greatly sway them; while his knowledge of the world, and the independence of his political opinions, would have enabled him to execute many delineations of character with a discrimination and impartiality which we cannot expect from the ordinary moralist. We could have wished, too, to learn a little more of the private history of many of those great undertakings which our author conducted; to have obtained a glimpse of the machinery by which they were thwarted or put in operation; and to have admired the tact, which we know he eminently possessed, of reconciling conflicting interests, and removing those selfish obstructions which often stand in the way of the greatest enterprises. In the absence, however, of such personal details, which we still hope may be collected from his correspondence, we shall endeavour, from our own sources of information, to supply some of the more palpable deficiencies which occur in the general narrative.

Thomas Telford was born in the parish of Westerkirk, in the district of Eskdale, and county of Dumfries, on the 9th of August 1757. His father, who was a shepherd, died when his child was only a few months old, and the charge of his education was thus devolved upon his mother, who watched over his infancy with parental tenderness. He attended the parish school of Westerkirk along with Sir John and Sir Pulteney Malcolm; assisting his uncle as a shepherd's boy in the summer season, and spending his winter evenings in the perusal of a few books supplied from the scanty shelves of his village friends. His mother lived till 1794, so as to enjoy the elevation of her son to wealth and

station; and it deserves to be especially recorded, that he framed all his letters to her in printed characters, in order that she might read them without the assistance of friends.

Mr Telford's early life was spent as a mason; and he acquired a competent knowledge of his profession in working at the numerous small bridges which span the mountain streams of the district, and at the farm-houses and parish-churches of the neighbourhood. Regarding himself as master of his art, such as it was practised in his native county, he repaired to Edinburgh in 1780, where the splendid improvements which had commenced in that city opened up to him a new and extensive field for observation. In our northern metropolis, 'where architecture was 'appropriated to the purposes of magnificence as well as of uti-'lity,' he found practical illustrations of various styles of architecture, from the rude features of the ancient Pictish castle, to the attempts at Roman architecture in Heriot's Hospital and Holyrood-House. His practical acquaintance with architectural drawing enabled him to carry home the results of his observations; and in returning to Eskdale he visited the justly celebrated abbey of Melrose, which, though, as he remarks, it 'will not 'bear a comparison with the first class of magnificent English 'cathedrals, yet in regard to elegance of design or perfection 'of workmanship, it is not inferior to any in the most perfect era 'of Gothic architecture.' After remaining another year in his native county, he gives the following interesting account of his introduction to a new sphere of professional occupation:—

'In the year 1782, after having acquired the rudiments of my profession, I considered that my native country afforded few opportunities of exercising it to any extent, and therefore judged it advisable (like many of my countrymen) to proceed southward, where industry might find more employment, and be better rewarded.

'With these views, I made my way direct to London, as the great mart for talents and ingenuity; and I was fortunate in getting employed at the quadrangle of Somerset Place buildings, where I acquired much practical information, both in the useful and ornamental branches of architecture; and in the course of my two years' residence in London, I had an opportunity of examining the numerous public buildings of the metropolis of Great Britain, and I became known to Sir W. Chambers and Mr Robert Adam, the two most distinguished architects of that day; the former haughty and reserved, the latter affable and communicative; and a similar distinction of character pervaded their works, Sir William's being stiff and formal, those of Mr Adam playful and gay; and although from neither did I derive any direct advantage, yet so powerful is manner, that the latter left the most favourable impression, while the interviews with both convinced me that my safest plan was to endeavour to advance, if by slower degrees, yet by independent conduct.

'The next step in my professional career was the superintendence of

a house ordered to be built in Portsmouth dockyard, for the resident commissioner; it was of considerable magnitude (as in contemplation of future visits of the King), and involved some degree of responsibility. This house was designed by Samuel Wyat, one of a numerous family of architects; he also built it by contract, and my superintendence afforded me experience in house-building of a higher class and on a greater scale than previously had been intrusted to me.

'During the three years that I attended the building of the Commissioner's house, and of a new chapel for the dockyard, I had an opportunity of observing the various operations necessary in the foundations and construction of graving docks, wharf-walls, and similar works, which afterwards became my chief occupation.'—P. 19.

In 1787, when these works were completed, the late Sir William Pulteney, then member for Shrewsbury, and a Mr Johnstone of the family of Westerhall, in Mr Telford's native parish, invited him into Shropshire, to superintend some alterations in the Castle of Shrewsbury, which he wished to fit up as a temporary residence. Our author gladly embraced this proposal, and took up his quarters in the castle under the patronage of its wealthy but penurious owner. Whilst the repairs were in progress, a new gaol was ordered to be built by the county magistrates, on a plan furnished by a Shrewsbury builder, and the superintendence of the work was intrusted to Mr Telford. Previous to its commencement, however, the benevolent Mr Howard, who had furnished plans for the county gaols of Gloucester and Oxford, came to Shrewsbury, and pointed out to Mr Telford various improvements upon the plans which had been adopted; and when these were mentioned to the magistrates, he was empowered to make the requisite alterations, and the building thus improved was completed in 1793.

During the first year of our author's residence in Shrewsbury, an architectural accident occurred which deserves to be generally known. In 1788, one of the four pillars which support the tower of the church of St Chad, was observed to crack in various places. This event occasioned general uneasiness, and Mr Telford was sent by his patron to inspect the state of the fabric. In his report to the vestry when assembled in the church, he stated, that the pillar of the tower had actually sunk so as to endanger the whole fabric, in consequence of graves having been dug in the loose soil close to its shallow foundations; that the church would speedily fall unless thoroughly repaired; and that with this view the bells should be instantly removed, the tower taken down, and the shattered pillar restored and secured when relieved from the vast superincumbent weight. The vestry, however, having not yet discovered the skill and the honesty of the reporter, suspected that the Scottish architect had some interested views of his own,

and raised their voices against so extensive a plan. Mr Telford immediately quitted the meeting with the warning, 'that if they 'wished to discuss any thing besides the alarming state of the 'church, they had better adjourn to some other place where there 'was no danger of its falling on their heads.'

'The vestry then proceeded to direct a mason to cut away the injured part of the pillar, in order to underbuild it; and on the second evening after commencing this infatuated attempt, the sexton was alarmed at the fall of lime-dust and mortar, when he attempted to raise the great bell for a knell on the decease of a parishioner. He left the church immediately; and the next morning (9th July 1788,) while the workmen were waiting at his door for the church key, the clock struck four, and the vibrations produced by the motion of the chime barrel brought down the tower, which overwhelmed the nave of the church, demolishing all the pillars on the north side of it, and shattering the rest. It was now perceived that the walls and pillars of the church, as is seen in many such ancient structures, consisted of a mere outside coating of freestone, the interior being filled with a mass of rubbish which crumbled into dust. Among this, and in the very heart of the pillars, were found stones rudely carved, which were evidently of Saxon sculpture, and had been ruins of the ancient church, thus applied in building the second church in the reign of Richard II.'—P. 26.

This event did not fail to add to Mr Telford's reputation, and he was afterwards regularly employed as the surveyor of public works for the extensive county of Shropshire. In this situation he acquired great experience in bridge-building; having superintended the erection of no fewer than *forty* small bridges, four of which were of iron; besides the two large bridges of Montford and Buildwas erected over the Severn. The bridge at Montford, built of red sandstone, consists of three elliptical arches, one of fifty-eight and two of fifty-five feet span; and, though thrown over a river subject to high floods, and having both its bed and its eastern bank of alluvial earth, it has proved a substantial edifice after more than forty years' exposure to the elements.

Previous to Mr Telford's arrival in Shropshire, the new and grand experiment of an iron bridge over the Severn had been made. John Wilkinson, the great iron-master, seems to have had the merit either of suggesting the use of this new material, or of having exerted himself in the erection of the new structure. The original design of this bridge, which was erected at the village of Brosely, a little below Coalbrookdale, was made by Mr Pritchard, a Shrewsbury architect, in 1775, and was completed in 1777. This remarkable structure consists of a semicircular arch of a hundred feet span, the great ribs of which are composed of two pieces only. In consequence of the inability of an arch of this form to resist the pressure of the earth against the abutments, the

iron arch had been heaved up in the middle; owing to the contraction of the roadway, by the advance of the western abutment; and it became necessary to strengthen that abutment by piers of masonry behind it.

As this experiment was not altogether a successful one—though the fault lay in the masonry more than in the iron-work—it was nevertheless a bold measure in Mr Telford to recommend an iron bridge at Buildwas. He had studied, however, the causes of the partial failure of that at Coalbrookdale; he recognised the defects in its abutments and wing-walls; he saw that the semicircular form of the arch was not only ungraceful to the eye, and consumed an unnecessary quantity of metal, but that it offered no adequate resistance to any lateral forces which tended to approximate the abutments.

Thus fortified in his own judgment, Mr Telford did not scruple to propose an iron bridge of one arch of a hundred and thirty feet span. The roadway rested upon a very flat arch, which was the segment of a very large circle; while this arch itself was sustained and strengthened by an outer arched rib on each side of the bridge, springing from a lower point than the flat arch, and rising as high as the top of the parapet railing; thus introducing the principle of timber trussing. Mr Telford experienced some difficulty in making the Coalbrookdale Iron Company depart from their former construction; but, having obtained the consent of the county, the bridge was cast in an admirable manner, and completed in 1796, at the expense of L.6034. The weight of the iron-work was only a hundred and seventy-three tons, while that of the first bridge was three hundred and seventy-eight tons, although the span of the former was thirty feet wider than the latter. We had an opportunity of seeing both these bridges on the same day, in 1808, in company with Mr Telford himself; and we were much struck with the beauty and elegance, as well as with the scientific principles which he had introduced into the construction of iron bridges.

Passing over Mr Telford's stone bridges which he built over the Conan at Bewdly, and over the Dee at Tongueland in Scotland, and also the handsome church which he erected at Bridgenorth, we come to that important period in his life when he became a civil engineer.

Before entering, however, upon this branch, we must notice a feature in Mr Telford's intellectual character, which is a rare accompaniment of the more substantial acquirements of the civil engineer. Amid the picturesque scenery on the banks of the Esk, and the green pastures of his native hills, he was inspired with that love of song, which, in our border counties, is native

in the shepherd's breast. The thrill of Armstrong's harp had scarcely ceased in the vale of the Liddel, and the echo of Mickle's sweeter strains was dying away among the rocks and woodlands of the Esk, when the inspiration was caught by our young enthusiast, who had just exchanged the crook for the plumb-line. Nor was it merely to chide the dull hours of winter, or gain the affections of his mistress, that our youthful minstrel strung his rustic harp. He seems to have been, if not a regular, at least a liberal contributor to the pages of 'Ruddiman's *Edinburgh Magazine*,' in which he published numerous poems under the signature of *Eskdale Tam*. One of the earliest of these productions was a descriptive poem entitled 'Eskdale,' which he republished when at Shrewsbury; and which Mr Rickman has very properly reprinted in the present work. It is pregnant with pleasing descriptions of natural scenery, and with just and elevated sentiments; and such is the poetical language in which they are clothed, that the treacherous memories of some of our later poets have unwittingly appropriated some of its happier lines.

When Burns was delighting his country with his lofty and pathetic strains, Telford was one of his most passionate worshippers; and expressed his admiration in a long poem in the Scottish dialect, addressed to Burns himself. This poem was found by Dr Currie among Burns's papers, and, with the permission of its author, several extracts from it were published in 1800, in Dr Currie's life of the poet.* It is characterised by its high tone of moral and religious feeling; and shows how deeply its author appreciated those institutions for religious and secular instruction, which so pre-eminently distinguish his native land.

The imaginative character of Mr Telford's mind, and his enthusiastic admiration of intellectual superiority, induced him to hail the French Revolution as the commencement of a new era of civilisation and of knowledge. He had imbibed from the pages of Plutarch and of Rollin a love of the institutions of ancient Greece; and under such influences he was led to take an active interest in the dissemination of those political wares which our speculators had imported free of duty from a more productive climate. In his proceedings on this occasion, his boldness exceeded his discretion; and he had nearly forfeited the friendship of Sir William Pulteney, by circulating under his frank some of the inflammatory diatribes of the day.

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* 'Its object,' says Dr Currie, 'is to recommend to him (Burns) other subjects of a serious nature, similar to that of the 'Cottar's Saturday 'Night.''

The metamorphosis, however, of French liberty into anarchy and bloodshed at home, and into conquest and desolation abroad, opened the eyes of Mr Telford, as it did those of others, to the danger of violent and equivocal changes in political institutions; and though his principles were always liberal, as we can personally testify, yet he ever afterwards declined to take any share in the party contentions of the day.

The rapid increase of Mr Telford's business at Shrewsbury put an end to his dalliance with the Muses; and compelled him to seek for other fountains than those of Helicon, and to climb steeper acclivities than that of Parnassus. The exuberant wealth of England had been long directing its overflowing springs into the channel of inland navigation. Her rivers afforded, in many cases, an easy communication between the maritime and inland districts; and for a long time the enterprise of landed proprietors and capitalists was limited to the improvement of river navigation. Various acts had been passed for this purpose, and large sums expended in deepening and straitening their beds—in building pond locks at the mill weirs and other ascents, and sometimes in changing even the natural direction of the streams. Thus diverted from their native course, or flowing in altered channels, sometimes pent up and sometimes expanded, our rivers became subject to perpetual degradation and change; while, even in the most successful adaptations of them, the navigation was found to be both toilsome and dilatory.

The person who first recognised the imperfect character of our river communications, and perceived the immense benefit of a still-water navigation, was the Duke of Bridgewater. Having acquired the most perfect knowledge of similar works in Holland, Italy, and France, this nobleman conceived the plan of connecting Manchester with his valuable coal-mines at Worsley, by means of a canal without locks; and crossing, *in one unbroken level*, the rivers and valleys of the district through which it passed. His acute mind foresaw the difficulties and risks of so novel an undertaking; but he foresaw also the possibility of surmounting them; and heedless of the prejudices of the day, and finding his own views confirmed by the practical sagacity of James Brindley, then rising into notice as an engineer, he applied all the vigour of his mind, and all the resources of his wealth, to realize the magnificent project which he had conceived. An act of the legislature was accordingly obtained in 1759, and in the following year the work was begun. When the canal, however, reached Banton Bridge, it became necessary to carry it over the Irwell, by an aqueduct rising forty feet above the surface of the stream. Although difficulties equally formidable

had been already overcome, yet the timid, and the ignorant, and the envious, mustered to such a degree their petty forces against the scheme, that Brindley, though satisfied of its practicability, advised his noble coadjutor to take the advice of some able engineer. The Duke consented; and the wiseacre is said to have replied, 'that he had often heard of castles in the air, but 'was never before shown where any of them could be erected.' Nothing daunted by this oracular dissuasion, but rather excited by the fresh glory which was thus thrown round their undertaking, the Duke and his engineer completed their air-built castle; and in a brief period they had the satisfaction of transmitting through its magical corridors the substantial realities of British and of foreign commerce.

Thus was completed the Bridgewater Canal, the model as well as the germ of all similar undertakings in England. The eyes of the country were opened by the success of so daring a project; joint-stock companies were every where formed, and England was speedily covered with that net-work of still water by which the reciprocities of commerce have been extended, and the luxuries of other climes exchanged for the productions of British industry. Justly, then, has the Duke of Bridgewater been honoured with the appellation of the Father of English Canal Navigation; and, though the title has no heraldic sound, and is associated with no deeds of vulgar chivalry, time will but add to it fresh lustre, and it will preserve the memory of his name when his coronet has grown dim, and his ducal honours have decayed.

Nor let it be said that the noble projector contemplated an accession of fortune from the benefits which he conferred on society. As the glory of a nation consists but of the united laurels of its citizens, so must the advancement of national wealth be co-existent with that of individual opulence; and that man is not less a patriot who enriches himself by the wise and profitable expenditure of his capital, than he who exhausts his energies at the helm of state, or impoverishes his family in the service of his country.

In our eulogy of the patriot nobleman, we must not forget the merits of his engineer. James Brindley was the right hand of the Duke of Bridgewater; and his history affords a striking illustration of the remarks which we have made on the superiority of natural sagacity over mere mathematical attainments. Though one of the most successful engineers of his age, he was so truly illiterate that he is said to have been scarcely able to read or to write. By his unrivalled powers of abstraction and of memory, he often executed his plans without committing them to paper;

and, when he was engaged in any difficult or complex undertaking, he was in the habit of retiring to bed, where he often remained for two or three days, till he had thoroughly completed his design. So singular, indeed, was the structure of his mind, that the spectacle of a play in London, disturbed to such a degree the balance of its mechanism, that he could not for some time resume his usual pursuits.

The rapid progress of canal navigation in England, had directed the attention of the gentlemen of Shropshire to the advantages of uniting the rivers Dee and Mersey with the Severn. They accordingly made the necessary surveys, and obtained the sanction of the legislature in 1793. Having been highly satisfied with Mr Telford's management of the public works, the county magistrates offered to him the superintendence of this new and complicated undertaking. Our author unhesitatingly accepted the offer; and from that time he directed his undivided attention to civil engineering. In conducting the Ellesmere Canal, as this work was called, Mr Telford possessed peculiar qualifications. Skirting, as it did, the base of the Welsh hills, no fewer than two aqueduct bridges of unusual extent were required to cross the valleys of the Ceriog and the Dee, and for such purposes architectural experience was pre-eminently necessary. The first of these works, namely the Chirk Aqueduct, is an object of great interest. It was completed in 1801, at an expense of L.20,898, crossing a picturesque valley seven hundred and ten feet wide, and carrying the canal at a height of seventy feet above the bed of the river. It is twenty-two feet wide, and consists of ten arches, each of which is forty feet span, and, from the perfect equality of them all, the bridge has a grand and imposing appearance. But the work possesses still higher merits. Hitherto our aqueduct bridges retained the water by means of puddled earth resting on masonry; but in many cases, even in the works of Brindley, the action of frost had burst the masonry and thrown down the aqueduct. In order to avoid such accidents, Mr Telford, in place of filling up the spandrills of the arches with earth, constructed them with longitudinal walls, and across these the canal bottom was formed by cast iron plates fixed in square stone masonry: the sides of the canal being made waterproof by ashlar work, backed with burnt bricks laid in Parker's cement.

Interesting, however, as this fine bridge must ever be, it is eclipsed by the Pontcysylte Aqueduct, which crosses the Dee, and adds new beauty to the picturesque valley of Llangollen. In the design of this magnificent work, which was completed in 1805 at an expense of L.47,018, Mr Telford adopted a new method of construction, which has since been generally fol-

lowed. The height of the canal was no less than one hundred and twenty-seven feet above the Dee, and after the width of the valley had been shortened by embankments, one thousand and seven feet still remained to be crossed. Mr Telford saw the risk, as well as the enormous cost of constructing an aqueduct of such length and height by piers and arches of stone; and therefore conceived the idea of carrying the canal over the valley in a cast iron trough, supported on cast iron arches, and resting on stone piers. The piers are twenty in number, including the two abutment ones; and are united by nineteen arches of forty-five feet span. The piers are of solid masonry to the height of seventy feet, but the upper fifty feet of them is built hollow with one cross inner wall; a device which not only saved masonry, but lowered the centre of gravity of each pier. The parapet of both the Chirk and Pontcysylte Aqueducts is an iron railing, which gives lightness and elegance to the structure. We had occasion, in 1808, in the company of Mr Telford, to examine both these magnificent works, and were filled with admiration not only of the skill but of the taste of the engineer.

While these works were in progress, a new and extensive field opened itself to Mr Telford's talents. The Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates conceived the idea of forming a navigable communication between the tideways of the eastern and western seas, and the lochs of the great glen of Scotland; extending over a distance of almost two hundred miles, and nearly in a straight line between the Naze of Norway and the north of Ireland. The celebrated Mr Watt was employed, in 1773, to report on the practicability of this plan; but though this report was favourable, the restoration of the forfeited estates in 1788, prevented his plan from being executed.

During the administration of Mr Addington, however, when it became desirable to stop the tide of emigration from the Highlands, by giving work to the unemployed population, Mr Telford was, in 1801, directed to survey the coasts as well as the interior of Scotland, in reference to the establishment of naval stations, the improvement or formation of harbours, the construction of roads and bridges, and the practicability of a canal along the great Caledonian glen. This task was executed with his usual promptitude and ability; and after the propositions which he made to the Government had been submitted to Parliament, and undergone the fullest examination, two Boards of Parliamentary Commissioners were appointed—the one for executing the Caledonian Canal, and the other for making roads and bridges in the Highlands. Both these Commissions concurred in appointing Mr Telford their engineer, Mr James Hope

their law-agent, and Mr Rickman their secretary; and we believe that no public works were ever conducted with more science, more regularity, and more honesty. So admirable, indeed, and efficacious were the arrangements, that Mr Telford has justly recorded it as a very extraordinary fact, that though the contracts under the Road Commission were one hundred and twenty in number, and necessarily of a complex character, yet, by Mr Hope's professional attention to their preparation, and his judicious forbearance to the contractors and their sureties on fit occasions, not a single instance of litigation occurred in all their multifarious transactions.

The Caledonian Canal, which was begun in 1803 and opened in 1822, is doubtless the grandest specimen of inland navigation in the world. Its total length is sixty miles, twenty-three of which are formed artificially; the other thirty-seven being the united lengths of the three fresh-water lakes, namely, Loch-Ness, Loch-Oich, and Loch-Lochy, through which it passes. As it was intended to admit the largest vessels that trade between Liverpool and the Baltic, West Indiamen of an average size, and frigates of thirty-two guns when fully equipped, its dimensions were necessarily great. The width of the water surface was to be no less than one hundred and twenty feet, the bottom width fifty, and the depth twenty; while the locks, which are twenty-eight in number, are no less than one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty feet long, and forty wide. Although the three fresh-water lakes, which we have mentioned, greatly facilitated the formation of the canal, yet the construction of eight junctions with the canal itself occasioned much labour and expense, as well as great embarrassment to the engineer. These junctions, as well as the shallows at Loch-Oich, have been cleared by dredging machines to the depth of fifteen feet; but in various places a further excavation of five feet is necessary to obtain the intended depth of twenty feet. The canal was opened in October 1822, when the late Mr Charles Grant, formerly member for the county, and one of the most zealous of the Commissioners, gave a grand fête to seventy gentlemen who had accompanied him in a steam-barge from sea to sea. But though the Caledonian Canal was thus opened, our readers must not suppose that it was completed. The estimated expense of this great national work was L.474,531, while the actual expenditure was nearly double that sum.* This excess above the estimate arose from the great

* The expenditure from the 20th Oct. 1803, to the 15th August 1831, was L.990,559.

increase which took place in the price of materials and labour, as well as from unexpected difficulties which occurred during the progress of a work so unlike, both in character and magnitude, those of any previous undertaking. The new grants of money which were necessary to carry on the canal, brought the subject annually before the public; and individuals were not wanting to characterise the undertaking as a job; to represent the delay as unjustifiable; and to maintain that the expenditure had been as extravagant as it had been unprofitable. Liberal as our countrymen generally are in admiring the great public works of foreign countries, and ready, as they often appear to be, to hold them up as examples for national imitation; yet they have long been accustomed, and perhaps not wholly without reason, to regard every public work undertaken by the Government with feelings of distrust, if not of aversion. Hence almost all our grandest undertakings are the result of individual enterprise and private adventure; but though they are nevertheless unquestionable indications of the opulence and prosperity of the nation, yet, as schemes of commercial speculation, we cannot expect them to bear the impress of public taste, of national magnificence, or of imperishable strength. The pyramids of Egypt, the aqueducts of ancient Rome, and the gorgeous temples of the middle ages, were all the creations of sovereign power.

Under the influence of the feelings which we have described, the ignorant and misguided public called for the immediate completion of the work, and at the same time demanded a cessation of the supplies by which it was to be effected. In order to pacify this growing discontent, Mr Telford was induced to give his tacit but unwilling consent to finish the works on a less perfect and substantial scale; and from the same motive of putting down the ignorant cry of envy and malevolence—that the navigation of the canal would, after all, not be practicable—he agreed to open it for the passage of shipping in that unfinished, unsafe, and altogether unsatisfactory condition in which it at present remains. The last grant made by Parliament towards the completion of the canal was in 1824, and hence the remaining works were executed in a hurried and imperfect manner; and the depth of water, in place of being made twenty feet, to admit that class of vessels for which it was intended, is not greater than eleven or twelve feet in some parts after a continued drought.

Our readers will readily conceive the mortification which Mr Telford must have experienced when he found the nation and the Ministry arrayed against him; and when he felt that the glory of executing the greatest work in Europe was to be turned into shame. His powerful mind, however, bore the affliction, and

wisely yielded to what he could not avert. In his posthumous work even, he has forborne to give expression to his feelings; and has never deigned to make any reply to those attacks upon his professional character which ignorant legislators, and jealous rivals, founded on the excess of the real over the estimated expenditure.

In works of ordinary magnitude, where long practice has corrected our theoretical principles, and experience has gathered and recorded her knowledge, a great error in his estimates would justly weaken our confidence even in an able engineer; but the case is quite different in works distinguished by the novelty of their character and the grandeur of their dimensions. The mind is here thrown out of its sphere of knowledge. It has no previous experience to appeal to; and, even if the records of engineering had presented some law of strength in relation to works of progressive magnitude, the application of that law to a higher point of the scale must yet be a conjecture; and still more so in combinations exposed to the variable, and insidious, and incalculable action of water and the elements. But the defence of Mr Telford must not be rested on a speculative pleading. We must look into the estimates of more modern public works of inordinate magnitude, where the engineer has been led into the same miscalculation, and where he has been, by universal consent, permitted to plead the same excuse.

The Manchester and Liverpool Railway, for example, has probably cost three times the amount of its first estimate, while so inadequate was its original construction to the purposes of a commodious and permanent traffic, that in some important respects it has been almost entirely reconstructed.

The original estimate of the London and Birmingham Railway was two millions; but the actual expenditure had some time ago exceeded four millions; and we have no doubt that five millions will be required for its proper completion.

After the Great Western Railway had proceeded a very considerable length, the whole process of its construction has been either already reversed, or is likely to be so; an alteration which, along with others already contemplated, will, we are confident, involve an additional expense much greater than the original estimate.

And, to take a case still more analogous to the one under discussion, the Forth and Clyde Canal exceeded to such a degree the expense originally contemplated, that it remained for a long time in the same unfinished and unserviceable state in which the Caledonian Canal is at present; till the proprietors obtained a public loan of L.50,000, by means of which it was completed, and brought into beneficial operation. Notwithstanding this un-

toward commencement, the public loan has been long ago repaid with interest; and this canal has proved one of the most profitable, as well as one of the most useful, undertakings in the kingdom.

Such is the defence of Mr Telford which we should have been disposed to offer, had the feelings of such a man required to be soothed, or his labours to be justified. But though neither penury nor ignorance can now tarnish his reputation, yet it is well to read to future Chancellors of the Exchequer, and future legislators, the warning lesson, that posterity will scorn the fractional arithmetic which balances the profit and the loss of such national undertakings; and that if England is destined to retain her proud place amongst the nations—if her free institutions are to shine the brightest, and to last the longest—her treasury must be as liberally opened to advance the glory, as to supply the wants, of the empire. The tradesman and the artisan will not have to complain of diminished employment and abridged comforts, when works of enduring magnitude shall raise their gilded domes over their humble dwellings; nor will the peasant sit down to a less joyous meal when the produce of his fields are whirled away, and the luxuries of the East thrown into his cottage, by those works of internal communication which the imperial wealth can alone command. It is well to leave to individual enterprise the construction of those public works which comparatively level districts may require; but when we have to surmount barriers which divide kingdoms—when we have to cut through rocks and mountains which separate the storehouses of commercial wealth—when we have to lay our iron gradients over rivers and foaming tideways—across districts barren, remote, and unfrequented—we must call upon the nation to open wide its purse, to unite the insulated works of individual enterprise, and by this general anastomosis of its single powers, to centralize, as it were, by the compression of space and time, the intellectual and physical energies of the empire.

That the Caledonian Canal is one of those national objects to which the preceding observations are peculiarly applicable, few will have the courage to deny. If it was a justifiable undertaking when steam-boats were unknown—if its estimated expense was then a reasonable outlay of the public money—how much more justifiable must be its perfect and substantial completion at the present time, when opposing winds can be hushed, and counteracting currents resisted, by the magical auxiliaries with which steam can now supply us? The increase of our trade, too—the extension of our commerce—and the extraordinary multiplication of canals, roads, and railways, render the completion of the Caledonian Canal not only an object of the deepest interest in

itself, but a necessary measure for consummating that system of internal communication which is now rapidly advancing to completion.

Under the influence, no doubt, of views like these, the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury had their attention directed to this great national work. At the close of 1837, the Commissioners of the Caledonian Canal reported to the Treasury that an accident had taken place at the lock at Fort-Augustus, which impeded the navigation in a considerable degree, and that immediate impending danger from inundation was to be apprehended from the state of the works in other parts of the line of the canal. The Treasury without delay transmitted this communication to our distinguished countryman Mr Walker, and requested him to proceed forthwith to the canal—to make a careful examination into the state of the works along the whole line—to report fully on every point which deserved the attention and direction of the Board—and to bear in mind that there were two questions which required separate consideration; first, the repair of the lock at Fort-Augustus, and such other works as may be necessary to avert danger from inundation; and secondly, the improvement of the canal by rebuilding what is defective in its original construction, increasing the depth of water, and procuring additional tug steam-vessels.

With these instructions Mr Walker went to the canal early in January 1838, and surveyed the whole line with the assistance of Mr Gibb, and of Mr George May, the resident engineer and superintendent of the canal. When the survey was completed, and the necessary measurements and estimates made, Mr Walker gave in his admirable report, which the House of Commons ordered to be printed in July 1838. The general result of this report is, that L.24,827 is required for immediate repairs; that L.104,490 will be necessary for completing and perfecting the locks, and giving the canal a depth of seventeen feet; that L.13,200 will be needed for *five* steam tug-boats—three upon the canal, and one at each end of it; and that, allowing ten per cent, or L.1320 for contingencies, L.143,837 will be sufficient for completing this great work, and fitting it for the reception of vessels of thirty-eight feet beam, and seventeen feet draught of water.

'With these improvements and additions,' says Mr Walker, 'the passage from Fort-George to the Sound of Mull might generally be depended on to be made within *five* days, and certainly even in foul weather within a *week*.

'And now the question presents itself, What, under present circumstances, is best to be done? Ought the navigation of the canal to be discontinued? If so, this might be done either by keeping up the works

or destroying them. The former would require nearly the same establishment for preservation, and watching for the security of the country, as with the trade; part of the repairs I have calculated on must be done, and an annual repair afterwards would be indispensable, all without any income. The other plan, viz. the permanently stopping up or destroying of the works, would require dams and outlets to be made, permanent bridges to be built, the locks filled up or fenced, other works done, and compensation to be made, which it is extremely difficult to calculate, and which, as Mr May states, might equal in amount the expense of a proper repair, to say nothing of the public inconvenience, and the breach of faith which such a proceeding might involve.

'Might, then, the works necessary to prevent inundation, and the ruin or repairs be done, but the canal left in its present unfinished and imperfect state, with its present inconveniences? This would, in fact, be continuing the system which has existed since the canal was opened, but which could not be continued much longer; and, as the works are yearly becoming worse, some general repair must at once be done. The want of funds having probably obliged the commissioners to expend as little as possible, the defects have been allowed to increase, and in the course of a short time it would be found that to have faced the repairs, and done them properly, would have been a cheaper plan. Certainly there would be no absolute necessity, as respects security, for adding to the present depth, or for other improvements; but, in referring to the detail I have given, I find that only about half of the whole sum (exclusive of the steam tugs) can be placed to the head of improvements; and I am of opinion, that as respects the convenience of trade, or even strictly as a question of expenditure and revenue, the finishings are worth doing along with the repairs; and both, be it observed, can be done cheaper at one time, when the water is out of parts of the canal, than piecemeal.'—*Report*, p. 8.

'I have not said,' continues Mr Walker, 'that the Caledonian Canal is, as a money account, ever to be made a profitable concern, but that it will be a useful public work; that, being made, there appears to me no alternative but to finish it; and (this granted) that to finish it properly, will be, even as a money account, the proper course to adopt. The time, however, may come, and may not be very distant, when even as a money speculation it will appear in a very different light from the present; this partly in the increase of the quantity of tonnage, and partly from the rate.'—*Report*, p. 9.

The arguments thus ably urged by Mr Walker for putting the Caledonian Canal into an effective state of repair, will be greatly strengthened by a consideration of the advantages which such a measure would confer on the commercial and maritime interests of the kingdom. The original and leading object of the canal was to facilitate the communication between the opposite sides of the kingdom—to promote the intercourse between our eastern ports and America on the one hand, and between our western ports, including those in the north of Ireland, and the

Baltic and the east of Europe on the other—and to render unnecessary the present circuitous and dangerous passages by the Pentland Frith and the Land's End; on both of which the most ruinous delays and the most afflicting losses so frequently occur. That our commercial traders would take advantage of such a valuable accommodation, may be inferred from the great traffic which is carried on across the island by the Forth and Clyde Canal, though it is subject to very heavy rates, and confined to the smallest class of vessels. High as these rates are, our shipowners regard them as well compensated by the safety and the certainty of the passage. But as the vessels which receive this great accommodation do not exceed eighty or a hundred tons burden, and as the Caledónian Canal does not at present admit vessels of a much larger size, it becomes a matter of the greatest national importance to extend the same advantages to *all classes* of maritime traders—to save the lives of their seamen—to save the tear and wear of their vessels—to save insurance and lighthouse dues—and, finally, to save time, which, in commercial concerns, is often of the greatest pecuniary value. In time of war, too, when the English Channel may be infested with steam privateers, the canal would, as Mr Walker justly states, afford a passage of comparative safety for the trade between the West Indies and America and the east coast of Great Britain.

But besides the general commercial interests of the empire to which the completion of the Caledonian Canal will be subservient, there are others of a more limited character which it cannot fail to encourage and promote. One of these objects is the extension of a regular steam communication from the great commercial marts of Liverpool and Glasgow, and the manufacturing districts connected with them, to all the ports in the Moray Frith as far as Aberdeen, and even perhaps to Dundee and Leith; without the necessity of that interruption or transhipment to which the present intercourse between these places is actually subjected.

Another object not less important, though perhaps more remote in its accomplishment, is the union of the great lines of railway communication which are rapidly extending themselves to Edinburgh on the east, and to Glasgow on the west coast of Scotland. Glasgow will, no doubt, be the *terminus* of the great western line; but there is every reason to believe that the eastern line will extend itself to a much higher latitude. When low water piers at Newhaven and Bruntisland shall be erected, a railway through Fife will be the next step in the progress of improvement; and in the county of Forfar nearly *sixty* miles of railway are actually completed—one of the lines stretching along

the coast from Dundee to Arbroath. That these works will speedily reach Montrose will scarcely be doubted; and though the eastern coast to the north of this port presents some embarrassing acclivities, yet we scruple not to predict that a quarter of a century will scarcely elapse before the great eastern line shall reach Inverness, the capital of the Highlands. When this grand object is gained, the value of the Caledonian Canal will then be recognised by the blindest and dullest of its detractors. It will stand forth the connecting link between the great lines of traffic which embroider the skirts of our otherwise deserted shores—the grand aortal trunk into which the arteries of the south will pour their exuberant wealth. The remotest Highlands will then become a suburb of the imperial metropolis. The fruits of the south will be gathered in climates where they could not grow; and, while the luxuries of the East are sweetening the coarse fare of the mountaineers, the more intellectual imports of civilisation and knowledge will gradually dispel the ignorance and feudal barbarism which still linger among their fastnesses.

Trusting that this subject will, in the next session, occupy the attention of Parliament, we have felt it to be our duty to submit to our readers the foregoing observations; the more that we have heard it rumoured that rather than advance so large a sum as L.150,000, Government will allow this great national work to fall into decay. But we will never believe that such a decision could proceed from any other cause than a popular clamour too loud for any Government to resist; and we will not think so meanly of our countrymen as to believe them capable of furnishing such an excuse.

The Commission for the Improvement of the Highlands by Roads and Bridges, to which we have already referred, has proved one of the most useful that ever was appointed by Parliament. Previous to the year 1732, the roads in the north of Scotland were merely the tracks of black cattle and horses, intersected by numerous and rapid streams, and often so much swollen with heavy rains as to be dangerous, or altogether impassable. Between 1732 and 1750, several military roads were constructed; but as their object was not to extend the commerce or develope the industry of the country, they were, both from their steepness and the directions in which they were made, almost unfit for the purposes of civil life; and although bridges had been erected over the smaller streams, yet the principal rivers, the Tay, the Spey, the Beauly, and the Conan, were crossed by inconvenient and dangerous ferries. These military roads, which were of course maintained at the public expense, amounted at one time to 800 miles, and included no fewer than 1000 bridges. Till

1770 they were dependent on the War-Office, or more immediately on the commander-in-chief for Scotland. The sum granted for this purpose, from 1770 to 1783, was L.7000 annually; from 1783 to 1803 it was L.4700, and for the next ten years it was L.5500.

After procuring information from the Highland Society of Scotland on various points connected with this great undertaking, Mr Telford made a survey of the Highlands in 1802; and, when a committee of the House of Commons had duly investigated the subject, and taken the evidence of many witnesses, they appointed, in 1803, the Board of Commissioners, of which Mr Telford, Mr Hope, and Mr Rickman, were the active officers. The report of this Board in 1821, which Mr Telford has published, is a document of great interest and value, teeming with the most important and useful information; and Mr Telford cannot be charged with using exaggerated language when he says, that the works performed during eighteen years, constitute an amount of improvement scarcely equalled in any other part of the world within the same number of years.

The principle upon which the Board proceeded, was to require from one or more landowners, in any district, a formal application, stating that a road through this district would be of great public and private benefit, and that the proprietors were willing to contribute one-half the expense of making it. The engineer then laid before the Board a survey, report, and estimate; and, when this had been approved of by the Commissioners, the memorialists were called upon to lodge one-half of the estimated expense in the Bank of Scotland, the other half to be supplied by Government. In this manner 920 miles of new roads were executed, and 1117 bridges. Of the latter, there were 1075 of one arch, the span varying from ten to sixty-five feet, and the total breadth of waterway 10,198 feet; thirteen of two arches, sixteen of three arches, and two of five arches. Besides these bridges, eleven were built under separate contracts, one of which, at Dunkeld, has seven arches; three, viz. Conan, Lovat, and Ballater bridge, have five arches; one at Craigellachie has four arches; five, viz. Bonar, Potarch, Wick, Alford, and Fairness, have three arches; and one at Helmsdale has two arches. Of these, Bonar and Craigellachie are of iron. The total number of arches was 1202, and the total breadth of waterway 14,686 feet. The expense of these important works exceeded L.450,000, of which L.200,000 was contributed by the Highland proprietors, and L.250,000 by the country. The average expense of these roads has been under L.600 a mile; but in some cases very great difficulties had to be surmounted,

and in these an additional expense was incurred. When the roads passed through districts devoid even of a horse track or any accommodation for travellers, it became necessary to employ inferior materials until the new line became passable for carts to some spot where flat-bedded stones could be procured. On the Sutherland or Tongue road, the lime for mortar was carried upwards of twenty miles in sacks on the backs of horses; while in the Isle of Skye the arch stones of the bridges were imported by sea.

While the Highland roads and bridges were in progress, the liberality of Government to Scotland was still further displayed. To the same Board of Commissioners they intrusted the sum of L.50,000, obtained from the Forfeited Estates Fund, for the purpose of paying one-half of the cost of improving several harbours in the north of Scotland; and this sum was judiciously expended under Mr Telford's direction on the harbours of Peterhead, Banff, Fraserburgh, Burgh Head, Cullen, Tobermory, and many others. Nor did the liberality of the Government stop here. In 1823, a parliamentary grant of L.50,000 was given for building Highland churches and manses, all of which were executed from Mr Telford's designs, under the direction of the same Board of Commissioners. The last of these churches was built in 1830. No fewer than forty-three of these buildings were erected; and, in the present mania for church-extension and additional endowments, we cannot do better than quote the observations of the Commissioners relative to the history and result of this grant.

'The liberality of the legislature has been exercised in such a manner as rather to conceal than display its amount. The original grant of L.50,000, and about L.10,000 expended in general management, in legal conveyances of land, and in the superintendence of works locally remote and scattered, represent (on cursory inspection) the entire benefit conferred; but the religious services of *forty-two* additional ministers in perpetuity, have not been obtained for less than L.5040 per annum; that is, for a perpetual annuity worth about L.120,000, which, with the above-mentioned grant and expenditure, amounts to no less than L.180,000 appropriated to the advancement of religion in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.' *

As the engineer of the Caledonian Canal, Mr Telford's reputation had now extended itself far beyond his native country; and foreign sovereigns were eager to obtain his counsel and his assist-

* The number of persons accommodated in these new churches is estimated at 22,000.

ance in carrying on works of a similar kind. It had long been an object of the Swedish Government to obtain a navigable communication between the Baltic and the German Ocean without passing the Sound. The country between Soderkoping and Gottenburg was eminently adapted to such an undertaking—possessing two fresh-water lakes 133 miles long; and a very considerable step had been made by the formation of the Trolhatta Canal from Wenernsborg to Gottenburg, which had been completed in 1800 by M. Nordwall, and had succeeded to such a degree as to yield nine per cent on the capital invested.

Count Platen, a director of this canal, perceiving the advantages of extending it from the Wenern to the Baltic, obtained the King's permission to have the line surveyed by an experienced British engineer. The Count therefore applied in 1808 to Mr Telford, who, having assented to his proposal, proceeded with two assistants to Sweden, and commenced his operations early in August. By the aid, as well as the judicious arrangements of the Count, he was enabled to execute a regular survey, and lay down correct plans and sections of the country between Lake Wenern and the Baltic; and, having made a detailed report on the subject, he embarked for Scotland early in October.

The revolution which took place in Sweden in 1809, did not thwart this great national undertaking. In 1810, the King granted a charter to a joint-stock company for carrying Mr Telford's report into effect. The length of the whole navigation, including locks, was about one hundred and twenty miles, and the artificial canals fifty-five miles. The breadth of the canal's bottom was to be forty-eight feet, the depth of water eighteen feet, and the slope of the sides thirty. The locks, which were fifty-six in number, were to be twenty-four feet broad. In August 1813, Mr Telford visited Sweden, and inspected all the works, which consisted chiefly of excavations. He determined the sites of the locks, bridges, and aqueducts; and, by the aid of experienced lock-builders and earth-workers from England, who instructed the Swedish labourers, the canal was completed and opened for public use, we believe, in 1822. On this auspicious occasion, two large gold medals were struck, and one of each presented to Mr Telford. The King likewise conferred upon our distinguished countryman a Swedish order of knighthood, and presented him with his portrait set in diamonds.

But it was not merely from the King of Sweden that Mr Telford received these marks of regard. The Russian Government, anxious to promote the study of civil engineering within their dominions, sent over two young men to receive instructions on this subject in England. They were recommended to Mr Tel-

ford's notice, and received from him all that kindness and attention which he invariably bestowed on every species of merit. When the Emperor of Russia learned from Count Romanzoff the obligations which these young men owed to Mr Telford, he sent him a splendid diamond ring as a mark of his gratitude.

After Mr Telford had made his arrangement for the Caledonian Canal, he was requested by the Earl of Eglinton and others to examine a project for forming a canal from the city of Glasgow to Saltcoats; on the northern shore of the bay of Ayrshire, passing near Paisley, and eventually extending to Ardrossan. The length of this canal was to be thirty-one miles, and its summit level 110 feet above the sea; and as it was to pass through the manufacturing districts of Paisley, Johnstone, Lochwinnoch, Kilwinning, and Saltcoats, having a dense population along its whole line, a canal more useful and more likely to yield a great revenue could scarcely have been suggested. From Glasgow to Greenock the Clyde was so shallow that large vessels were obliged to tranship their cargoes with lighters twenty miles below the city; and, owing to the rectangular form of the river below Greenock, ships were often detained there by contrary winds. For these reasons the canal met with universal approbation; an Act of Parliament was obtained, the work was placed under Mr Telford's direction, and the first ten miles from Glasgow to Paisley were executed. The derangement, however, which about this time took place in the mercantile world was so great, that the manufacturers, who were the principal supporters of the canal, found it inconvenient to proceed with the work, and at this moment the canal extends only to Paisley.

We have mentioned these particulars in order to show, as Mr Telford has done, how the most reasonable undertakings may be rendered unnecessary from the rapid progress of invention and discovery; and how singularly this undertaking has been affected by a succession of most unexpected inventions, the effect of which has been, even in Mr Telford's opinion, to render a canal navigation to Saltcoats scarcely necessary.

The first of these changes in the navigation of the Clyde consisted in constructing alternate jetties half-way across from the banks of the river, and of deepening the shore several feet by means of the dredging-machine. In this manner large vessels were enabled to discharge their cargoes at the Glasgow wharfs at the Broomielaw.

The next change was the introduction of steam-boats, which disregarded every obstacle in the river; and, by dragging vessels against adverse winds, removed all reasonable complaints respecting their detention below Greenock.

Thus was the canal from Paisley to Saltcoats rendered unnecessary; but even the part of the canal which had been executed as far as Paisley, was on the eve of being superseded by the introduction of iron railways, traversed by locomotive steam-engines. At this crisis, Mr Houston, an enlightened canal proprietor, contrived and brought into use a method of doubling the speed of canal boats dragged by horses. He found that the foreship of a boat drawn by a rope is raised by the resistance of the water in her passage through it; so that when the motion becomes very rapid the whole boat is raised, and skims, as it were, on the surface of the water; encountering less resistance than when it moved with less velocity. But while this new mode of conveyance was adopted in the canals, and regarded as a profitable improvement, locomotive steam-carriages were set a-going on the turnpike road between Glasgow and Paisley, and conveyed passengers in a shorter time, and at a cheaper rate, than the fly passage-boats on the canal. These carriages, however, have been discontinued since Mr Telford wrote this part of his work; but they will doubtless be replaced by the superior arrangements of a regular railway.

After improving the river Wear navigation between Northwich and Runcorn in Cheshire, Mr Telford was intrusted with a work of considerable magnitude on the Trent and Mersey Canal, executed by the celebrated Brindley. In the infancy of his art, this skilful engineer constructed a tunnel through Harecastle Hill 2888 yards in length, and 197 feet perpendicular, under the highest surface of the hill. This tunnel, which took eleven years to execute, is, where it is largest, only twelve feet high and nine wide; so that a boat *seven* feet wide, with a moderate lading, could scarcely pass through it. As there was no towing-path for a horse, it became necessary to propel the boats by the power of men; and this was effected in a very strange way by a class of persons called leggars, who lay upon their backs upon the top of the lading, and propelled the boat by pushing with their feet against the roof and sides of the tunnel. With such a novel and variable propelling power, two hours were consumed in passing through the tunnel; and much contention and confusion took place among the numerous boats which were waiting their turns. The company were, owing to these causes, and to the threats of rival canals and railroads, at last compelled, in the year 1822, to consult Mr Telford on the practicability of making a second tunnel. Having found the scheme both advisable and practicable, the tunnel was begun in July 1825, and the passage opened to the public on the 30th of April 1827. This tunnel, which runs parallel to that of Brindley, at the distance of twenty-six yards, was 2926

yards long, sixteen feet high, and fourteen feet broad; four feet nine inches of it being occupied by the towing-path, which was supported by small pillars. The line of the tunnel, which is accurately straight, contains fifteen pit shafts, the deepest pit being one hundred and seventy-nine feet; and it was completed at an expense of £112,68 .

Before this tunnel was completed, Mr Telford was employed to execute the Macclesfield Canal, which, extending from the north end of the tunnel, skirts the Derbyshire hills, and passes by the manufacturing towns of Congleton and Macclesfield to the Peak Forest Canal to Marple. It is twenty-nine miles in length, and, after proceeding ten miles on one level to the north bank of the Don, it ascends one hundred and fourteen feet by eleven locks, which in succession occupy about one mile.

In 1828, our author was employed by the Birmingham Canal Company, to plan and direct the several improvements requisite to be made on that canal. This portion of our inland navigation was originally planned by Brindley; but with the view, no doubt, of avoiding the expense of deep cuttings and embankments, the canal ran into numerous and inconvenient curvatures, and in other respects was in such a state that Mr Telford describes it 'as little better than a crooked ditch, with scarcely the appearance of a haling-path, the horses frequently sliding and staggering in the water, the haling-lines sweeping the gravel into the canal, and the entanglement at the meeting of boats incessant; while at the locks at each end of the short summit, crowds of boatmen were always quarrelling or offering premiums for a preference of passage, and the mine owners injured by the delay.' Aided by the enlightened arguments of Mr James Watt, Mr Telford prevailed upon the managing committee to make a series of very expensive though essential improvements upon this canal. By cutting off the numerous bends he restored the canal to nearly a straight line from Birmingham to Smethwick summit; the obsolete curvatures being converted into separate branches or basins, which gave accommodation to the numerous mines on each side of the canal. In this way the main line from Birmingham to Autherley was reduced from twenty-two to fourteen miles! Mr Telford greatly extended the objects of this canal by cutting down the Smethwick summit to the depth of seventy feet; and he supplied it with water by constructing, in a dingle adjacent to Birmingham, a reservoir of eighty acres water surface, and forty-five feet depth at the retaining bank. The details of these various improvements, including cast-iron bridges, one of which is one hundred and fifty feet span, are minutely given in sections and elevations executed on a large scale, and capable of guiding the labours of future engineers.

From the year 1825, though marked by a rage for speculation almost insane, we must date the commencement of some of the grandest undertakings of which any nation can boast—undertakings which cannot fail to give a new character to all our political and social relations. Availing themselves of the prevailing mania, the iron-masters, whose trade, owing to the low price of iron, was in a state of extreme depression, encouraged the construction of railways in every direction. The most important of these schemes was a railway from Liverpool to London, through Birmingham; and such was the alarm which this project occasioned among the canal proprietors, that they consulted Mr Telford 'as to the most 'advisable manner of *protecting their property*.' Considering the proposed railway as intended principally for the transportation of goods, Mr Telford recommended the construction of the Birmingham and Liverpool junction Canal; as a work which would supply those facilities of conveyance, which the trade between London and Lancashire still seemed to require. It was accordingly executed under his direction, extending thirty-nine miles, independent of the Newport branch of eleven miles. As another means of 'counteracting the effects of the several railways, which 'about this time were proposed to be made between London and 'Birmingham,' Mr Telford recommended the extension of this canal from Wolverhampton to the Ellesmere and Chester Canal at Nantwich; but neither the one canal nor the other have obstructed the execution of that magnificent national undertaking, which reflects honour on the age in which it was executed.*

One of the greatest and most useful works in which Mr Telford was engaged, was the drainage of the great Fen district, and especially of the Bedford Level, and the execution of the Nene Outfall. This last undertaking was carried on through the active patronage of the present Duke of Bedford—a nobleman whose liberality and patriotism will be long remembered by his country—under Mr Rennie, Mr Telford, and the present Sir John Rennie.

The great Fen district comprehends the low lands which lie on

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* In speaking of the proposed railway from Liverpool through Birmingham to London, Mr Telford remarks, 'that all physical obstruc-'tions were forgotten, or overlooked, amid the splendour of this gigantic 'undertaking.' We, who have seen these obstructions surmounted, should learn to respect those grand conceptions which provide for the moral and physical wants of our species. When a railway shall carry our persons from London to Edinburgh in the fraction of a day, and a penny-post shall convey in the same brief period the products of our thoughts, and the expressions of our affections, we may be disposed to extend a little more of our confidence to the speculations of ingenious minds.

each side of the Wash, a bay which divides the counties of Norfolk and Lincoln, and is about sixty miles long, and twenty-five broad. The area of the Bedford Level exclusively, is about three hundred and fifty English square miles, or 340,000 English acres, which are the most productive in Britain. The Nene Outfall is a new tidal channel for discharging the waters of the river Nene into the sea. The Eaubrink Cut, which now forms the lower portion of the river Ouse, and the sluices on the South Level, were planned by the late Mr Rennie previous to Mr Telford's appointment; and this eminent engineer had the satisfaction of seeing the Cut successfully opened in July 1821, only a few months previous to his death. Sir Thomas Hyde Page and Mr Robert Mylne, the engineers under the Act of 1816–17, had differed about the dimensions of the Eaubrink Cut; and the difference was settled by Mr Joseph Huddart, in the exact terms of whose arbitration the work was executed. Its capacity, however, was found too small for the river, and Mr Telford recommended that it should be enlarged one-third, which was accordingly executed at an expense of L.37,000. The present Sir John Rennie, who succeeded his father as engineer of drainage, was associated with Mr Telford in the execution of the Nene Outfall; but the new drainage of the North Level was executed by Mr Telford alone.

The contractors for deepening the Nene Outfall, commenced their operations in August 1827, and in a short time 1100 men were employed on the work, under the superintendence of William Swansborough.

The expense of executing the Nene Outfall has been about L.200,000. About 1500 acres of fertile marsh land has been secured from the sea by embankment, and are now producing annually excellent crops of grain. An additional tract of about 2000 acres is fit for enclosing, and about 4000 acres more will soon be gained by the diversion of the channel from the ancient estuary. These valuable acquisitions, however, Mr Telford regarded as nothing, compared to the benefit derived from a natural drainage for the entire North Level, South Holland, and the contiguous districts.

The works for the drainage of the North Level were begun in July 1830, and finished in 1834; and Mr Tycho Wing informs us, that 'their effects upon the productiveness of the soil, and on the 'welfare and comfort of the inhabitants, surpass all previous ex-'pectation.' 'This work,' he continues, 'was undertaken upon 'Mr Telford's advice and responsibility, when only a few of the 'persons engaged in the Nene Outfall believed that the latter 'could be made, and, if made, sustained. Mr Telford distin-'guished himself then by his foresight and judicious counsels at

'the most critical periods of that great measure; by his unfailing 'confidence in its success, and by the boldness and sagacity 'which prompted him to advise the making of the North Level 'drainage, in full expectation of the results for the sake of 'which the Nene Outfall was undertaken, and which are now 'realized to the extent of the most sanguine hopes.'

Our author next proceeds to give an account of some of the most interesting improvements which he made upon harbours in the estuaries of rivers. The most important of these were the harbours of Aberdeen and Dundee.

Aberdeen, as a maritime city, may be ranked as the *third* in Scotland. In place of a population of 6500, to which it amounted in 1707, Aberdeen now contains 58,019 inhabitants. In 1773, the celebrated Mr Smeaton made important improvements on the harbour of this city. In order to make the land floods diminish the bar, he confined the irregular channel of the Dee by founding the north pier, which extends 700 feet eastward from high-water mark, and 500 feet further with a northern slant, in order to turn the current into a proper direction. Opposite to this pier, on the north side of the river, he constructed a breast-wall about half the length of the pier, and he added to these two short jetties and a small basin. As the commerce of this port increased, new improvements on its harbour were required. With this view, in 1797, Mr Rennie proposed to abandon the river, and to construct floating docks on the sandy flats called Foot Dee; but, in consequence of the distance of this locality from the mercantile establishments of the city, his plan was abandoned.

Although Mr Telford had surveyed this harbour in 1801, yet it was not till 1810 that an Act was obtained for carrying his designs into execution. The most difficult part of the work which Mr Telford's plan required, was the extension of the north pier. This was done in 1811 to the extent of 300 feet, but the effect of this extension was so beneficial, that the trustees resolved to continue it; and in 1813 the extension of the pier, effected under Mr Telford's direction, measured 865 feet. The outside of this pier is composed of roughly dressed granite ashlar, with a core of large gneiss ruble stones. Owing to the great length of this pier, a corresponding extension of the south pier became necessary, and a solid breakwater, 800 feet long, constructed of large ruble stones, was accordingly made from the south shore, in a north-east direction, so as to leave a space of about 250 feet as an entrance. The cost of the north pier and breakwater was L.81,955; but the gain of a permanent depth of five or six feet in the harbour, has been an ample compensation for the expense. By dredging the inner harbour, at a cost of

L.18,000, Mr Telford gained an additional depth of between three or four feet; so that the use of lighters has become unnecessary, and vessels of every description can get up to the quay. The other improvements of our author consisted in constructing a great extent of new wharfs; in forming a new channel for the river, constructing capstern towers and jetty, with a bulwark and embankments. These works, including a communication bridge of cast iron to the Inches, cost about L.61,000, the whole of the improvements amounting to L.160,590. To these valuable works the trustees have added a building slip, according to the patent of Mr Thomas Morton of Leith, capable of receiving the largest class of steamers for the purpose of repair; and we are glad to find that another of these slips has been recently laid down.*

Improvements of nearly a similar extent were made by Mr Telford on the harbour of Dundee, a seaport on the Tay of great commercial activity, and now possessing a population of upwards of 60,000 souls. Previous to the commencement of the present century, the excellence of the roadstead, aided by a very imperfect wharfage on the shore, enabled her enterprising citizens to carry on a considerable trade. The growing prosperity of the city, however, rendered it necessary to have a considerable addition to its harbour accommodations. The harbour dues, which in 1765 produced only L.126, amounted in 1800 to L.1300; and though the corporation had, in *ten* years previous to 1815, collected and applied, promiscuously with the town revenue, no less than L.13,817, yet they had expended only L.1193 on the harbour and wharf. The landowners, however, and the agricultural capitalists of the rich and fertile district which lies in the vicinity of Dundee, began to feel an interest in its prosperity as a seaport, and, finding it vain to rouse the corporation to a sense of their duty, they succeeded in placing the exclusive management of the harbour in the hands of public commissioners.

'The conduct of the Dundee corporation,' says Mr Telford, 'forms

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* Mr Telford has given, in his Appendix, the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Mr Morton's valuable invention, which the writer of this article had repeated opportunities of examining from its earliest stage, till it was brought to its present perfect state. No fewer than fifty-four of these patent slips have been laid down at different ports, and licenses have been granted for the construction of several others. Notwithstanding the high encomiums which the Select Committee had passed on the value of this invention, they refused to grant an extension of the patent, but recommended a small parliamentary reward, which Mr Morton received.

a striking contrast with that of Aberdeen. The management of the port was taken out of the hands of the former, because their views did not keep pace with the growing demands of commerce; whereas the latter have been exposed to obloquy and parliamentary persecution for proceeding on too extensive a scale of improvement.'

Under this more enlightened management, there was completed a floating-dock 750 feet long, and 9450 broad; having an entrance lock 170 feet long, 40 feet wide, and a graving-dock 265 feet long, 68 feet wide at top, and 40 at bottom; having 16 feet of water on the sill of the entrance lock at high water of ordinary spring tides. These works cost L.119,855; and in November 1834, there was completed, at an expense of L.12,000, a new wet-dock, called 'Earl Grey's Dock,' fitted to accommodate the splendid steam-packets which ply between Dundee and London. It is 55 feet wide, 210 feet long between the gates, with 19 feet depth of water on the sill at high water of spring tides, and 14 in ordinary neap tides.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable prediction of the corporation, the effect of these improvements on the trade of Dundee exceeded the most sanguine expectations. The annual tonnage, which in 1800 was 63,000, was in 1831 189,326, and in 1837, 286,662. In 1830, the raw material of the linen trade imported into Dundee was 18,577 tons, and in 1837 it was 34,149; while in 1831 the coals imported were 271,431 bolls, and in 1837 529,061 bolls.

The increasing communication between Ireland and London had at various times directed the attention of the public to the necessity of making extensive improvements on the roads and harbours by which this communication was effected. Previous to 1815, the sailing packets which plied between Dublin and Holyhead were often tossed for several days in a stormy sea; and, when the passengers had completed their miserable voyage, they were landed upon rugged unprotected rocks, from whence they proceeded by miserable tracts of road, composed of a succession of circuitous and craggy inequalities, for twenty-five miles, across the island of Anglesea to the Menai strait—a troublesome and dangerous tidal ferry, over which the mail and other coaches could not be passed in boisterous weather. After various ineffectual attempts to improve this untoward line, Sir Henry Parnell succeeded in having a Board of Parliamentary Commissioners appointed for this purpose; and this Board chose Mr Telford for their engineer.

We shall not detain our readers by any account of the skilful and judicious improvements which Mr Telford made upon the roads and harbours between Dublin and London, but shall pro-

ceed at once to give an account of the Menai bridge—that magnificent design, by which he surmounted the most formidable obstacle in the whole line of communication. The Menai ferry, which had been leased by Queen Elizabeth to John Williams of Plas Isa, at an annual rent of L.3 : 6 : 8, produced now a yearly revenue of L.878; and it was decided by a jury, that Lady Erskine of Cambo, to whom it had descended, should receive a compensation of L.26,954, or thirty years' purchase. Mr Telford recommended a bridge of wrought iron on the *suspension* principle, which, after much discussion, was adopted by Parliament. A Parliamentary grant of L.20,000 was obtained in 1818 in preparation for this work; but it was not till 1819, when a new Act of Parliament was passed, that the foundation stone was privately laid on the 10th of August. The work advanced with such celerity, that during 1821 from 300 to 400 men, and from five to seven vessels, were employed on it; and in the beginning of 1826 it was completed and opened to the public. The following is Mr Telford's account of this interesting event:—

'Upon my report of the state of the works, the Commissioners determined that the passage over the bridge should be opened on the 30th of January 1826. The weather about that time proved very stormy; and, previously to the opening day, Sir Henry Parnell and myself examined the entire structure, and found all necessary arrangements made. On Monday morning, at half-past one o'clock, the London mail-coach passed across the estuary, at the level of 100 feet above that tideway which heretofore had presented a decisive obstruction to travellers. The Chester mail passed at half-past three o'clock, and Sir Henry Parnell with myself drove repeatedly over; about nine o'clock, and during the whole of the day, was an uninterrupted succession of passing carriages, horsemen, and pedestrians, who had assembled to witness and enjoy the novelty; and in the evening all the workmen were regaled with a joyous festival.'

The total length of this magnificent bridge is 1710 feet, or nearly *one-third of a mile*. In its breadth there are sixteen chains, each chain being composed of 935 bars of wrought iron. The number of suspension rods affixed to each series, of four chains each, is 199, and the total number is 796. The total number of trussed bearing bars is 444, and the total weight of iron work 4,373,282 lbs., or above 2186 tons: the iron work is protected from the weather by paint, a single coat of which weighs about two tons and a half. The total expense of the bridge, including the toll-houses and half a mile of road, and the embankment on the Anglesea side, was L.120,000. The tolls, in 1827, amounted to L.1200.

The perfect security of this gigantic undertaking, and the scientific skill by which it was planned, were put to a severe test by the storms of 1838 and 1839, in which similar works were

laid prostrate. A slight disturbance of the suspension bars which carry the roadway, was the only damage which the Menai bridge sustained. Its iron ribs and sinews defied the tempest, and justified the encomium of the Poet-Laureate—

> 'Telford! who o'er the vale of Cambrian Dee,
> Aloft in air, at giddy height upborne,
> Carried his navigable road,* and hung
> High o'er Menai's straits the bending bridge;
> Structures of more ambitious enterprise
> Than minstrels, in the age of old romance,
> To their own Merlin's magic have ascribed.'

The success of this work directed the attention of other nations to the erection of similar bridges upon the suspension principle; but though some of these may be nominally of larger dimensions, yet none of them with which we are acquainted can bear any comparison with the Menai bridge—in the grandeur of its conception, in the difficulties to be overcome, in the massive lightness of the fabric, and in the elegance and perfection of the workmanship.

The longest suspension bridge in the world, is, we believe, that at Freyberg in Switzerland, which was begun in 1831, and finished in three years, in 1834. The roadway is suspended on four cables of iron wire, each containing 1056 wires; and they are capable of supporting *three times* the weight which the bridge is ever likely to bear, or three times the weight of two rows of waggons, extending entirely across it. The cables enter the ground on each side obliquely for a considerable distance, and are then carried down vertical shafts cut in the rock, and filled with masonry, through which they pass, being attached at their extremity to enormous blocks of stone. The following are its dimensions, compared with those of the Menai bridge.

	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
Menai Bridge,	580 feet.	25 feet.	130 feet.
Freyberg Do.	905 do.	28 do.	174 do.

The bridge of Freyberg was constructed under the direction of M. Chaley of Lyons, and cost 600,000 francs, or about L.25,000.

We cannot conclude this account of the Menai bridge without calling the attention of our readers to the original design of a great iron bridge, which Mr Telford proposed in 1811 to the Lords of the Treasury, as the best method of crossing this arm of the sea. Mr Telford does not mention the reason why the plan was not adopted; and we are therefore led to believe that its estimated expense, viz. L.127,331, was the only obstacle to its

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* The Pontcysylte aqueduct, already described.

adoption. The bridge was to consist of a single arch of 500 feet span; its breadth was to be 40 feet, almost double that of the present bridge, and its height 100 feet at high water spring tides. The difficulty of erecting a centering—foreseen, and dwelt upon by Mr Rennie as almost an insuperable one—Mr Telford proposed to remove by a contrivance altogether new, and exceedingly simple and ingenious; namely, by suspending the centering from above, in place of supporting it from below. This method consists in erecting on the top of the abutments, frames (we presume of iron) 50 feet high—the purpose of which is to receive strong blocks, or rollers and chains, by means of which, by the aid of windlasses or other mechanical powers, each separate piece of the centering is to be raised into, and suspended in, its proper place. Each piece of centering being about 50 feet long, 10 of them are necessary for the whole arch; so that five suspending chains, passing from a frame on each abutment, will support the whole of the centering.

Mr Telford regarded this mode of constructing centres as applicable to *stone* as well as *iron* arches; and he states that the operations which it involves are more capable of correct demonstration, than those of the former mode of supporting from below. He justly remarks, also, that if this method should be successfully practised on so large a scale at the Menai, all difficulties with regard to carrying bridges over inaccessible ravines or turbulent streams, will in future be done away, and a new era formed in bridge building. From the general introduction of suspension bridges, owing no doubt to their comparative cheapness and facility of execution, this reasonable anticipation of Mr Telford has not yet been realized; but we venture to look forward to its general introduction when arches of iron or stone shall replace, as we believe they ultimately will, the less firm and substantial fabrics of suspension bridges. Our experience of stone and iron arches has now been extensive, and they have been found to resist, with equal efficacy, the slow corrosion of time and the occasional assaults of the storm and the hurricane. They are, therefore, in their very form and elements, fixed and enduring structures, calculated, like our dwellings and our fortresses, to last for ages. United by cement as tenacious as themselves, or by bolts and bars of the same material, the voussoirs of an arch, whether of stone or of iron, are indestructible. The elements have no power either to disintegrate their mass, or to disunite their combination; and the force of gravity, the only one to which they are exposed, tends but to consolidate their strength, and press them into a state of more permanent stability. This, however, is not the character of suspension or chain bridges, or of chain piers,

and other analogous works. They have none of the attributes of stability. The whole fabric, as well as the parts which compose it, are almost constantly in motion, and whatever moves, must sooner or later wear out and decay. The continued action of gravity, which stiffens the arch, weakens the chain; and if, amid the changes of climate which we are experiencing, we shall be visited with the atmospherical convulsions of the torrid zone, we are convinced that there is not a suspension bridge in Europe that would not be blown into shreds by one of those West-India hurricanes, which whirls a piece of ordnance into the air, and tosses a ship from the ocean to the dry land. The severe injury which a violent gale has lately inflicted on the great suspension bridge at Montrose; the snapping, too, of one of its main chains, which had previously been produced by a sudden change of pressure; and even the damage done to the suspending bars and roadway of the Menai bridge, may be taken as the first instalment of that evidence, which time will continue to accumulate in support of the preceding views. Deeply impressed, then, with their justness, and convinced that the great public works to which English wealth and enterprise will speedily be devoted, will gradually acquire the attributes of stability and permanency, which have for some time been in abeyance, we are disposed to regret that Mr Telford's original design for a cast iron bridge over the Menai, had not been carried into execution. The novel principle on which it was founded might long ere this have received many new applications, and we might have been living under that new era in bridge building which he did not hesitate to anticipate.*

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* Mr Telford's principle of suspending, and laying down from above, the centering of stone and iron bridges, is, we think, a much more fertile one than even he himself supposed. With modifications, by no means considerable, and certainly practicable, it appears to us that the voussoirs or arch-stones might themselves be laid down from above, and suspended by an appropriate mechanism till the keystone was inserted. If we suppose the centering in Mr Telford's plan to be of iron, this centering itself becomes an iron bridge, each rib of which is composed of ten pieces of fifty feet each; and, by increasing the number of suspending chains, these separate pieces or voussoirs may be reduced to a convenient size and number. In the case of stone arches, several of the voussoirs having been previously joined together, either temporarily or permanently, by cement or by clamps, might be laid into their place, and kept there by a single chain till the rib was completed. The voussoirs, when united, might be suspended from a general chain across the archway, and a platform could be added to facilitate the operations.

Among the other public works designed by Mr Telford, there are several large bridges which are distinguished from similar fabrics either by novelty in the design, or by some remarkable feature which gives them a general interest. In executing the extensive improvements on the Glasgow and Carlisle road, which were intrusted to him, it became necessary to cross the Cartland Crags near Lanark, which flank a deep glen traversed by the river Mouse. The design which Mr Telford gave for a stone bridge to cross this ravine, is exceedingly grand. It consists of three arches, one of which is 150 feet span, and the other two 105 feet each; but the peculiarity of the bridge consists in the middle arch being 122 feet high, rivalling nearly the centre one of the Pontcysylte aqueduct.

A very remarkable improvement, and one distinguished both by its novelty and beauty, was made by Mr Telford on the old bridge of Glasgow. This bridge forms a communication between the city of Glasgow and an extensive and increasing suburb called Gorbals. The breadth between the parapets being only twenty-two feet, including footpaths, it became necessary, both on account of the 'precariousness' and the expense of building a new bridge, to give an additional breadth to the roadway of the old one. The method of doing this is thus described by Mr Telford.

'Having procured an accurate plan and description of its then state, I found that the piers were sound, and that their points projected considerably in advance of the parapet and face of the arches. This circumstance suggested to my mind that a wide roadway might be obtained by means of a *cast-iron* addition to it; for which purpose, upon the pier points I caused small pedestals to be constructed, projecting as much as the additional width required. Upon these pedestals was supported a cast-iron rib over each arch, on both sides of the bridge, from which ribs cast-iron bearers rested fairly upon the masonry cornice, and were covered with large flat stones, which formed footpaths, protected by strong iron railing; and thus the whole body of the masonry bridge (23 feet) was appropriated to carriage-way, and a footpath, nearly six feet wide, was appended on each side upon the attached iron-work. Thus improved, the bridge was rendered not only sufficiently commodious, but even ornamental; the external appearance having an air of originality and lightness by the projection of the iron-work, and the shadow thereby thrown upon the masonry below it.'—P. 191.

The improvements made upon the city quay of the Broomielaw, Glasgow, rendered it necessary that the Jamaica Street bridge should be rebuilt; and, after an Act of Parliament had been obtained for this purpose, Mr Telford was employed to furnish a plan and specification of the work. Owing to the sandy nature of the ground, the entire foundation of the bridge was constructed

on bearing piles, driven to an average depth of fifteen feet. Under the able management of Messrs John Gibb and Son, the contractors, the work was begun on the 18th March 1833; and the bridge was completed on the 1st December 1835, in a period no less than eighteen months within the time allowed by the contract.

This beautiful bridge consists of *seven* arches, which are segments of circles. The span of the centre arch is 58½ feet, and its rise 10 feet 9 inches; the span of each arch adjoining the centre arch is 57 feet 9 inches, and their rise 10½ feet; the span of each arch adjoining the abutment arches is 55½ feet, and their rise 9 feet 8 inches, and the span of each of the abutment arches is 52 feet, and their rise 8 feet 3 inches. The whole breadth of waterway is therefore 389 feet; but the total length of the bridge is 560 feet. The carriage-way is 34 feet wide, with a footpath of 12 feet on each side, which makes the total width of the bridge 60 feet, being wider than any river bridge in the kingdom; the new London bridge being only 56 feet. The outer part of the bridge is built of granite, which was prepared by the contractors at Aberdeen. The total expense of the bridge was L.34,428.

Another beautiful bridge, designed by Mr Telford, has been thrown over the deep bed of the Water of Leith, near Edinburgh, chiefly for the purpose of obtaining an improved entrance into the city by the great north road. This bridge has been justly described as 'remarkable on account of its situation, its magnitude, 'the style of its elevation, the peculiarities of the details of its 'construction, and the practical advantages of these peculiarities 'as found by the complete success which has attended the execu-'tion of the design.' The bridge consists of three arches, each 90 feet in span; and it is no less than 106 feet high from the bed of the river to the surface of the roadway. The breadth of the carriage-way is 23 feet, with an 8 feet footpath on each side; so that the total breadth is 39 feet, while its length is 447. The three main arches which we have mentioned support the roadway; but it is the distinguishing peculiarity of this bridge, which we believe Mr Telford has the undivided honour of inventing, that the footpaths are supported by other three arches, called wing arches; the faces of which project before the main arches and spandrels; and they spring from pilasters brought up from the foundation, and executed at the same time with the main pillars. The wing arches have a span of 96 feet, and a rise of 10 feet, and, by their bold projection of five feet, 'effectually break up 'and relieve the extensive surface of dead masonry that would 'otherwise be presented by the spandrels of the main arches.' Another interesting peculiarity in this bridge is, that the pillars which support the main arches are not built of solid masonry, a

construction attended with many advantages. There are four void spaces in the shaft of each pillar, 'that part of the masonry 'only being omitted, which, if the pillars were solid, would tend 'in the least degree to its effective stability; and consequently, 'being almost a useless mass, would do more harm than good, 'by operating as a pernicious load upon the foundations.' This bridge was begun in October 1829, and completed (with the exception of the parapets) in December 1831, at the expense of L.18,556, exclusive of making the approaches.

There are other two bridges designed by Mr Telford, which demand our notice, from their peculiarity as well as beauty. The town of Tewkesbury having been the only market town on the Severn without a bridge, the inhabitants obtained, in 1820, an Act of Parliament to remove this inconvenience. The trustees had laid the foundation of a bridge with three iron arches, but, owing to a misunderstanding with the architect, Mr Telford was consulted. He accordingly prepared a new plan, in which there was only one cast-iron arch of 170 feet span, which embraced the whole breadth of the river, and offered no obstruction to the barge navigation of the Severn. The rise of the arch is 17 feet, and the carriage-way 23 feet, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet on each side for a footway. The peculiarity of this bridge, however, is the construction of the abutment wings. The masonry is carried up solid three feet above the springing plates, and terminates in tall narrow Gothic arches, which, while they give an elegant and light appearance to the whole structure, corresponding with that of the iron-work, they afford at the same time an enlarged passage to the high river floods, which might otherwise have endangered the bridge. This bridge, begun in March 1823 and finished in April 1826, cost L.10,000; that of the iron-work being L.4000.

In 1825, Mr Telford was requested by the Magistrates of Gloucester to furnish a design for a bridge of one arch over the Severn. Mr Telford was disposed to recommend an iron arch of 170 feet, similar to that of Tewkesbury; but the Magistrates preferred a design for a stone arch of 150 feet span, which he had also prepared under their direction; and this gave him an opportunity of evincing the numerous resources of his art. Our architectural readers are doubtless acquainted with the magnificent bridge of Neuilly, which was built on the Seine by the celebrated French architect, M. Perronet. This bridge consists of five arches, each 128 English feet span, with a rise of 33 feet, and a breadth of 48 feet; but its striking peculiarity consists in the ingenious idea of giving the river a freer passage through the openings, by giving the openings, so far as possible, the shape of the *vena contracta*, as it is formed at the entrance and exit of pipes. The flat surface opposed to the current of the river is thus lessened,

whenever the tide or upland flood rises above the springing of the middle of the ellipse. This idea is accomplished by making the general form of the body of the arch, or the middle rib, *elliptical*, with a rise of 32 English feet; while the voussoirs or external arch-stones, being in the form of the segment of a circle, have the same chord as the elliptical rib, with only 13 feet of rise. Hence the inside surface of the arch, in place of being part of a cylinder, is convex; the convexity being nothing below the keystone, but increasing gradually towards the springing of the external arch. The effect of this happy idea, independent of its hydraulic importance, is to give great beauty and lightness to the structure. Baron Prony* thus notices this remarkable work of his predecessor.

'Le pont sur Nogent sur Seine, commencé en 1766 fut decintré en 1769; et, avant cette derniere epoque, Perronet avait terminé le travail preparatoire pour l'elevation du monument hydraulique qui lui a valu son titre de gloire le plus generalement connu, *le pont de Neuilly* commencé en 1768, et achevé en 1774. Ce n'est pas au sein de la capital qu'il est necessaire d'entrer dans des details descriptifs sur ce pont, consideré quant à ses formes exterieures; sa composition architectonique prouve que la severité des convenances soit ressortir plutôt qu'elle ne gene un gout sur, un tact fin et delicat; la sagesse de son ordonnance, le pureté de ses proportions, n'ont point encore été surpassées, nous oserions presque dire egalées; et par une reunion des proprietés qui semblent n'appartenir qu'à lui seul, ce monument, en même temps qu'il fait eprouver au spectateur un sentiment d'admiration, inspiré par la beauté de ce qui parait au grand jour, lui laisse apercevoir, dans l'ombre, les garanties assurées de la stabilité.'

The bridge of Neuilly was scarcely finished before another, remarkable by its novelty of form as well as by its boldness, was undertaken over the river Oise at St Maxence, from the designs of Perronet; and though this bridge deserves to be noticed on account of its own merits, yet we are induced to speak of it more fully on account of the singular incident which took place during its erection, and the still more singular accident which afterwards befell it. The arches of this bridge have not the oval curvature of the middle rib (or primitive centre, as Baron Prony calls it) of the arches of the Neuilly bridge: They have the profile of arcs of a circle, with such a proportion between the chord and the curved line, as to give to the whole fabric an agreeable aspect of lightness and elegance, and at the same time fulfil all the important conditions relative to the transmission of the current, and the navigation of the river.

The peculiarity, however, of this bridge, and the one which at

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* *Notice Historique sur Jean Rodolphe Perronet*, read to the National Institute in 1829.

present interests us, is that the piers, in place of being constructed of solid masonry, present a system of grouped columns, each pillar being composed of two of these groups, which leaves between them an opening, or a species of portico; so that one can sail in a boat under the bridge in the direction of its length, passing through the middle of each pier. This architectural arrangement, as Baron Prony remarks, produces an imposing effect on a spectator, who, standing on the margin of the river, looks obliquely beneath the bridge; but the peculiarities of execution which were thus rendered necessary, gave rise to a remarkable event, of which the Baron has given an account in his life of Perronet. M. Demoustier, an excellent practical engineer, who had been employed under Perronet at the bridges of Saumur and Neuilly, completed the part of the bridge of St Maxence above the foundations. Having taken alarm at the complication of the details of construction in this last bridge, and believing that it was not compatible with solidity and durability, he resolved to unite with iron cramps all the stones which composed each course of the voussoirs; by which means the stones resisted separation, as if they had formed one single mass occupying the whole width of the bridge. All this was done by Demoustier without the knowledge of Perronet, who assuredly would not have permitted it; but neither the one nor the other could have foreseen that a precaution so useless under ordinary circumstances, should actually have saved the bridge in circumstances which nobody could have anticipated. In consequence of the military events of 1815, the French generals resolved to blow up the bridge of St Maxence. The usual arrangements were made, and the explosion took place; but the parts of the masonry could only be separated after the rupture of the iron clamps which kept them together; and this rupture must have been preceded by a certain degree of elongation of the clamps themselves. Hence it resulted from these circumstances, combined with the respective durations of the elongation and of the action of the expansive force, that one side of the bridge, which was capable of a little more resistance than the other side, performed the part of the breech of a gun, and the rest of the mass was thrown off like projectiles. There remained then on the summit of the vault, on the side of the resisting part, but a single voussoir forming the keystone, ready to escape out of the plane of the two sides, but fortunately so entangled among the lateral fragments of the arch as to keep them in their place. They were thus able to erect the centering under the suspended debris, and to re-establish in its original state this bridge, which would have fallen wholly to pieces if any one of its arches had been completely destroyed. The Royal School of Roads and Bridges,

has preserved in its gallery a model in relief of this bridge in the state in which it was found immediately after the explosion.

Owing to the magnitude of the upland floods in the Severn, Mr Telford resolved to employ the idea of Perronet in the new bridge at Gloucester, the first time that it had been done in England.

'By referring to the plate,' says Mr Telford, 'it will be seen that this is accomplished by making the general body of the arch an ellipse, 150 feet on the chord line, and 35 feet rise, while the voussoirs, or external archstones, being in form of a segment, have the same chord, with only 13 feet rise. This complex form converts each side of the vault of the arch into the shape of the entrance of a pipe, to suit the contracted passage of a fluid, thus lessening the flat surface opposed to the current of the river, whenever the tide or upland flood rises above the springing of the middle of the ellipse, that being at four feet above low water, whereas the flood of 1770 rose 20 feet above low water of an ordinary spring tide; which, when there is no upland flood, rises eight or nine feet.'—Pp. 261, 262.

Upon removing the centering from this arch, so that the whole of its weight pressed against its abutments, its crown sank two inches; and subsequently, in consequence of the recession of the eastern wing-walls, it sunk eight inches more, or ten altogether. The arches of the Neuilly bridge sank thirteen inches when the centering was removed; and ten and a half inches afterwards, or twenty-three in all. That the subsequent depression of the crown of the Gloucester arch, was owing to the injudicious parsimony of omitting the piling and platforms of the eastern wing-walls, Mr Telford has placed beyond a doubt. He, with great candour, mentions this fact as a useful caution to practical engineers; and takes blame to himself for having suffered such a mistake to have been committed; being convinced that the sinking of the arch would not otherwise have exceeded three inches. The expense of this beautiful bridge and its approaches was L.43,500.

One of the last labours of Mr Telford was to form a regular plan for a ship canal between the great estuary of the Severn, called the Bristol Channel, and the part of the English Channel which washes the southern shores of Cornwall, Devon, and part of Somerset—a tract nearly 150 miles in length. The tediousness as well as the danger of a passage round the Land's End, had given rise to many attempts to effect so desirable an object; but it was not till 1824, that a company was formed to provide a canal for vessels of 200 tons. The total distance between the two shores at Bridgewater was only 44 miles 5 furlongs, and the height of the summit level 231 feet; the locks were to be 125 feet long, and 30 wide; and the canal

95 feet wide at low water, and 15 feet deep. An Act of Parliament was obtained for this canal in 1825; but this enterprise, as well as many others, was arrested by the depression which followed the wild spirit of speculation by which that year was distinguished.

In his simple and modest narrative, Mr Telford has not made any reference to the institution of Civil Engineers; a most important association, of which, if he was not the founder, he was the ardent promoter and liberal benefactor. In the year 1818, a number of young men who had been professionally educated under Mr Telford, several able mechanicians, and other friends of practical science, formed themselves into a society for promoting the knowledge of their professions. In 1820, they invited Mr Telford to be the president of the institution; and, having accepted of the office, he not only gave the society the most regular attendance, but obtained a charter for it, and enriched the library with many important works, and with a mass of professional documents of the most valuable character.

When Mr Telford was engaged in the improvement of Dover Harbour, which he had been requested to undertake by the Duke of Wellington, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, he was seized with the illness which finally carried him off. Though a man of robust frame, he was, after his return from Sweden, attacked with a pulmonary affection which alarmed his friends. After some time, however, he recovered his usual strength, and he retained his wonted health till 1827; when he was afflicted at Cambridge with a severe and painful disorder, which left him without his usual energy, and subject to biliary derangements of a dangerous character. These unfavourable symptoms recurred in the spring and autumn of 1832 and 1833, and also in the spring of 1834; but his constitution was no longer able to withstand them, and when a fresh attack commenced on the 23d August of the same year, he sank under its severity, and expired on the 2d September 1835, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Although Mr Telford had intended that the parish church of St Margaret, Westminster, should be his final resting-place, yet the Institution of Civil Engineers urged upon his executors the propriety of interring him in Westminster Abbey. This last act of duty to the memory of their friend, whose services to his country well merited so appropriate a tribute, was cheerfully paid; and his funeral was attended by his friend Sir Henry Parnell, and by Mr Walker, his successor in the presidency of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

Mr Telford bequeathed the moderate fortune which he had accumulated, chiefly to those with whom he had been most inti-

mately connected through life; and L.4000 for public purposes. Of this, L.2000 was left for premiums to be expended under the direction of the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers; the interest of L.1000 for a parish library in Westerkirk; and a similar sum for the same purpose in the parish of Langholm.

It is not easy to convey to those who did not know him, a correct idea of Mr Telford's social and moral character. His friend Mr Rickman, has, in his brief appendix to the narrative, entered into some details on this subject, without intending to exhaust it. The leading features were integrity and sincerity—virtues which were accompanied, as they generally are, with an apparent sternness and severity of manner, resulting no doubt from that part of his professional duty, which often forced him to interfere summarily when the selfish views of corporations or of individuals were arrayed against the public interest. To those who knew him well, however, this peculiarity was either not seen at all, or was eclipsed in the genuine benevolence and kindness of his nature; in the hilarity of his jocund and happy temper; and in acts of true and considerate benevolence. In his intellectual character there was much to admire. He had greatly improved his mind by extensive reading, and acquired an amount of knowledge seldom possessed by the most eminent of his profession. He never pretended to acquirements which he did not possess, and he loved to detect the greatest of all impostors—the pretenders to knowledge. It is impossible to study Mr Telford's magnificent undertakings, or to peruse the account which he has left of them, without being struck with the great mental sagacity under the guidance of which they were planned and executed. It is difficult to analyse that peculiar faculty of mind which directs a successful engineer who is not guided by the deductions of the exact sciences; but it must consist mainly in the power of observing the effects of natural causes acting in a variety of circumstances; and in the judicious application of this knowledge to cases where the same causes come into operation. But while this sagacity is a prominent feature in the designs of Mr Telford, it appears no less distinctly in the choice of the men by whom they were to be practically executed. His quick perception of character, his honesty of purpose, and his contempt of all other acquirements, save that practical knowledge and experience which was best fitted to accomplish, in the best manner, the object he had in view—have enabled him to leave behind him works of inestimable value, and monuments of professional celebrity which have not been surpassed either in Britain or in Europe. Were our public institutions thus directed, and the public service thus

advanced; were the hands that raise our monuments of legislation as wisely selected as those that rear our fabrics of iron and stone—the social edifice would stand forth in its just and harmonious proportions;—and discontent, and misery, and vice, the necessary fruits of misgovernment, would speedily disappear.

The great services of Mr Telford have been appreciated by the public—but by the public alone. He received the honour of knighthood from the King of Sweden;—but no mark of distinction from the King of England—no memorial from a country whose scientific eminence he illustrated, and whose commercial power he enlarged!

We cannot close this account of Mr Telford's life and labours, without adverting to the singular advance which has recently been made in several departments of civil engineering. The steam navigation of the Atlantic in twelve days, in opposition to the predictions of some of our ablest engineers; and the rapid extension of railway communication through every part of England—are two of the most striking instances of the triumph of the scientific arts, and of the blessings which these arts confer upon the community. London and Edinburgh will speedily be brought within less than a day of each other. The luxuries and benefits which characterise each spot of the island, will be concentrated within the reach of all; and, in this abridgement of space and time, the whole habits of our social being will suffer a corresponding change. The mutual affections and mutual interests of individuals, as well as of communities, will be brought within the sphere of their mutual actions. New occupations will be held out to the industrious; new and better pursuits to the idle; and fresh objects of sympathy to the benevolent. We shall thus see more of our own country, and know more of our fellow-citizens—of their opinions, their feelings, their sufferings, and their aspirations; and, in thus becoming better acquainted with the lot of others, we shall learn to be better content with our own. If famine should light upon any corner of the land, the commissariat of more fortunate districts will speedily arrive with abundance. If pestilence should waste it, the genius of humanity will be quickly summoned to its relief. If insurrection should alarm it, the arm of justice and of law will soon be at the rescue. The concentration of space and time, in short, will add to the security, the wealth, and the grandeur of the nation.

ART. II.—1. *A Brief History of Church Rates.* By the Rev. WILLIAM GOODE, Rector of St Antholin. London: 8vo. 1838.

2. *A Reply to the Article on Church Rates in the Edinburgh Review, No.* 124. By the Same. 8vo. 1838.

OF these two performances, the first is in substance, and the second in form, a reply to an article we published some time ago on Church Rates. It is true, there is no mention of our article in the 'Brief History;' but there are several pages of it devoted to an examination of the authorities we had used, none of which are omitted; though many of them had not been noticed by those who had preceded us in the controversy.

It is but justice to Mr Goode to acknowledge, that in his 'History of Church Rates,' he maintains the side he has espoused with better temper, and with more skill and discretion, than had been done by his predecessors. If, in his Reply to us, he has departed from the urbanity he had preserved in his historical essay, we regret his intemperance; and, profiting by the lesson he has given us, we shall carefully abstain from following his example. 'Idle 'rodomontade, the produce either of party prejudice or of want 'of information, in the highest degree reprehensible'—'tam-'pering with every important authority we had adduced'—'ig-'norance of the real nature and bearing of these authorities'—'slippery translations and loose paraphrases, which give to false 'conclusions an air of truth, and deceive readers who will not 'care to search after the ponderous volumes from which they 'are derived'—assertions 'contrary to common sense'—are some of the mild phrases and courteous expressions he has applied to us. We are sorry theological bitterness should have led him to forget the decencies of literary discussion. He may be assured that a good cause does not suffer from the modesty and moderation of its defenders, and that zeal and good manners are not incompatible. But, without adverting further to his petulance and presumption, we shall proceed to his arguments.

It is admitted on both sides that church rates, for the reparation of churches and the expenses of religious worship, have been levied in England since the thirteenth century; through assessments imposed on the parish by the parishioners assembled in vestry. The question in dispute is, at what time was this practice introduced? We have contended that there is no proof of its existence before the thirteenth century; and that in the course of that century it was completely established as it now exists. Mr Goode, in support of his opinion, that early in the thirteenth century

it was already an established and acknowledged custom, cites the authority of John de Athon, or, as he chooses to call him, John of Acton, who wrote Commentaries on the Constitutions of Otho—a papal legate that held a national council at London in 1237—and on those of Ottobon, another legate who held a similar council in 1268. John de Athon unquestionably tells us (and we were quite aware of the fact), that though the canon law imposed on the rector the reparation of his church, and exempted the laity from that burden, the laity in England were nevertheless bound by custom to keep their parish church in repair, and ought to be compelled to the performance of that duty. The question is, at what time did John de Athon write his Commentary? If it was early in the thirteenth century, it would be a proof that we were in the wrong; and that the custom he commemorates, had been established before the time we had assigned for its first introduction. But if he wrote, as we contend he did, in the middle of the fourteenth century, his testimony is of no weight in the present controversy; because it is admitted on both sides, that in the fourteenth century, the system or abuse of church rates was completely established.

Mr Goode tells us that John de Athon was contemporary with the legatine constitutions on which he comments—that he was one of Otho's chaplains in 1237; and for this piece of history he refers us to Duck as his authority, 'who asserts,' as Mr Goode assures us, 'from Matth. Paris, that the commentator upon the 'Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Ottobon was one of Otho's 'chaplains, who is mentioned by Matth. Paris as having spoken 'at the national council held at St Paul's in 1237.' *

Duck's volume is not very ponderous; but, duodecimo as it is, we suspect Mr Goode has never looked into it. If he had done so, he would have found there is no such passage in Duck, who was too well informed to have fallen into so gross an error. Mr Goode seems to have borrowed his knowledge of Duck from the Oxford edition of John de Athon's Commentaries; to which the editor has prefixed a short character of John de Athon from Duck —inserting an interpolation of his own, which Mr Goode has unwarily copied. The words within brackets ['quem Matthæus 'Parisiensis nominat Othonis clericum'] are not in Duck.

Matthew Paris, the innocent author of this mistake, informs us, that doubts having arisen whether constitutions made by the Papal legate would have force in England after his departure from the kingdom, and these doubts having been communicated to the legate, 'jussu ejusdem surrexit in medio quidam, clericus

* History, 41, 48.

'suus, magister scilicet Attho, et aperto libro authentico, scilicet 'registro Domini Papæ, ad majorem auctoritatem, ut validius 'talium opinionum improbaret, quandam decretalem legit distincte 'et aperte, quam Dominus Legatus distinguens approbavit, per 'illam asserens manifeste, quod etiam post recessum ejus sua statuta 'perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtinerent.'* The improbability that Magister Attho (a common Italian name, and borne by some of the first canonists of the age), who had most probably accompanied the legate from Rome, and to whose custody the authentic register of the Pope had been intrusted, could have been the same person with John de Athon, a canon, as he calls himself, of Lincoln, or prebendary of that cathedral as he is termed by others, might have deterred, we think, both the Oxford editor and Mr Goode from confounding personages so dissimilar. It might have further occurred to them as highly improbable, that one who had attained the rank of magister in 1237, should not only survive to the time of Ottobon, who came to England in 1268, but have strength and elasticity of mind afterwards to compose a learned and laboured commentary on the constitutions of the two legates. If such reflections had occurred to Mr Goode, he would probably have read, what he evidently has not done, the Commentary on which he rests so much. He would there have seen that John de Athon, in the course of his work, refers more than a dozen times to the 'Extravagantes' of John 22d, who became Pope in 1316, and died in 1334; and whose 'Extravagantes' were not collected and published till 1340—more than a hundred years after the supposed selection of the commentator by the legate Otho, to read a decretal epistle of the Pope to the English clergy.

John de Athon styles himself Canonicus Lincolniensis, and Bishop Nicolson calls him a prebendary of that cathedral. We have looked into the catalogue of prebendaries of Lincoln, published by Browne Willis, and find in it no such name as John de Athon; but in 1343 we meet with a John de Eaton in the list of prebendaries. The time agrees; and we should not be surprised to find, on more careful search, that John de Eaton was the same person with John de Athon.

At all events, we are sure, from the works referred to by John de Athon in his Commentary, that he flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century; and consequently that his testimony of the existence of a particular custom in England, is no proof that that custom was not introduced in the course of the thirteenth century. More need not be said of the most plausible of the additional

* Matth. Paris, 448—Ed. of 1640.

proofs which Mr Goode has brought forward in support of the antiquity of church rates.

This is not the only chronological error into which Mr Goode's haste and carelessness have betrayed him. Desirous to prove that, before this writ of 'Circumspecte agatis,' the ecclesiastical courts had exclusive jurisdiction in pleas concerning the reparation of churches, he tells us, and repeats it with triumph,* that the law treatise called 'Britton,' which declares that Holy Church has conusance 'de defaut de esglises,' was the work of John le Breton, bishop of Hereford, who died in the third year of Edward I.; and must consequently have been written ten years at least before the promulgation of that writ. For this mistake he has the excuse to offer that he found it so asserted in the 'Flores His-'toriarum.' But if he had given himself the trouble to make the slightest enquiry into the subject before he adopted this assertion—if he had looked into Selden's notes on Hengham or Fleta—if he had even cast his eyes over the leaves of the treatise on which he descants so learnedly—he would have found in 'Britton' references to many statutes passed after the death of the Bishop of Hereford; and among others to the statute of Westminster 2d, which was not enacted till ten years afterwards. How this mistake could have crept into the 'Flores Historiarum,' we can give no better reason than the one suggested by Selden:—'A sciolo 'aliquo temere ingestum,' says that learned author, 'dubitare 'nequeo.' It is needless to add, that if 'Britton' was written after the writ of 'Circumspecte agatis,' the enumeration given in this treatise of the pleas of the Church, is no proof that the exclusive jurisdiction given to the ecclesiastical courts over the reparation of churches was not derived from that writ.

It seems never to have occurred to Mr Goode, that if the treatise called 'Britton'—if 'King Edward's Book of Laws,' which declared that Holy Church 'should retain her privileges unble-'mished,' viz. that she should 'have cognisance of judging of the 'repairs of churchyards and defects of churches,'—had been promulgated 'between 1270 and 1275,'† the courts of common law could not have issued those prohibitions, of which the clergy complain in 1285, and *falsely* attribute to some edict then recently published; nor would the writ of 'Circumspecte agatis,' which secured to them those privileges, have been wanted.

Mr Good complains of the *animus* with which our observations were written; and, as a proof of the unfriendly spirit in which they were dictated, he quotes our expression, that in preferring

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* History, 46.—Reply, 20, 22. † Reply, 20.

the interests of religion to the payment of tithes, Alcuin showed himself an unclerical member of his profession. It has escaped Mr Goode, that we had the instant before extracted a passage from Sarpi, which describes the clergy in the days of Alcuin as persons that neglected to inculcate religion in their sermons, and represented the payment of tithes as the chief duty of a Christian. Contrasted with such clergymen, Mr Goode will not deny that Alcuin was an unclerical member of his profession.

Mr Goode cannot but admit, that by the decretal epistles of Pope Gelasius, and by other canonical authorities of the early Church, ecclesiastical revenues were to be divided into four parts, and one of these to be appropriated to the repair of the church. But, finding in *one* of the decretal epistles that the division was to be made 'prout cujuslibet ecclesiæ facultas admittit,' he endeavours, by a new translation of the word *prout*, which he renders *as far as*, to convert this absolute into a conditional command, which left to 'the authorities of each church to determine 'whether such a division could be made; and if made, to what 'extent, and in what proportion.'* Now, in the first place, we protest against this translation of the word *prout*, which has no restrictive meaning; but should be rendered *even as*, or, as Mr Goode himself translates it in another place, *according as*. On this point we refer our readers to Facciolati or Ainsworth, or, if Mr Goode likes it better, to the Vulgate;† or to the Mediæval Latinity of Bishop Quivil, who concludes his partition of burdens between the rector and his flock by assigning little more than nothing to the former—'Prout in nostra diœcesi huc 'usque fieri consuevit.'‡ In the second place, why has Mr Goode, in quoting from the epistle decretal of Gelasius, stopped short in the midst of a sentence, precisely at the point where it began to make against his argument? That we may not be suspected of injustice to Mr Goode, we shall give the entire passage, printing the part omitted by him in italics. 'De quibus 'sicut sacerdotis intererit integram ministris ecclesiæ memora-'tam dispendere quantitatem, sic *clericus ultra delegatam sibi* '*summam nihil insolenter noverit repetendam.*' Why, we also ask, has he omitted the sentence immediately following?—'Ea vero 'quæ ecclesiasticis restaurandis ædificiis attributa sunt, huic 'operi prærogata locorum doceat instauratio sanctorum mani-'festa, quia nefas est, si (sacris ædibus destitutis) in lucrum

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* History, 20, 21, 55.—Reply, 6, 13.
† Epist. 2da ad Corinthios, c. ix. v. 7.
‡ Wilkins' Concil. ii. 189.

'suum præsul impendia his sacris ædibus deputata convertat.'* We marvel at these omissions, and leave Mr Goode to account for them as he can. By the first of these passages it appears, that while the ministers of religion were secured in the entire allowance set apart for them, no clerk was to have the presumption to demand more than his share; and by the second, the bishop, who was at that time receiver-general of the ecclesiastical income of his diocess, was enjoined to make manifest, by the visible appearance of the sacred edifices committed to his care, that the funds dedicated for their use were expended in repairing them, and not converted to his private lucre. In the third place, we must put another question to Mr Goode, and ask him how it happens, that, professing to give his readers an account of the ancient quadripartite division, he refers to only *one* of the decretal epistles to be found in Gratian? There are *five* on the subject in that collection, and all of them placed in juxtaposition, so that none of them could have escaped his notice. The *first* is addressed to the senate and people of Brundusium; in which the same Pope Gelasius communicates the instructions he has given to Julian, their newly appointed bishop, viz. to divide into four parts the rents of the church and oblations of the faithful —to retain one part for himself—to distribute another among his clergy—to expend the third part on the sacred edifices—to bestow the fourth part on the poor and the stranger, and never forget that he must render an account to God of his stewardship. The *second* is the epistle selected by Mr Goode. The *third* is from Pope Simplicius to two bishops, Florentius and Equitius, containing similar instructions, and directing them to compel a certain bishop, called Gaudentius, to refund; who seems to have anticipated Mr Goode's translation of *prout*, and kept to himself, for three years, the whole rents and oblations of his bishoprick. The *fourth* is from Gregory the Great to a bishop of Syracuse, informing him that augmentations accruing to the church were subject to the same rules as its original revenue. The *fifth* is the well-known letter of the same Gregory to Austin, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons.

To these extracts from Gratian we might add numerous citations from the acts of councils, the constitutions of princes, and the writings of bishops; but of what avail, it will be said—what have the epistles of popes, the acts of foreign councils, the ordinances of foreign princes, or the practice of foreign bishops, to do with the English Church? They constitute, it is true, the basis

* Gratian, Decret. 2da pars, Canon xii. Quæst. ii. 'Quatuor autem,' &c.

of the canon law; but 'the canon law was never enforced in 'England *as a whole;* the papal canon law had not here the force 'of law, unless it was specifically recognised and laid down as 'obligatory by the proper authorities of the country.'* We know and were aware of all this; but what is material, and the only thing material in the present argument, all that part of the canon law which existed in the time of the Conqueror, and which included all we have quoted from Gratian on the reparation of churches, was adopted by that prince, and declared to be the ecclesiastical law of England. 'Quicunque secundum Episco-'pales leges de *quacunque causa vel culpa* interpellatus fuerit, ad 'locum, quem ad hoc elegerit Episcopus vel nominaverit, veniat, 'ibique de causa sua respondeat, et non secundum Hundret, sed 'secundum *canones et episcopales leges* rectum Deo et Episcopo suo 'faciat.'

It will hardly be said that the laws contained in Gratian's collection could not have been in the contemplation of the Conqueror when he established the canon law in England; because Gratian's collection was not made till many years after the death of that prince. But, if such a cavil should be started, the answer to it is obvious. Though the compilation of Gratian was not then in existence, the laws he collected were in force. Gratian was no lawgiver. He was a mere compiler of laws previously existing, and no more gave authority to the laws he collected, than Sergeant Runnington gave authority to the statutes at large. The decretals and canons which enjoined the reparation of churches out of the revenue of the church, derived their authority from those who made them; and not from Dionysius, Reginon, and Burchard, who had attempted similar collections before the Conqueror's time.

It is unnecessary, however, to call to our aid the general canon law of Europe; though, as we have seen, all that part of it which relates to the present subject was adopted and established as the ecclesiastical law of England by the Conqueror. The constitution of Ethelred, which Mr Goode has the discretion not to contest—though, from misapprehension of the legal import of the Saxon word *riht*, he differs from, and attempts to correct our translation of the passage—this constitution, we repeat, declares that the tithes of every church shall be divided into three parts, and one of these parts applied to the reparation of the church. Be it so, replies Mr Goode; but a direction to divide tithes into three parts, does not imply that the parts must

* History, 8, 10, 19.

be equal; and if it be admitted that the parts might have been unequal, then is the law complied with at the present day. The rector employs one part of his tithe on the chancel and glebe-house; another part he gives in charity to the poor; and the third and largest portion he keeps to himself.* We do not give these as the words of Mr Goode; but they contain, as it seems to us, the drift and substance of his argument. We shall not assail him with the Council of Braga—which provides, 'Ut de rebus eccle-'siasticis tres *æquæ* fiant portiones, id est, una Episcopi, alia 'clericorum, tertia in reparatione vel luminariis ecclesiæ'†—nor with the Council of Merida,‡ which enjoins that the money offered by the faithful should be carefully collected and preserved till it could be laid before the bishop, 'qualiter exinde tres partes fiant '*æquales*'—but put a case to him, which we trust will disentangle his mind from such wretched sophistry. We shall suppose that some rich and charitable parishioner of St Antholin directs his executors to pay L.1000 to the rector, to be by him divided into three parts, one for himself, one for the ornaments of his church, and one for the poor of his parish—would the rector, to whom the division was intrusted, be entitled to say—three parts and three equal parts are different things; I shall keep L.999 to myself, and give ten shillings to the church, and ten shillings to the poor?

It is in vain to allege that, according to Sarpi, the quadripartite division in the early church was not arithmetically equal. In the times of which Sarpi speaks, a large portion of ecclesiastical revenue was derived from the oblations of the faithful, which the laity could at any time withhold if they saw them abused. That they were, even in those primitive times, not unfrequently misapplied, we learn from the same authority. It was the rapacity of the bishops which drove the inferior clergy to cry up tithe-paying as the summit of Christian perfection; and it was the perversion of the revenues of the church by its pastors to their own vanity and sensuality, that diverted the legacies and oblations of the pious from the clergy to the monks.

Nor is it correct to say, with Mr Goode, that when Ælfric pronounced it to be an ordinance of the holy fathers that tithes are to be divided into three parts—one for the reparation of the church, one for the poor, and one for the servants of the altar—he stated it merely as a dry matter of fact, 'without laying it 'down as a command.'§ In his haste, Mr Goode has overlooked

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* Reply, 8.
† Conc. Bracar., 1m. § 25, in 563.
‡ Conc. Emerit., c. 14, in 666.
§ History, 18, 19.

the preamble prefixed by Ælfric to his charge. Addressing himself to Bishop Wulfsine, for whom the charge was written, he adjures that prelate to a fearless and uncompromising discharge of his duty. 'Libera animam tuam,' he exclaims; 'et 'dic eis' (*i. e.* 'clericis vestris,) *quæ tenenda sunt sacerdotibus* '*et ministris Christi, ne tu pereas pariter si mutus habearis* '*canis.*' * It is pretty plain from this passage, that it was a command, and not a mere piece of antiquarian knowledge, which Wulfsine was to communicate to his clergy; and it might further be surmised, that the command was neither acceptable to the clergy, nor was Wulfsine much inclined to issue it.

The constitution of Ethelred having declared it to be the law of England that one-third of the tithe should go to the repair of the church; and the general canon law of Europe, which divided the whole revenue of the church into four parts, and directed that one of these parts should be expended in the reparation of churches, having been introduced into England by the Conqueror, and adopted as the ecclesiastical law of the land;—is it credible, we ask, that the clergy should have attempted at once, and succeeded from the first, in throwing the reparation of churches on the laity? Let us suppose a layman cited under the law of the Conqueror before the bishop's court, and threatened with excommunication if he did not contribute his quota to the repair of his parish church, which was falling to ruin, would he not have answered—the same law that brings me here, compels you to judge my cause by the canons of the Church; but I find in those canons that it is the rector, and not his parishioner, who is bound to keep the church in repair; and that it is not till the means placed in his hands have been exhausted, that I can be called upon to assist? We know not what answer the bishop could have made to such an expostulation; but, in the paucity of direct information on the subject, we do know that, in one instance referred to in our former article, a parish church, which had been unroofed and deserted for fifteen years, was repaired and restored to use by the monks, who were appropriators of the church. It is an error in Mr Goode to suppose that this church was held by the monks on a different footing from other appropriated churches; or to imply that, in consequence of its appropriation, it had ceased to be a parish church.† It is a vicarage at this day, and has never ceased to be a parochial church. The monks were the appropriators, and nothing else; and as appropriators, they were bound to do no more than the rector would have been bound to perform if the church had not been appropriated.

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* Wilkins' Leges, 153. † Reply, 10.

To wade through the pages of the Monasticon—to turn over the numberless volumes of County History, in the hope of lighting on some evidence to show at whose expense parish churches were repaired, from the Conquest to the time of Henry III.—is a greater labour than we can undertake; and therefore, in despite of the criticisms of Mr Goode, we must revert to the ordinance of Archbishop Hubert, which seems to us clearly to indicate, that whatever might be the practice in particular places, those who enjoyed the revenues of the church were considered in law to be the persons bound to keep it in repair. The order is explicit, that rectors and vicars, according to their several incomes from the church, shall, as reason dictates and approved custom requires, take care that churches are repaired which stand in need of reparation; and if orders to that effect are not given within a twelvemonth, 'decernimus ut ante elapsum terminum *de eccle-* '*siarum redditibus* dispositio nostra plenum sortiatur effectum.' Mr Goode contends, that by *ecclesia* in such passages, we are to understand the chancel only.* Lindwood shall tell him the contrary: 'Quod dicit ecclesiæ comprehendit ecclesiam integram, 'videlicet navem cum cancello.'† We have been abused with many insinuations against our fairness and candour, for not having translated in our former article the words 'prout ratio dictitat et 'consuetudo approbata postulat;' and an attempt has been made, as in the case of the epistle decretal of Gelasius, to affix to the word *prout* a meaning which it does not bear. As we understood, and still understand these words, they are merely declaratory of the reasonableness and propriety of the order that follows. We omitted them, as in quoting the enactments of a statute we should have omitted the preamble, *whereas it is expedient* that so and so should be done.

An ordinance very similar to that of Archbishop Hubert is to be found in the Constitutiones Synodales,‡ which are of uncertain date, but referred by Wilkins, though on very slight grounds, to 1237. We are inclined to think they are more ancient; and probably anterior to the council held at Oxford in 1222 by Archbishop Langton. By these synodal constitutions, the Archdeacon and his officials are directed to have inventories made of the vessels, vestments, books, and other things pertaining to public worship—to have regard also, 'ad ecclesiæ fabricam et maxime 'cancelli'—to see that they are not in want of covering, and that the houses connected with the church have not been pulled down, or suffered to go to ruin. If he or those he employs find any defects in these things, they are to fix a term within which such

* Reply, 13. † Provinciale, 53. ‡ Wilkins' Conc. i. 662.

defects are to be remedied; 'et si interim decesserit rector eccle-'siæ, *de bonis ejus ecclesiasticis* tanta portio rationabiliter, juxta 'ecclesiæ facultates, deducatur, quæ ad prædictos defectus com-'plendos sufficiat;'—that is, as we interpret the ordinance, a sum not exceeding a certain proportion of the whole income of the church may be taken from the effects derived by the deceased rector from the church, to make good the deficiencies which his negligence had occasioned. The whole of this ordinance is to be found in Archbishop Langton's statutes,* with the omission of the clause we have printed in Latin; an omission we are inclined to attribute to the progress of ecclesiastical usurpation in the intervening period.

Much stress has been laid on the statements given by William Archbishop of York, in 1153, of the dilapidations due from deceased rectors, 'in ornamentis cancellis et domibus;' from which it is inferred, that though the word *ecclesia* had been used in the preceding paragraph—which authorized the rector to cut down trees growing in his churchyard, 'in ecclesiæ suæ reparationem'—nothing more was meant by ecclesia than the chancel.† But as the word *ecclesia* includes both nave and chancel, and as there is no separate mention in this constitution of the nave, or of the persons by whom it was to be repaired, it seems to us more probable, that by *cancellis* following immediately after *ornamentis* in the subsequent section, was meant the lattice-work which separated the choir from the body of the church, and the clergy from the body of the people.

We have a few words to add on the enactments regarding the uses to which trees growing in churchyards might be applied. By the decree of William Archbishop of York, in 1153, the rector was forbid to cut them down, 'nisi in ecclesiæ suæ re-'parationem et ædificationem mansi proprii ad ecclesiam perti-'nentis.' In 1287 another enactment was made, which prohibited the rector from employing them for any other use than the repair of the chancel; unless from charity, in consideration of the poverty of his parishioners, he should allow them to be used for the reparation of the nave. The third enactment of 1312, which is referred to by Mr Goode as a repetition of the first,‡ is so far

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* Wilkins' Conc. i. 596.

† We are reproached with having 'cut this constitution into two parts, and quoted the parts unfairly as separate canons.' The charge has been hastily and unjustly made. We had occasion to quote the canon twice for two separate purposes, but each time we referred our readers to the same page in Wilkins.

‡ Reply, 12.

analogous to it, that it repeats the words 'in ecclesiæ suæ repa-'rationem;' but in its most material part it is of a totally different character. Instead of being a permission to the rector to employ these trees for his church and parsonage, it is a prohibition against laymen who should attempt to prevent him from using them for these purposes.* It is clear, from this enactment, that there had been laymen in the diocess of Durham, who had interposed to prevent the clergy from carrying the former acts into execution; and as even the Act of 1287 authorized the rector to suffer these trees to be used for the repair of the nave, the word *ecclesia*, which comprehends both nave and chancel, was properly retained. So much for Mr Goode's case, which was to convince *even us* of the misrepresentations we had made.†

We shall not fatigue our readers with a recapitulation of the numerous ordinances made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to secure for the church an adequate supply of vessels, vestments, and other things necessary for religious worship. In those of an early date, the number and amount of these articles are usually regulated by the value of the living, and not by the wealth of the parish; which seems to imply that they were to be furnished, not by the parishioners, but by the parson. In the constitution of William Archbishop of York, in 1153, we find, among the dilapidations due from deceased rectors, the ornaments of the church mentioned in the most vague and indefinite terms. In the decree of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1195, we see rectors and vicars burdened with 'ornamentis ministerio 'congruis.' In 1256, among the constitutions of Giles Bishop of Salisbury, which are said to be 'servatæ et usitatæ' in that diocess, we meet with censers, candelabra, lanterns, bells, wax tapers, and other articles, in the parson's list, which were afterwards, or in other places, thrown upon the parish. As we proceed, we find the ornaments and utensils required for the church particularized with greater care and minuteness; in so much, that even the number of towels for the altar is not forgotten—the whole to be provided by the parish; with the exception of a book of matins, a psaltery, (the chancel of course,) and the chancel window, with the carving above the high altar, which are reserved for the rector or vicar, *as hath been customary in this diocess.*‡ Nothing, indeed, is more frequent in these unequal partitions between the parson and his flock, than the allegation that the division has been made according to ancient custom. But, not to speak of the little credit due to such assertions, whether made in acts of Parliament or in decrees of councils, we know

* Wilkins' Conc. ii. 418. † Reply, 12. ‡ Wilkins' Conc. ii. 139.

that the prescription of a few years was sufficient to establish a custom in the canon law; and we may reasonably doubt whether customs denominated ancient were of great antiquity, when we find them disputed, and the question still undetermined by what tribunal they were to be judged.

In our former article, we attributed the introduction of church rates to the heavy and multiplied exactions of the court of Rome; which drove the clergy to the expedient of relieving the pressure on themselves, by diverting to their own occasions the funds intrusted to them for other purposes. We may add, that arbitrary consecrations of tithes, and appropriations of parish churches to monasteries and other collegiate bodies, must have prepared the way for this innovation, as well as facilitated its progress. The arbitrary consecration of portions of the tithe of a parish, when tithe came to be the chief source of ecclesiastical income, must have disturbed the ancient, regular, and canonical distribution of church revenue. The appropriation of whole parishes, which became at length so extensive as to include nearly one-half of all the livings in England, must have contributed in a still greater degree to the same effect. By this device, the appropriators became perpetual rectors of the parish;—receiving the whole of the church revenue, and taking upon themselves, not only the spiritual care of the parish, but the burden of repairing the church and relieving the poor; thus reverting, says Bishop Kennett,* to 'the old institution of dividing the profits of the parish into three parts, one to the priest, one to the church, and a third to the poor.' But, if these were the burdens which the monks, by their acceptance of appropriations, undertook to perform, they were far from discharging them according to the tenor of their bond. It was with the utmost difficulty they could be made to supply the appropriated churches with capellans, curates, or vicars, for the due and regular performance of religious worship; and, when compelled by the ordinary to provide permanent vicars, in place of transient clerks selected from their own body by rotation, or enjoined to perform the duty by way of penance, it cost many a conflict to extract from them adequate stipends for the vicars they had so grudgingly appointed. On pretence of the charity and hospitality they exercised in their convents, they withheld from the local poor the share allotted to them by the ancient canons; and it was not till after innumerable exhortations, ordinances, and statutes, that a small pittance could be wrung from them for the

* On Impropriations, 27.

relief of those whose property they had usurped. The notion then generally prevalent, that, provided the income of the church was devoted to pious uses, one use might be lawfully substituted for another, reconciled them to the conversion of funds destined for parochial purposes to the use of their convent, which seemed to them an equally sacred and pious duty; and such was the reverence then felt for religious communities, that if the parochial purposes could be otherwise obtained, the interests and wishes of the monks were sure to be respected.

We cannot suppose that the material fabric and ornaments of the church were better attended to than the wants of the poor; and accordingly it is in the endowment of vicarages, where we find the earliest distinction between the repairs of the chancel and of the nave or body of the church. It is not improbable that, hopeless of success in a contest with the power and influence of the appropriators, the parishioners—suffering from their neglect—prompted by devotion, or desirous of protection from the inclemency of the weather for themselves and families, came voluntarily forward and assisted in the reparation of the nave, which was the part of the church reserved for them; that from similar causes a similar practice was introduced in unappropriated churches; and, when this aid had been repeatedly given, that it was converted into what the canonists chose to call an *ancient custom*. That such was the origin of church rates cannot be asserted with certainty, for want of documents; but that they began in voluntary contributions is rendered probable by the facts, that, so far back as they can be traced, they always appear in the form of voluntary grants from the parishioners; that when the first attempts were made by the spiritual courts to enforce them as a legal obligation, they were resisted; and, when the rebellious parishioners applied to the courts of common law for protection, that it was afforded them by writs of prohibition.

The increase of prohibitions about the period we have assigned for the introduction of church rates, is a proof that the spiritual courts were at that time actively engaged in attempts to extend their jurisdiction. For a hundred and fifty years after the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, we meet with few prohibitions; and these directed to repress the encroachments of the Courts Christian, when they held pleas of lay fees or of rights of advowson.* About the 8th of Henry III. prohibitions became more frequent; and thirty years afterwards they were so

* Prynne, Records, iii.—Epistle dedicatory.

numerous, that in one circuit alone there were twenty prohibitions, attachments, and suits on account of pleas, 'de catallis et 'debitis, quæ non de testamento vel matrimonio;'—the only lay pleas in which the spiritual courts had jurisdiction.* For though it be asserted in the petition of Archbishop Pekham and his suffragans to Edward I.,† that it was only by a *recent* edict of the King's judges that the spiritual courts were prohibited from taking cognisance of lay pleas unless they related to wills or marriages, the allegation is not true. During the sixty years that preceded that petition, we meet with continual prohibitions from the common law to the spiritual courts for holding pleas, 'de catallis et debitis, quæ non sunt de testamento vel matrimonio.' As this part of the episcopal petition is shown to be incorrect by writs still extant in the Tower, we may be excused from crediting, on their authority, the other allegation they are continually repeating—that the reparation of the parish church was a customary parochial burden.‡

Why were prohibitions so rare in the former, and so frequent in the latter of these periods? Was it not, as Prynne unhesitatingly concludes, because the clergy, from the accession of Henry III., were engaged in a course of systematic encroachment on the laity, in which they were in some cases successful, though in others they were foiled? To such an extent was this spirit of usurpation carried, that the Great Charter having been confirmed under the penalty of excommunication, the clergy claimed on that pretext a right to proceed against all who violated its provisions, according to the forms of their own jurisprudence; and were mightily offended when given to understand that these were offences triable at common law.§ To give but one other instance of the daring spirit of encroachment which characterised the clergy in those superstitious and priest-ridden times, we find among the decrees of John Pekham, Archbishop of Canterbury, that whoever issued a prohibition to a Court Christian in a case which, by the laws of the Church, belonged to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should be excommunicated; that whoever maliciously disobeyed the king's writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, or prevented the execution of it, or procured the liberation of any one attached under it, contrary to the discipline of the Church, should be excommunicated; that whoever abstracted any thing from the house, manor, or barns of an ecclesiastic, without his consent or that of his bailiff, should be excommuni-

* Prynne, Records, iii. 108.
† Wilkins' Conc. ii. 117.
‡ History, 46.
§ Wilkins' Conc. i. 728.

cated, and rendered incapable of absolution till he had given satisfaction for his fault. For these bold usurpations on the civil authority of the state, the Archbishop was summoned before Edward I. and his council, and made to retract and annul the whole of them.* Strange it is, and a striking proof how pertinacious the clergy were in maintaining claims they had once advanced, that these enactments, though abolished and annulled, were republished and commented on by Lindwood† as ecclesiastical laws of England; and they are still to be found in the collections of Spelman and Wilkins, without note or animadversion.

We are far from believing, or wishing to insinuate, that the whole, or even the greater part of the prohibitions issued in the times of Henry III. and Edward I., arose out of the efforts of the clergy to enforce and establish church rates. We know that the claims of the spiritual courts to try and decide questions of tithe were often impeded by prohibitions; on the ground that under that pretence they interfered with rights of advowson. We know also, that when churchmen attempted to exact pecuniary penalties for adultery and such like offences, and even when they gave costs in cases purely spiritual, they were met by prohibitions; and that the same obstacle was opposed to them, when they tried to bring questions of Contract before the spiritual courts, on the pretext of punishing breaches of promise and violations of oaths. But, from their own statements and admissions, we learn that the demand of church rates was one of the grounds for these prohibitions. Among the fifty articles of complaint prepared by the Bishops in 1257—among the grievances against the Curia Regis which they presented to Edward I. in 1285—we find it stated, that when laymen were called upon to repair churches, to enclose churchyards, or provide what was wanted for the use of the church, and on their refusal to comply were cited before the ordinary, the rich and malignant applied for and obtained prohibitions; which stayed the proceedings of the spiritual judges, and, if disobeyed, exposed them to attachment, amerciament, and imprisonment. By this interference, as they pathetically lament, the sinews of ecclesiastical discipline were relaxed; the honour and worship long rendered to the church impaired; and her censures brought into contempt, and feared by no one—'et sic vilipenditur ecclesiastica censura damnabiliter, et quasi a nemine timetur.'‡

The proper business of the spiritual courts was to hold pleas

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* Prynne, Records, iii. 235. † Provinciale, 353.
‡ Wilkins' Conc. i. 723–730; ii. 115–119.

of things spiritual, or of things annexed to the spirituality, to which were subsequently added questions relating to wills and marriages. But, not content with this ample domain, the Courts Christian were continually encroaching, as we have seen, on the jurisdiction of the temporal courts. In the time of Glanville, two writs had been devised to repress their usurpations;—one prohibiting them from holding pleas of advowson, and the other from holding pleas of lay fees. Long before Bracton wrote his magnificent treatise on the law of England, a third writ had been contrived, more general in its expressions, and more extensive in its operation. By this writ, the spiritual courts were prohibited from holding pleas 'de debitis et catallis quæ non sunt 'de testamento vel matrimonio.' It must have been under this writ that, during the long reign of Henry III. and in the first years of Edward I., the clergy were checked in their attempts to exact church rates from their refractory parishioners. In the minute enumeration given by Bracton* of the cases where prohibitions did not lie—that is, where the Courts Christian might proceed without molestation, notwithstanding a prohibition from the courts of common law—there is no mention of pleas for the inclosing of churchyards, the repairing of churches, or the finding of ornaments and other things necessary for the decent performance of religious worship. In the petition of the Bishops to Edward I., we are expressly told that, when the rich and powerful objected to the demands of the ordinary for the repair of churches and other parochial burdens, it was on the ground that these were claims which had no connexion with wills or marriages.

Mr Goode† smiles at our simplicity in asking why suits for church rates, when stopped in the spiritual courts by prohibitions, were not prosecuted in the common law courts, if they were due at common law. He tells us that the permission given to churchmen to prosecute laymen before a lay judge, was granted with this limitation, 'nisi de re spirituali fuerit.' That such and many other illegal and extravagant orders were issued by some of the clergy, we do not deny; but so far were they from being obeyed, when contrary to the laws of the land, that tenures in frank almoigne, the most spiritual of all tenures, were at that very time tried in the temporal courts, in questions not only between churchmen and laymen, but among churchmen themselves.‡ To another very obvious answer, that though church-

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* Lib. v. cap. 10, f. 407.
† Reply, 21.
‡ Bracton, l. v. c. 10, f. 407. Wilkins' Conc. i. 729, c. 36.

men might be deterred by their laws from suing in the temporal courts for a spiritual matter, there was nothing to prevent those who had the care of the church and of its furniture from prosecuting such pleas, Mr Goode replies, that 'churches and their 'ornaments were under the care of their rectors, there being no 'churchwardens at that time.' He forgets that, among the decrees of the very synod * he quotes, there is mention of keepers or guardians of the 'instaurum' or furniture of the church, who might be laymen, though it was desirable they should be in orders. In the time of Lindwood, churchwardens were not only established, but they were known by their present appellation; and the question is asked, whether they can be compelled, by excommunication or other penalty, to repair the church when in want of it? Lindwood is of opinion, that if they have money in hand, or have been negligent in collecting the necessary funds, they may be compelled by ecclesiastical censures to repair the church,—'alioquin, si per eos non steterit, non esset contra eos sic 'procedendum;'†—the same opinion which has been since delivered by Baron Bayley and by Lord Lyndhurst. There is no hint in Lindwood that the churchwardens could impose a rate by their own authority, in opposition to the determination of the vestry. The words 'si habeant in manibus, vel eorum diligentia suffi-'cienter habere possint,' imply solicitation, and not compulsion.

In the midst of these contests between the secular and the spiritual courts, came the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, which gave a practical triumph to the clergy in some of their demands, while it restrained their pretensions in others. By this writ, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Courts Christian was confirmed in some cases where it had before been doubtful. The common law judges were forbidden to punish bishops or clergymen; 'if 'they do punish for leaving the churchyard unenclosed, or for 'that the church is uncovered or not sufficiently decked, in 'which cases none other penance can be enjoined but pecuniary.' In these and other cases, it is declared that the spiritual judge shall have power to take cognisance, notwithstanding the king's prohibition is served upon him—'Regia prohibitione non obstante, 'licet porrigatur.' Laymen impleaded for these omissions were thenceforward taken out of the protection of the temporal courts, and when punished by their spiritual judges, they had no remedy but to submit to the penalties, or incur the censures of the Church. If a rate was voted in vestry, no individual parishioner

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* Synod Exon. c. 30. Wilkins' Conc. ii. 148.

† Provinciale, 53.

—none of the *divites* and *malitiosi*, as they were called by the clergy—could withhold or refuse to pay his assessment. It was in vain for him to apply for a prohibition to the common law courts, on the ground that he was impleaded 'de debitis et catallis 'quæ non sunt de testamento vel matrimonio.' That prohibition, though obtained, was no longer of avail to him in the spiritual court. He was left to the mercy of his ecclesiastical judges—to the censures they chose to inflict—to the excommunication they might launch against him.

It is by no means clear that more was intended in this matter, by the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, than to prevent the Courts Christian from being impeded by prohibitions, when they enforced by their ecclesiastical censures, the payment of rates legally granted—a power which they still enjoy, and which no one contests. The word 'punish' in the writ, is no doubt susceptible of a more extended interpretation; but no commentator has ever claimed for the spiritual courts the power of imposing, by their own authority, assessments on individual parishioners; and, though both John de Athon and Lindwood agree that parishioners may be compelled to repair their church, the latter expressly admits that, if they refuse, there cannot be a general sentence of excommunication or suspension fulminated against them; and that the threat of an interdict is the only measure that can be used to bring them to reason. It was not, therefore, by the direct exercise of any legal authority that the spiritual courts could enforce the reparation of churches. The vestry alone could impose the rate; and it was only by indirect means, not indicated, and probably not intended by the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, that the spiritual courts could operate on the vestries. It was only by the threat of an interdict that parishioners, when reluctant to grant a rate, could be forced to compliance. When that menace had prevailed, and the rate was granted by the vestry, the writ of *Circumspecte agatis* enabled the spiritual court to enforce payment. The principle was still maintained, that the parishioners assembled in vestry were the only persons who could grant a rate; and that no rate was valid which had not been imposed with their consent. It might be from the dread of an interdict that their assent had been extorted; but it was only after it had been given that the Courts Christian could proceed against the refractory. All parties agree that the remedy by interdict has become impossible. If the parishioners in vestry grant a rate, the spiritual courts, and, by a late statute, even the justices of the peace, may enforce it. But, if it be refused by the vestry, the spiritual courts are powerless.

The spiritual courts, though invested by the writ of *Circum-*

specte agatis, with jurisdiction in the collection of church rates, having lost the indirect means which they once possessed of inducing vestries to impose these rates, Mr Goode and others call on the common law courts to do for them what they can no longer do for themselves. But if the control over the laity, which the spiritual courts formerly exercised, has ceased in one instance to be efficacious, and, ceasing in that instance to be efficacious, if their authority is to be invigorated and enforced by the temporal courts, why is it not to be enforced in other instances, where it has become equally impotent. Let us put a case. Among other clauses in the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, the common law judges are forbid to punish bishops or clergymen for holding pleas in Court Christian of penance enjoined by prelates for deadly sin, 'for which sometimes corporal penance, and sometimes pecuniary 'is enjoined.' We have no doubt that, in former times, many a sinner was made to fast or flog himself under the provisions of this writ. But would such fasting be submitted to, or such self-flagellation be inflicted at present, though the rector of St Antholin were to enjoin them? And if refused, does Mr Goode imagine that he could obtain a mandamus from the Queen's Bench to compel his erring and errant parishioners to fast and flog themselves, on the ground that the writ of *Circumspecte agatis* had imposed on them a common law liability to perform these acts of devotion, as often as they were enjoined to do so by their rector, and his sentence had been confirmed by the Court Christian before which he had summoned them?

It is not indeed easy to conceive how a spiritual court, instituted *pro salute animæ*, can ever create a common law liability; or on what pretence, if its injunctions are disregarded, it can claim a right to call on the courts of common law for assistance; except in cases where they are directed by statute, or bound by precedent to carry its decrees into effect. In addition to this objection, which seems to us fatal to the views taken by Mr Goode and his associates, the ecclesiastical courts, and the Court of Chancery, proceed on principles so very different from those that govern the common law courts, that even the Court of Chancery—though its objects be temporal, and have in view the good of society in this world, and not the amendment of sinners as a preparation for the next—would find it difficult, in certain cases, to obtain the co-operation of these courts, if its own resources were taken away. Nothing is more common, for instance, in the Court of Chancery, than to compel a defendant to answer on oath to the matters alleged against him by his adversary. But, though these bills of discovery are issued every day from Chancery, and enforced by writs of *subpœna*,

does Mr Goode imagine they have created a liability at common law, which would enable him, if the writ of *subpœna* were abolished, and the Chancery thereby disarmed, still to insist on answers to his interrogatories; and, if they were refused by the defendant, to obtain a Mandamus from the Queen's Bench to open his mouth?

To resume in a few words the view we have taken of the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*—that writ enabled the spiritual courts to enforce the payment of church rates which had been granted in vestry, but gave them no power to impose a rate by their own authority. The only instrument they could employ to obtain a rate from an unwilling vestry, was the menace or infliction of an interdict; and that instrument they possessed as well before as after the writ of *Circumspecte agatis* had been issued. For an interdict, or suspension of divine service, being a matter purely spiritual, the temporal courts could not interpose to prevent it. But, though a rate might have been procured in that way, it could not have been enforced against refractory parishioners who applied to the common law courts for protection. It was by taking away that protection, and not by any new power it directly conferred on the spiritual courts, that the writ of *Circumspecte agatis* added in this matter to their authority.

Considering church rates to have been at all times voluntary grants on the part of the vestry, though their origin be a curious subject of historical investigation, it can be of no practical importance whether they were introduced before the commencement of legal memory or afterwards. The motives of vestries for the grants of rates may have been various — devotion, respect for their rector, or fear of his censures; but while the grant on the face of it was voluntary, it seems as absurd to found on it a common law obligation, as it would have been to argue from the annual votes of a land-tax, that there was a common law liability on land to be taxed; though it was left to the House of Commons to determine what the amount of the tax should be. That the churchwardens have authority to convoke a vestry—that the majority of those present at the vestry have power to bind the minority—and when the majority have consented to a rate, that all the parishioners may be compelled to pay their respective quotas, are settled points; but that the parishioners assembled in vestry are bound to impose a rate when required by the spiritual court, and, when refractory, that others may impose it for them, are points which have not been adjudicated; and, when attempts have been made by the ecclesiastical authorities to impose such rates by means of commissioners nominated for the purpose, prohibitions, when applied for, have been constantly granted by the common law courts.

What remains to be done? Whatever might be expected from the liberality of lay impropriators, or from the holders of great and opulent livings, no one would saddle the great body of the clergy with the reparation of churches and expense of public worship; for which, burdened as they usually are with families, their means are wholly inadequate. No one would consent to see our venerable parish churches go to ruin, associated as they are with so many recollections of the past, and hopes of the future. No one would permit the churchyard, where his fathers, and perhaps his children, are interred, to be neglected and defiled. No frequenter of divine worship would suffer the church he attends, to be deprived by poverty of the decencies and ornaments with which he has been accustomed to see the service performed. The Government has made various attempts to avert these calamities; but opposed, sometimes by Churchmen, sometimes by Dissenters, their efforts have been of no avail. Vestries continue to be scenes of discord more discreditable than the worst of popular elections in the worst of times. There is but one remedy, and that remedy is *justice*. The churches belong to the Establishment. The worship celebrated within their walls is for members of the Establishment. Let vestries for church rates be attended by none but members of the Establishment; and let the church rate they impose be assessed on none but members of the Establishment. As a church established and endowed by law, in subordination to the state for all her civil rights, the Church will continue to possess her lands, rents, and other legal emoluments; while the repair of her churches and the expense of her worship will be defrayed by members of her own communion. The indecent contentions that disgrace our present vestries will be prevented. Rectors will have no longer occasion to stuff their ears with cotton, as some of them do at present, before they venture into the vestry-room. Dissenters will have no pretext to intrude themselves into meetings where the subject of discussion is a church rate from which they are exempted; and, if any of them were to show himself there, his presence at the vestry ought to subject him to his quota of the tax. There could be no practical difficulty in distinguishing Churchmen from Dissenters. Whoever occupied a pew in the parish church, or in any chapel in communion with the Establishment, should be considered and rated as a Churchman; and, whether he attended the church-rate vestry or not, he should be subject to its assessments.

As the members of the Established Church include a great majority of the wealthier portions of the community, especially among the landed proprietors, all of whom pay rates at present, it is obvious that a very small addition to their existing assess-

ment would be sufficient to defray all the expenses for which church rates are required; and slight indeed must be the attachment of the lower classes to the establishment, if the addition of a few pence yearly to their present payment could make them desert her altars and proclaim themselves Dissenters. A laudable pride would deter the poorest farmer or tradesman from professing himself a Dissenter, when he was in reality a Churchman; and in this religious age no one would venture to make that declaration without incurring a greater expense, by the moral necessity in which he would be placed of attaching himself to some dissenting place of worship, where he would have both chapel and pastor to uphold.

What, it may be asked, can prevent an arrangement, that would take from one party all just ground of complaint, while the additional burden it imposed on the other, was one which they could well afford to bear, and which in equity they ought not to throw on those who can have nothing for it in return? The only obstacle, we apprehend, is the tenacity of Churchmen, whether lay or clerical, to maintain every privilege or exclusive advantage that flatters their pride, however worthless in itself or unjust to the rest of the community. Having assumed to themselves the title of National Church, as if the English constituted the whole nation—as if there were no Presbyterians in Scotland, no Dissenters in England, no Roman Catholics in Ireland—seduced by this high-sounding appellation—this mock dignity—they inundate our colonies with bishops, for the benefit of the few Episcopalians that emigrate from our shores, and would consider themselves degraded at home if Nonconformists were exempted by law from repairing their churches and contributing to the expenses of their public worship. It is this spirit which makes them resist every plan for general education that is not confined exclusively to their own body. It is not the money they care for, but the principle on which it is proposed to be given. If committed to their management, they would have no objection to dole it out in charity to Dissenters, but their pride cannot bear that it should be claimed as a right. Though compelled by the Toleration Act, and other statutes, to recognise the existence and privileges of Dissenters, they regard them in the same light that the Church of Rome regards the Church of England—as rebellious children entitled to no indulgence that can be withheld from them. Respect for their own sacred edifices, which are converted into bear-gardens by the dissensions about church rates, should, if no other motives have weight, make them listen with favour to our suggestion.

ART. III.—*Voyage du Maréchal Duc de Raguse en Hongrie, en Transylvanie, dans la Russie Méridionale, en Crimée, et sur les Bords de la Mer d'Azoff à Constantinople, dans quelques parties de l'Asié-Mineure, en Syrie, en Palestine et en Egypte.* 4 Tom. 8vo. Paris: 1837.

THAT a book of travels written by so eminent a person as General Marmont should excite so very little attention as these volumes have done, can only be ascribed to one of two causes;—the occupation of the reading world with other subjects, or the uninteresting nature of the work itself. The latter is generally given as the true reason; but we think the fact or opinion upon which it rests is more than questionable. The book contains much valuable information; it is not deficient in matter of entertainment; and it is written in a plain and sensible style, which hardly ever offends against the rules of good taste. Its fault is its length—there are four volumes made out of what could hardly suffice to make two; and all that is of any value might well have been contained in one.* The large interstices between the pieces that are worth reading for their novelty or importance, are filled up with things which are either not worth relating, or which every one knows; and the reader is thus tired before he can pass from one oasis to another of the dry and barren waste. Nevertheless, it is the useful office of honest critics to give warning of the existence of such green and pleasant spots; and not suffer the public to throw aside the subject, without some knowledge of what they present to our attention.

After the Revolution of 1830, in which Marmont commanded, and was foiled by the stupid obstinacy of the legitimate Bourbons as much as by the great gallantry of the French people, he left France and sought refuge in Vienna, where he remained some years in idleness and peace; but feeling that he retained vigour enough of constitution to undertake some useful and interesting work, in 1834 he set out upon his journey into the Levant, attended by an amateur painter and a physician, Count Brazza and Dr Seng; and this book contains the account of their travels.

Hungary was the country first visited by him; and his observations on that kingdom are in some particulars worthy of attention. He somewhat sharply reproves the Hungarians for their

*Since this article was written, an able and distinguished officer, Sir F. Smith of the Royal Engineers, has ably abridged and commented on the work, in one small volume.

inconsistent desire of improvement by means of public works, joined with their determination on no account to pay the taxes necessary for carrying them on. Thus, there is nothing more wanting than roads—the primary condition, as the Marshal says, of improvement and civilisation; accordingly, the Hungarians of all classes cry out lustily for them, and as lustily cry out against any thing like tolls to make or to repair them. They plead the ancient privilege of being free from taxes; but the Marshal very justly remarks, that in Hungary men have not as yet discovered that the only reasonable privilege is not to beg for what we have never consented to receive; and that, in order to obtain an increase of wealth and of enjoyments, we must learn to pay for them. We have in our own country some symptoms of the same inconsistency; —highly cultivated as our people of all ranks are in every kind of knowledge connected with taxation, by a long and very extensive and various experience. The 'Bull family' delight in many expensive luxuries, and in none more than in foreign meddling wars, expeditions, gazettes of victories, bonfires, and illuminations; yet no sooner comes in the bill for payment, than a most bitter reluctance is invariably felt to pay it; and the good folks who were loudest in hallooing on their rulers to break the peace, are all astonishment and all indignation at finding that they have any thing to pay for this expensive crime. On a lesser scale, we have lately had something of a like inconsistency and unreasonable captiousness. The Dissenters refuse to pay church rates, and regard the demand of any help towards maintaining churchyards as an encroachment on the rights of conscience, and a breach of religious liberty. But, though they will not pay for the churchyard, they insist on the use of it; and even complain if their own ministers are not suffered to officiate at burials performed in it. The Churchmen have never as yet insisted on having the use of dissenting chapels; but they certainly have just as much right to it as the Dissenters would have to use the churchyard if they ceased to pay the church rates.

We observe the Marshal's notices of feudal law are somewhat less accurate than might be wished. He represents the tenures in Hungary as entirely feudal; and then says that the right of succession in the Crown, after extinction of the family to whom the fief was granted originally, is so extensive (*etendu*, meaning of course that it reaches so long) as to deprive purchasers of all security. No doubt, if the purchaser is only to hold of the original feudatory who sells, he takes but a base fee, and loses his right on the extinction of the heirs of the original investiture; but the feudal law permits transfer so as to hold of the original superior; and no doubt in Hungary, unless all sale of land is as good as forbidden, this holding of the overlord must be allowed.

A curious account is given of the Emperor's studs in Hungary, where the breeding of horses on a large scale is carried on by the government. This magnificent establishment is under the direction of a staff and men, about 1200 in number, and consists of 3000 fine animals. The yearly sale of stallions alone improves the breed all over the Imperial dominions, and defrays nearly the whole expenses of the concern, besides enabling the army to purchase all the horses required for its service at the moderate price of from ten to twelve pounds. The remarks of the Marshal on the folly of encouraging the breed of race-horses so greatly as we have long done in England, and as the continental states have of late years been doing after our example, are sensible, and deserving of attention. He allows, that in a country like this, where the love of gambling, in all its branches, is epidemic, something may be said for the practice;—an amusement so habitual to the people requires such provision. But he cannot discover any service, in countries like France and Germany, where strong cattle for draught, or animals combining strength and speed for the army, are alone required;—exerting all their powers to make a breed be provided of horses which shall arrive a few seconds sooner at the goal of a race-course. In the latter remark we entirely coincide; only we must generalize it, and repudiate the exception made in favour of England. The Government having so long encouraged racing, has in fact patronised gambling, and gambling of the lowest description. What avails it to make betting above a certain amount illegal, and to discourage it by depriving bankrupt traders of their certificate, if they exceed the given sum, while the foundation of the whole—the race and the conflux of gamblers—is encouraged by the Government in every county of the kingdom? Did ever human folly go farther than theirs, who pretend to say to gamblers—'Play, but only to a 'given amount?' That the price paid for a good breed of horses would be all too high when given in such coin as an increase of the practices most hurtful to public morals, who can have the hardihood to deny? Yet it is quite as clear that the breed of useful horses is not thus improved; at all events, that the same object might be far better, and far more cheaply attained, by other and by harmless means.

As the Marshal visited Transylvania, and examined the military government of the frontier provinces—it may be supposed, with peculiar attention and interest—his account of that singular system is very full, and probably is the best any where to be found. The patriarchal scheme, united with the military, is particularly to be remarked. Several families, amounting to sixty or seventy individuals, are under the control of one head, or

rather of two; for if the chief's wife happen to be incapable of superintending the female branch, another matron is appointed. The whole agricultural and other industrious parts of their operations are superintended by these chiefs; and the share is reserved of those who, during ten or twelve years of their lives, serve in the regiment which is allotted to the particular district. We were rather surprised to observe, that the total number of the warriors, in proportion to the population, is not greater on this frontier. In the Austrian circle, it is a regiment for 400,000 of the inhabitants; here, it is only four times greater, or a regiment for every 50,000 souls.

Many reflexions are made by our author upon the character and conduct of the Emperor Joseph, the scene of whose ill-fated military exploits was laid in these countries; though his signal failure transferred the war almost to the walls of his capital. 'Personally brave, he had not, in the midst of danger and mili-'tary excitement, the strength of head, the tranquillity of mind, 'nor the sound judgment requisite in order to exercise properly 'the duty of a commander; in short, he was—as men are to whom 'nature has denied this high faculty and warlike instinct—crushed 'under the weight of uncertainty, and the phantoms that his own 'ardent imagination presented to his mind.' Of this he recites a very memorable instance: when a council of war being held, and no man entertaining a reasonable doubt that an immediate attack would have destroyed the Turkish army, he asked Marshal Lascy if the success was quite certain, and was answered, that in war nothing is quite certain—that he hoped it was, but that he could not absolutely guarantee the event; whereupon the Emperor ordered an immediate retreat, which, by mismanagement, became a rout; and, being executed in the dark, the soldiers fired on each other, presenting, when day broke, to the astonished followers of Mahomet what they deemed a miracle operated by the prophet—ten thousand Austrians killed by each other's hands. Well may the veteran author exclaim on surveying this effect of royal interposition—'It is requisite that 'every one should follow his own trade; that sovereigns should 'reign, ministers govern; that generals should command and 'fight; and that sovereigns should neither govern nor fight but 'when heaven has granted to them the capacity for administra-'tion, and the genius of a military commander.'

Upon entering the Russian dominions, which he did on the south, intending to visit Odessa and the Crimea, he was received with peculiar marks of distinction. The Emperor did not fail to testify his regard for one of the principal victims of the popular movement, which he has ever shown to be the most hate-

ful object of his Imperial contemplations. He who could hardly be got to recognise the sovereign placed by the national voice on a throne most justly forfeited by the combined incapacity and crime of the reigning prince, ordered every sedulous courtesy to be exhibited towards the general who commanded the troops of the tyrant on that great occasion. The gates of all fortresses flew open at his approach; officers of rank, stationed to receive him, remained for weeks on his route awaiting his arrival; the guest of the Autocrat travelled at his host's cost and charge; relays of horses by troops, flew with him from post to post, leaving him, by their breathless haste, hardly any time for noticing the desert and unpeopled state of the wastes over which he was hurried; and when he arrived at Odessa he was welcomed by one of the most noble-minded and accomplished men of whom any nation ever could boast, and of whose great qualities England, as well as Russia has to boast; for Count Woronzow was born and bred in this country; and if he has not English blood in his veins, has a sister married into one of our noblest houses.

In the stay he made with the Count, Governor of Odessa, our author made many observations on the military policy of Russia. One comparison of the yearly cost of soldiers to different governments may be here set down. In France, the price is 340 francs; in Austria, 212; in Prussia, 240; in Russia, only 120, and in England, he says, 538; which is above the truth, if he means to include pay merely—probably he includes every expense.

In his journey from Odessa towards the Bug, our author became acquainted, at a place called Paulowsky, with an eminent general of the name of Kores, who had long been chief of Suwarrow's staff; and with him he had an interesting conversation concerning that extraordinary man. The old warrior, now eighty-two years of age, entered into a great variety of details in support of the more general sketches which he gave of his chief's character—greatly misunderstood, as he holds it to be, by mankind at large. Marshal Marmont was entirely convinced by the arguments thus used, and the proofs adduced; and we shall give in his own words the result, which certainly differs very materially from the commonly received opinion of the Russian commander;—proving that the remark which he makes seems well-grounded, when he asks how Suwarrow could have performed such exploits, had he been the strange half-crazy creature he is generally represented; and also adding that some of the particulars which follow, must have been known to many besides General Kores, and if true disprove the account of Suwarrow's barbarism.

'Suwarrow had received a finished education; he spoke and wrote seven languages correctly. He had a perfect knowledge of history; he read and studied a great deal. As soon as he had taken an early dinner, and that it was given out at his house that he was asleep, he shut himself up in order to work.

'During the early part of his career, until he was pretty well advanced in life, his manners were like other people's; but Catharine II. having said one day before him, that the first step towards making a fortune at court was to make one's self remarked by something *outré*, hence, to distinguish himself from the mass, he affected a kind of eccentricity which authorized him to do and say what he liked. At this epoch a multitude of officers, men of pretension, without merit, and but half instructed, occupied the highest ranks, and obstructed the avenues to fortune, and succeeded but ill in their enterprises. Suwarrow took pains to turn them into ridicule, and expressed a contempt for science. He was far from being sincere, for, with regard to himself, he neglected no opportunity of self instruction; but he wished to pass, at the same time, for an able and an ignorant man, preferring to attribute, in the eyes of others, his success to the inspiration of the moment, rather than to his calculations and the results of his study and labour. This way of acting was, as it appears, more powerful than all others, at this epoch, over the minds of the Russian soldiery.

'Suwarrow had put himself on the footing of delivering himself up to his extravagancies before the Empress, as well as before other individuals. When she wished to speak with him about business, he replied at first by some of his buffooneries; then, when the sovereign said to him that she had enough of it, he entered on business without permitting himself a single digression, and with as much ability as wisdom. His buffoonery most frequently had for its object to turn into ridicule the courtiers that he hated and insulted.

'There is, in this respect, a thousand traits of him very amusing, and which, under a whimsical disguise, comprehends much meaning and a malicious intention. The thing passed, every one apparently submitting to it, because the Empress, who appreciated the services of such a man as Suwarrow, showed the example.

'There was only one man before whom he never permitted himself to do any thing absurd or irregular—a man towards whom he always observed manners the most respectful; this was Marshal Romanzoff, the first Russian general who had been able to fight the Turks with constant success, and to conquer them with small armies. Suwarrow professed for him the highest esteem, the most profound respect, and none of his actions have authorized a doubt of his sincerity.

'His quick penetration in war was admirable. In the very face of the enemy, he would calculate, in a surprising manner, as to the time he had to spare, and he never was deceived in his calculations. Threatened by the Grand Visier upon the Rimnick, and having only eighteen thousand men to oppose to an army of eighty thousand, he was to be assisted by the Austrian army, commanded by the Prince of Coburg, whose arrival he expected with impatience. The movements of the Grand Visier an-

nounced an instant attack, but the preparations for which would require some hours. Suwarrow, in order to give an idea of security, went to take a bath. He is told that the Austrian column is in sight; he quits the bath, mounts his horse, marches to the enemy before he is entirely formed, gives him battle, and puts him to flight.

'At Kinbourn he had only a handful of soldiers, and some companies quartered at a considerable distance, who had not arrived at the moment when the Turks began to disembark. In order to occupy the interval of time necessary for assembling together the troops, he went to church and caused *Te Deum* to be sung. The expected companies at length arrive; he leaves the church, rushes on the enemy, and puts to the sword every individual who had reached the shore. One single prisoner was taken, and Suwarrow charged him to go and carry to Potemkin, who commanded at the siege of Oczakow, the details of his victory.

'Suwarrow knew better than any general the mind of the soldier, and the moral feeling of war. It is likewise in this high quality, which characterises and constitutes the greatest generals of whom history preserves the name, that Napoleon was particularly superior to other men. Suwarrow had, besides, another eminent quality, unhappily too rare amongst chiefs of armies—he was inured to fatigue, had few wants, shared the sufferings of the soldiers, set them an example on occasions of difficulty, and identified himself with them. This is indeed the true and greatest military eloquence, and drives all before it;—it was that of Alexander and of Cæsar.

'In 1796 and 1797, Suwarrow was much occupied with the campaigns of Italy, which were then the *début* of General Bonaparte, and were the commencement of his renown and of his power. He admired his movements, and that series of operations so wisely combined, and executed with so much energy, which may serve as a model to military men who examine their profession with a wish to study it thoroughly, and to understand the art of war on a great scale. He remarked to General Kores: "We must make haste to oppose Bonaparte, otherwise he will finish by marching over the bodies of the German troops, and will come to seek us in our own territories." This astonishing prophecy has been but too well realized, to the destruction of Napoleon.'

The Marshal's stay at Constantinople is productive of little that is new on that capital, or the manners of its inhabitants;—except, perhaps, his reducing the number of Janissaries killed in the revolt to seven hundred, whereas it has always been reported as ten or twelve thousand, contrary to every probability. From thence he went into Asia-Minor, and to the plains of Troy, and afterwards visited Palestine and the remains of Jerusalem;—not that any very pious feelings appear to have directed this pilgrimage. Thus, when his friend showed him, 'journeying to 'Damascus,' the place where St Paul was converted by the miraculous vision, our author somewhat coldly observes, 'Here it 'was that, enlightened by grace, he became a Christian.' But much more sentiment breaks out afterwards on crossing the river

Jordan; and if it be more of a declamatory than of a religious nature, still religion is the source of the inspiration which here almost alone fills the Marshal, and makes him perform antics. Arriving, he says, 'on the banks of this river, which had witnessed so many 'miracles, I plunged into its waters. It seemed as if in touching 'this holy ground, the cradle of our faith, I began a new life.' He then says, that in no other country is faith of various kinds so lively; for 'each religion is here professed with ardour, and 'Jews, Christians, Mussulmans, all show an equal fervour, as if 'Judea had some peculiar power to dispose of the human heart, 'and put it in communication with the Deity,'—thus reducing the whole to a kind of physical property of the country or its air. May we be allowed to suggest, that religious enthusiasm sits but moderately well on the old soldiers of the Republic and the Empire, whom the chance of political warfare has thrown on the side of the Jesuits, and who conceive it necessary, or at least very becoming, to clothe themselves in the sacred livery of the restored and expelled court? It is to be observed, also, that from being unaccustomed to such subjects, the Marshal conceives the one thing needful to be an easy belief; and he swallows the stories of his guides as if they partook of the inspiration of evangelists. Thus he piously believes, that 'in this grotto the virgin re-'ceived the annunciation of her high destiny;' and that in that work-shop 'Joseph followed his trade of a carpenter.' He may well add, that the traditions seem of very remote antiquity. The zeal for religion, however, and for remote antiquity, does not engross all our traveller's faculties; for he takes occasion to examine the military prowess of 1799, when the French army was in those parts; and he discusses, in a military view, one or two points of the campaign.

At Samaria his faith becomes still more capacious. He is shown a small tribe which has remained there since the time of Moses; and he is assured that the patriarch possesses a manuscript work of the nephew of Moses—the son, that is to say, of Aaron. 'I did not ask to see this book,' says he, 'because I 'could not have understood it.' But he could at least have seen whether it were in the state of paper or parchment four thousand years old. Indeed, the ignorance of supposing any such substances, known so early, or if known, capable of being preserved, is somewhat remarkable in any one who pretends to write a book of travels; yet a good monk contrived to exhaust even the pious belief of the gallant Marshal. 'I shall not 'show you the tomb of Adam,' said the reverend guide. But the credulity of the traveller being found insufficient, the wary cicerone added—'*This fact* is not one of faith, but only of

'historical tradition.' Whereupon the Marshal remarks what harm is done by the stories of these monks, and the superstitions, without any reflection, which they mix up with their statements; as if some of the other things which he believed easily, and recounts seriously, were not just as ridiculous and impossible—witness the manuscript of Aaron's son—an author now first discovered to the curious.

Nor is it to be doubted that to the fancies which his guide told him, our traveller's own imagination has added others quite as groundless: thus he sees eight olive-trees in the garden of the Mount of Olives, and immediately pronounces them the same with those which our Saviour saw, because they are of great size, and the olive is a tree of slow growth. Without waiting to ask if any man ever saw any tree growing in this world eighteen centuries old, he exclaims, 'It is, then, under the shade of these 'very trees that Jesus Christ reposed—that he conversed with his 'disciples—that he was arrested—and that his affrighted disciples 'abandoned him, and took to flight.

The Marshal arrived in these countries immediately after the revolt against his authority which Mehemet Ali had quelled; and he saw traces of the severity with which that powerful prince put down the excesses of ordinary pillage which had remained after the military operations. He had an interview at Jerusalem with Ibrahim Pacha, who commanded the troops on this important occasion; and the first thing that struck him was the Pacha's simple habits—the absence of all pomp and splendour, so rare in the potentates of the East. He occupied a room on the first floor of a convent, and the whole furniture consisted of a sofa and an iron bed of European construction; and his only attendants were two or three of his officers. In these times the personal character of this chief becomes very important. The Marshal thus describes him:—

'Ibrahim Pacha appeared to me to have a lively imagination, good sense, gaiety, and much finesse. His manners, though simple and even almost vulgar, do not want a sort of dignity; his look is expressive and piercing, and his smile intellectual. He is extremely corpulent, although he is not more than forty years of age; but this obesity offers no impediment to his activity, which is very great. He is severe to himself, supports fatigue and privations without difficulty, sets the example in war, and has the qualities and character of a soldier.

'Our conversation was varied, and without any particular object. He paid me compliments without affectation, and received mine with a modesty which appeared natural and sincere. He spoke much to me of Napoleon, and of the principal campaigns in which I had been engaged; while I spoke of his in Syria and in Asia Minor. Far from seeking to exaggerate the difficulties he had encountered, he seemed rather to lessen

them, by despising the valour of the enemies he had conquered. He is a man who possesses much determination and courage, and does not allow himself to be dismayed by obstacles or danger. He has proved this several times, but in a remarkable manner in the war he carried on in Hedjas, where, at the beginning of his career, he extricated himself by his own energy from a situation which seemed desperate.

'At the time when I saw him, Ibrahim Pacha had just escaped from a very perilous situation. The troops were not concentrated when an insurrection broke out in the provinces of Naplous and Jerusalem. They experienced great losses by the unexpected attacks they had to sustain, and in consequence of the too great confidence with which his detachment marched. He was obliged to withdraw into Jerusalem; but at length succeeded in repressing the revolt, and mastering the country.'

The Marshal's knowledge of the policy of the powers in the Levant, and of the relation in which they stand to each other, is extremely confused; and he accordingly falls into constant errors on the subject. Thus he represents as one of the main grounds of reliance and support for the Pacha's government, its being the barrier against the fanaticism of the Turkish councils, and the natural protection of the Christian population in the Lebanon district. Now, the contrary of this view of the case is more near the truth. The Turks owe their weight in Syria to their holding the balance between the Christian Maronites, the Druses, and the Mussulman Arabs. It was on viewing this state of things that De Lamartine exclaimed—'Les Turcs 'sont le seul peuple tolerant de la terre.' The Pacha of Egypt is by his position necessarily the enemy of Islamism, which forms the basis of the Ottoman dynasty, and of the religious principle which pervades every institution of the empire; and this enmity it is which makes him the natural ally of the enemies of the Porte. But the intolerance of the Porte itself is only speculative; in practice nothing can be more tolerant towards the religious persuasions which divide Syria.

It is more remarkable that all our author's travelling in the East should not have made him unlearn his European habits as to hospitality, its rights and duties. He is always treating his reception at houses and convents as an act of kindness, and expresses his gratitude as for a favour received. 'In general, one 'is struck with the hospitality of the East, constantly exercised 'with pleasure, with zeal, and grace, and received with lively 'gratitude.'—(III. 110.) Now, this is utterly unintelligible language to an Oriental or to an Eastern traveller. Hospitality is in the East a positive duty on the host, and a strict right of the guest. A person must be wholly ignorant of any Oriental feeling, the most ordinary and habitual, who speaks of "lively gratitude," or any gratitude at all for receiving what

cannot without positive breach of duty be withheld. The Marshal, on the contrary, expresses thanks for the courtesy of the man who does not ride over him on the street, or tread on his toes in a room. Indeed, gratitude and ingratitude are phrases unknown to Turks: they have no language in which to express thanks. Rights and duties are alone known to them.

Arriving at Alexandria, the Marshal found the Pacha on the point of setting out for Cairo: he had indeed actually left his residence, and was passing the day at a country house of one of his officers, the governor of Alexandria; but, with the politic care to cultivate European connexions which marks the whole conduct of this eminent ruler, he remained, and even visited the Marshal in his quarantine, with a disregard of form and etiquette worthy of his distinguished capacity.

Our author describes Mehemet Ali as endowed with a most delicate tact and a perfect knowledge of men. 'All the petty 'sovereigns of the north of Italy in the middle ages,' he says, 'never displayed more ability, address, and finesse."

'Mehemet Ali has received from nature qualities which are rarely united with so much finesse. He has an unbending will, that knows no obstacle;—surmounts all, or breaks down that which refuses to submit. The powerful influence his name has acquired in an immense country, is greater than that bestowed by an army; and far, as well as near, his influence is equally felt. It is such, that in a few years it has achieved the almost incredible wonder of rendering perfectly safe the roads through his vast territories, formerly infested by robbers.

'In the present day, in a space of seven hundred leagues, an European, as well as any other individual, may travel alone, without danger, openly, and without escort, from the Taurus to Sennaar. This moral power which he has created, is the first element of government—the most powerful instrument to rule mankind. The instinct of liberal enterprise has been likewise granted him. He is an imitator, and would wish to bring together in his own country all that exists elsewhere. But, as education has been wanting to develop his natural genius, he is deficient in the knowledge of first principles, and is often a bad judge of the choice of means. It happens, even, that he does not appreciate the consequences of what he undertakes; and does not foresee the conditions of the success he hopes for. On the other hand, he courts and follows advice, encourages freedom of speech, and neglects no means of remedying his own deficiencies.

'Mehemet Ali is a man of nature and of experience, but with faculties that, if developed by study, might have made him one of the first men of his age. When I saw him, two years since, he was sixty-five years of age. His constitution is strong and robust, his activity unwearying—he is occupied with every thing—he shrinks from no care, no fatigue; it is thus he obtains such good results. He has had the happiness to attach to his fortunes, in order to assist his schemes, some men of high talent, who have constantly and fully justified his hopes, and frequently surpassed his most sanguine expectations.'

As the Marshal had served with Napoleon in his famous Egyptian campaign, he was recognised by many survivors in the country, and was uniformly well received;—a strong testimony certainly to the propriety of his demeanour when invested with military command, and engaged in warlike operations. But he had many confidential conversations with the Pacha, and it is to be regretted that a discretion, every way honourable to our author, has prevented him from giving us the particulars of these conferences. Some only of the general topics are recorded by him, and these are both creditable to his own frankness and fair dealing, and to the sagacity of his illustrious host.

The secret of the Pacha's power both at home and abroad, in Egypt or in Syria, lies certainly in the geographical position of the former. Surrounded by the sea on one side, and by deserts, with difficulty passable to troops, on the other quarters—with a navigable river running through it, and no natural positions of strength—a few hired soldiers can keep in order the whole people of this very fruitful country; and the resources both of men and money which it so abundantly affords, can be employed in expeditions to enlarge or retain Asiatic conquests.

The extraordinary efforts by which the Pacha has created a navy, as well as an arsenal, are well known. He owes his success principally to M. Bresson, a French naval officer, who had the command of a frigate at Rochfort in 1815, when Napoleon fled thither and intended to sail for America. M. Bresson fitted up a vessel for this enterprise; it was a merchantman, called *La Madeleine*, and a place was prepared for him, of casks lined with mattresses, and communicating internally. The great Emperor's valuables were embarked by piecemeal, and all secured readily, when he suddenly changed his mind, and opened a communication with Capain Maitland, who was cruising off the coast. Nothing can evince more clearly, that he was no longer the same man, whose perspicacity of mind and firmness of purpose had so long served to govern fortune herself. His chances of escape were far greater than of being captured; when, to avoid a certain voyage and possible capture at sea, he rushed into the worst calamity that could have befallen him had his escape been intercepted. The *Madeleine* arrived safe in America, after a short and prosperous voyage, without ever being stopped or searched at all. How bitterly must he have lamented his folly and infirmity of purpose on the rock of St Helena! The devotion of M. Bresson to his old master becoming known to the restored government, his prospects were blighted for ever; he was obliged to quit his profession and his country; and he repaired to Egypt, where he is at the head of the Pacha's marine in reality, though not in name and title.

The Marshal, on revisiting Aboukir, recalls to mind the great battles of which it was the scene in 1798; and gives an interesting account of Napoleon's demeanour upon receiving the news of the naval victory by which Nelson destroyed his fleet. He was in the Marshal's tent in the camp of Kauka, between Belbeys and Cairo, when this fatal intelligence reached him in Kleber's despatches. He received it with the greatest magnanimity—did not affect to underrate the importance and extent of the loss—saw himself at once cut off from Europe and thrown upon his own resources—and declared that it was now necessary to make Egypt resume the ancient position, as a first-rate kingdom, for which her natural advantages fitted her. 'With courage and 'good-will,' cried he, 'there is no limits that one may not reach, 'no result but what one may hope for.'—'The great affair for 'us, the most important thing, is to preserve the army from a 'discouragement which would be the germ of its destruction. 'Let us know how to raise ourselves upon the wreck of the tem-'pest, and the waves will be conquered. We are perhaps destined 'to renew the strength of the East, and to place our names by the 'side of those who hold the most illustrious places in the annals of 'ancient history, and of the middle ages.' It is to be regretted that he showed little of this magnanimity in accounting for the defeat; he throws the whole blame off his own shoulders on those of the gallant and unfortunate Brueys, whom he condemned for having disobeyed orders to cruise as far as Corfu, which our author asserts he never had received. There is not perhaps, in his whole history, any passage more discreditable to his memory than this attempt basely to cast upon a dead man the blame which was entirely his own;—of having by gross want of arrangement exposed his fleet to destruction.

The Marshal gives his opinion in detail, and supported by reasons apparently satisfactory, on the very great incapacity shown by Menou in resisting the expedition under Generals Abercromby and Hutchinson. It would seem that nothing but the most unpardonable blunder could have ruined the French army in Egypt, or saved ours from destruction. Most of the author's military remarks are, as might be expected, of a sound, practical, and valuable description. The following observations upon the means best adapted for rallying French troops that are panic-stricken, are the result of actual experience, and are interesting accordingly:—'When, in the midst of the combat, French sol-'diers are momentarily in disorder, it is not by reprimands, 'imprecations, or threats, that one succeeds in rallying them: it 'is by presenting yourself to them with calmness—speaking to 'them with firmness, but with gentleness; it is by setting the 'example, that you stop them; that you decide them to face the

'enemy, and that you re-conduct them to the fight. I have more 'than once experienced this, and I have acquired the proof of 'it. Their minds are thus tranquillized, their imaginations 'calmed; sentiments of duty and honour resume their empire, 'and the brave soldier re-appears.'—This passage is replete with excellent sense and sound philosophy, as well as grounded upon actual experience; and it demonstrates the folly of those who have represented General Marmont as a man of mean intellect. It is another proof of the same kind, that he has so well denoted the necessity to French soldiers, above all others, of being led by a man in whose skill and fortune they can have confidence;—'because our soldiers, *spirituel* and intelligent, quickly appre-'ciate their chief, and know beforehand if his capacity promises 'them success. When they suspect the contrary, they then grudge 'a sacrifice which would be without utility. The man who would 'have been happy to make it with the hope of victory, becomes 'unwilling to expose himself; and one cannot blame him. One 'does not go into the army to be killed; but to fight the enemy 'and to conquer him, with the chance of being killed one's-self. 'When one is convinced that success is impossible, one reserves 'himself for another occasion. With French soldiers, to inspire 'confidence is the first thing a general ought to aim at;—talent 'will only succeed afterwards. It is certainly true that continued 'success is the result of ability, and that the confidence which 'results from it, has thus talent for its groundwork.'—(III. 208.)

At Cairo the Marshal found another of his countrymen settled, and enjoying high favour and distinguished place in the Pacha's service;—a Frenchman of the name of Selves, born at Lyons, but now called Soliman Pacha. He had served in Villeneuve's squadron, and retired in disgust at seeing his admiral allow Sir Robert Calder to beat his fleet of thirty-seven sail with eighteen, and capture two of his ships. Yet in this victory, the unreasonable people of England tried and censured the admiral who gained it, and who died of a broken heart! It is stated by our author that Napoleon's plan was, by sending inferior squadrons to sea in various directions, to distract our force, and obtain a command of the Channel—momentary indeed, but decisive, as it would have enabled the Boulogne flotilla to land the invading army upon the English shores. The confidence with which General Marmont states this matter, and the respect due to his opportunities of information, make us refer to the passage; although all our own information, and all the probabilities of the case, would lead to the inference that Napoleon had abandoned the idea of invasion as an impossible project, which had served its purpose, by creating alarm here and exciting interest in France. When he came to Egypt, Selves was employed by the Pacha in superintending his

project of establishing regular troops; as they offered almost insuperable obstacles from the invincible repugnance of the Turks and Arabs to any such service. The Marshal greatly praises the address and skill with which this difficult and delicate operation has been begun, and pronounces its complete success to be certain, if Soliman Pacha continues to superintend it with the full confidence and support of his master. But it must not be imagined that the Egyptian army has to wait for this consummation, which will make it far the most powerful in the East, before it is formidable. Ibrahim Pacha marched to Syria, in 1832, a well-appointed force of forty battalions of infantry, eight regiments of horse, and four thousand Bedouin Arabs, to serve at the outposts; he had a train of artillery of sixty pieces, and a siege equipment besides. Five sail of the line and a number of frigates attended the movement on the coast. Ibrahim, except in the siege of St Jean d'Acre, showed great military skill and resources. After a variety of operations in the field, all of which proved successful, he totally defeated the Turkish army of three times his force at Konieh; and our author, who minutely details the history of this memorable campaign in his second volume, represents the rout as so complete, that ten Turks did not remain together in any one part of the whole country. The people, too, gratified with the discipline of the Egyptian army, which formed a marked contrast to the pillage of the Turks, counted the Pacha as a protector and liberator, and lent his operations every assistance; nor did any obstacle remain between Ibrahim and Constantinople, when the European courts interfered and saved the Ottoman empire from destruction. They have recently repeated, but with less apparent, certainly less immediate, success, their interference to prevent Turkey from attacking the Pacha in Syria. The result is, at the moment we write, still doubtful; though no doubt whatever seems to exist, that military movements are in the contemplation of both the rival potentates.*

The military establishment of Mehemet Ali has all the parts which such a system requires. In the arsenal at Cairo is a fine cannon foundery and a manufactory of small arms, which our author proves to be quite perfect in its production: he affirms, that the French arms are not superior in excellence. 'All is 'done regularly and with enterprise, and by the authority of a 'tariff; in short, this manufactory is as perfect and as econo-'mically conducted as the best we have in France.' The general at the head of this department, is Eteim Bey, a Turk, of whose

* The truth of this conjecture has since been verified by the total destruction of the Turkish army in one battle.

scientific acquirements the Marshal speaks with much admiration; placing him also, as an officer of engineers and artillery, on a level with the best he has ever known. This is the eminent individual who has lately visited our country, and gained general esteem by his intelligence and activity, as well as by the suavity of his manners. While here, he received the important appointment of Minister of Public Instruction; for the ignorant Mussulmans, the Turkish barbarians, do not neglect a department which, in the plenitude of our civilized pride, we of Great Britain will not condescend to regard as at all worthy of public attention. The Marshal greatly commends the military schools of the Pacha, which he examined. Here, too, a Frenchman was found to preside, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Saint Cyr—Colonel Varin. One of these establishments, composed of 360 youths, forms a regiment of cavalry, and our author saw their manœuvres. 'I imagined I saw before me one 'of our finest regiments of cavalry. There was only wanting, 'to complete the success of this school, some instruction in 'fencing, languages, drawing, &c.; but as for all that concerns 'the service of the cavalry, there is nothing farther to improve 'or to acquire. The horsemanship is good, the manœuvres are 'rapid and precise, the *tenue* the best possible, and the intelli-'gence displayed all that any one could desire.' He adds, that as soon as these schools shall have given two or three thousand officers to the Pacha's regiments, which in a very few years must happen, 'the Egyptian army will be perfect.' This testimony from so high a military authority is certainly of great value, and may be regarded as quite decisive of the question to which it relates. We must also add, that such statements prove sufficiently the absurdity of the notion that this work contains nothing of importance. Can any one doubt, that the thorough examination of the military condition of Mehemet Ali's dominions, by a judge so accomplished as General Marmont, and his free and detailed report thereupon, form a very important addition to our information upon one of the most interesting political and national questions of the present day?

The most interesting part, however, is the account given by the Marshal of the steps by which Soliman-Pacha, (Selves,) succeeded in the difficult plan of introducing a regular force. This detail gives a very high idea of the genius of that eminent person;—a genius which, if applied to the general reform of Oriental institutions, promises the most important results. We can only make room for the fundamental portion of the account:—

'Selves saw at a glance, that his *début* would have great influence upon the success of his work—and, before undertaking it, he reflected, profoundly, on the manner in which he ought to act.

'He set apart, to form the nucleus of the army which they wished to organize, a small body of from three to four hundred Mamelukes, whom Mehemet Ali had in his body-guard. He found in this several advantages: first, because it was composed of young, active, and intelligent men; secondly, the Mamelukes have been from time immemorial feared and respected by the Egyptians;—they exercise a power of opinion belonging to their origin; and this power, augmented by talent and ability, ought to be irresistible. It is only necessary to convince, instruct, and discipline these Mamelukes;—there he found his principal difficulty.

'This corps was sent to Syène, on the southern confines of Upper Egypt, and placed in complete isolation, in order that it might be protected from the intrigues which might corrupt and alienate it from the views of the Pacha. Selves exerted himself to acquire the personal friendship of these young Mamelukes; and very soon succeeded. He was himself agile and expert, and a good equestrian—he mixed in their recreations, and, it is well known, that it is the prevailing passion of the Mamelukes to pass their whole life in military games. In such occupations Selves very soon became the most expert; he inspired the soldiers with the desire of becoming acquainted with European exercises, and he quickly established a salutary emulation. Every one's self-love became interested not to be behind his comrades. All this instruction was given and received as a pastime; but when it went beyond the mere management of arms, there were fewer amateurs, and the obligation of silence and immobility displeased them; murmurs would then often break out; sometimes an open discontent threatened a revolt, and, one day, an attempt was even made against the life of Selves; but, in braving their blows, he proved that he did not fear death, and he showed generosity in not seeking out the guilty. By this conduct, he at length gained their affection.

'When this course of instruction was completed, the Mamelukes formed a model battalion, which furnished the framework for the new troops. Peasants were then enlisted among them and instructed; and the Egyptian army was organized.

'During many years, officers were appointed from the Turks or Mamelukes; the Pacha not wishing to trust himself in the hands of the Arabs, nor place entire reliance upon them; but, by degrees, as his authority became established, so that he could reckon with confidence upon the devotion of his army, he admitted the Arabs to occupy the situation of subaltern officers. These subalterns showed great intelligence and activity, and such of them as were raised to the rank of officers, soon became the best, and were preferred to the Turks. At the present day there is no longer any barrier to their advancement, and they can occupy superior stations. There is displayed in this proceeding as much wisdom as ability, address, and prudence.'

In recounting the improvements effected by the eminent men whom Mehemet Ali employs, we must not omit the tribute of justice due to him who has the sagacity to surround himself with such instruments of good. No weak prince ever was served by a succession, or by a number of able ministers. But the Pacha is as active himself as any of his servants. He is up early, works all day, attends to the whole details of his administration,

civil and military, and apparently has the wisdom to leave the proper agents undisturbed in the exercise of the functions to which he has destined them, when they are capable of well performing them; but as he can only trust his European officers fully in this respect, his interference is continually required in all the departments filled by Egyptians or by Turks of inferior capacity and accomplishments. It is remarkable enough that he has established a Council for the discussion of legislative as well as executive measures; and, if he had a sufficient number of able and enlightened councillors, the consequences might be most beneficial. This, however, is said not to be the case. The President of his Council is Monktar Bey, a young Turk, educated at Paris. But no improvement of a solid and enduring nature can ever be expected in this country, as long as the Pacha shows so little respect to the rights of property. He never interferes, indeed, with the land properties of families who have held them immemorially; nor does he ever touch the houses and gardens in the towns; but others he from time to time has seized, giving pensions and other annuities by way of compensation. Though personal property is universally secure, yet all fortunes of every sort are constantly affected by the monopolies which he establishes, and establishes chiefly for his own profit; for, besides the heavy imposts by which he drains the wealth of his people, he is himself a great 'merchant, 'dealer, and chapman;' and woe be to the competitors and to the customers of an absolute prince who exercises this trade, together with his proper art of sovereign. Accordingly, our author paints a truly deplorable picture of the operations by which the conjunct professions are carried on. It is the ambition—a just and a noble ambition—of the Pacha to be esteemed and admired by the civilized nations of Europe. No more useful motive of action could be adopted by a prince in his peculiar circumstances: it shows that he lives beyond his age, and is resolved to civilize his country. Then let him be well assured, that the impolicy to which we have adverted, and the many vexatious and unjust imposts to which it has given rise, are the certain means of frustrating all his endeavours to improve Egypt; and the equally certain means of preventing the nations of Europe from regarding him with esteem and respect. Marshal Marmont is his friend, and, wherever he can, his warm panegyrist. Nothing that the traveller can fairly pass over, is set down against the prince who gave him so distinguished a reception, and consulted him in all his affairs; and what truth compels him to state, is represented with candour and with moderation. Then let the Pacha reflect on the effect which must be produced, and justly produced, against him, by such passages as the following, coming from so

friendly a quarter:—'The vexatious and petty taxes which I 'have enumerated, and the evidently unjust acts of the govern- 'ment, torment the people, without bringing much benefit to 'the state. Their suppression would give it a new strength— 'a power which would largely compensate for the sacrifice.'

'The Marshal spoke,' he says, 'on all occasions, to the Pacha 'with entire frankness; and found him, like all superior men, 'able to bear contradiction with perfect patience and temper: on 'some points he yielded, in others he remained of his own opinion.' He gives us a detailed account of the Egyptian army; which amounts to 92,640 men, distributed in thirty regiments of four battalions each; and each regiment has one of its four battalions light infantry—an arrangement highly approved by our author. The cavalry consists of thirty regiments, of six troops each, amounting in all to about twenty thousand men. The artillery consists of three regiments of twelve batteries, partly mounted and partly not. The corps of Gynies consists of four battalions, of eight companies each. Beside this large force, there are 10,000 Bedouins of light troops, and very serviceable. Our author expresses a decided opinion in favour of the perfect skill with which the troops are stationed, both in Syria and in Egypt, for the defence of the two countries.

On quitting Egypt, the Marshal returned to Europe by Malta, where he was hospitably received by the late gallant, amiable, and lamented governor, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, one of the most distinguished and beloved officers in our army, and by Mr Frere, whose literary talents are universally known, and whose society is so much sought by all.

The work contains an appendix of valuable pieces, chiefly connected with Napoleon. A long and very important note of his own upon Egyptian affairs, is the most valuable of these. It contains all that great man's plans for the improvement of the country; and in most respects Mehemet Ali has been guided in his policy and his improvements by this document.

It would not be fair to close this article, in which blame has been cast on Mehemet Ali, and advice respectfully tendered to his Highness, without recording two acts of his administration that do him infinite honour. He has planted Schools every where; and continues to encourage and promote popular education, as far as it is possible in the circumstances of his people. He has prohibited the importation of Negroes, by ordinances which bid fair to abolish the African slave-trade all over Egypt.

ART. IV.—*Correspondence of* WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM. *Edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Captain John Henry Pringle, Executors of his Son John, Earl of Chatham, and published from the Original Manuscripts in their possession.* Vols. II. and III., 8vo. London: 1838-9.

WHEN the first volume of this very interesting work appeared, we called to it the attention of our readers, and took occasion to enter at some length into the character of the illustrious person whose remains form the principal portion of its contents. The appearance of the two volumes before us, suggests the propriety of again entering upon the subject; and we shall thus be enabled to add further important information to that before delivered upon Lord Chatham's history and habits; and also to preserve some memorial of the other figures in the group of which he was the centre. We must premise that the editors have continued, in the present publication, to conduct their work with the same diligence and the same success. Availing themselves again, as we presume, of Mr Wright's able assistance, they have accompanied all the letters with explanatory notes, stating the particulars which the reader desires to know, in order to understand the text;—as the events briefly alluded to in the correspondence, the history of the persons mentioned, and such other particulars as are known to those only who have devoted much of their time to the personal history of the last hundred and fifty years, and which must be learned by the student of our general annals, else he is liable to make continual and important mistakes. We cannot dismiss this prefatory notice of the execution of the present work, without also, in justice to Mr Wright, noticing another in which he is engaged—the publication of the Parliamentary Debates during the Parliament which began in 1768 and ended in 1774. These invaluable remains are treasured up in the shorthand notes of Sir Henry Cavendish, who, from the specimen published, (the Quebec Bill Debate,) appears to have been one of the very best reporters that ever attempted the difficult and useful task of preserving the eloquence of their day. The Government, with a praiseworthy liberality, are understood to have assisted this important work; and surely the public patronage never was better bestowed.

Upon the most remarkable passage of Lord Chatham's life, his Resignation in October 1761, little new light is thrown in these letters. That Lord Bute had widely differed with him all along upon the conduct of the war, and had shown repeated symptoms

of uneasiness at his bold and comprehensive plans, termed wild, rash, precipitate—nay, occasionally insane—is certain. These papers contain proofs of this, and also of that favourite minister having viewed, with the jealousy natural to a courtier, one whose influence was built upon his popularity;—one whom the people regarded as their representative in the Cabinet, as well as the Senate. His extrusion from office, was therefore resolved upon, in all probability, as soon as Lord Bute had, after much hesitation, made up his own mind to take an ostensible situation. He was determined to be the Prime Minister of the young Prince, whose favour he enjoyed; and he saw, like the rest of the Cabinet, not only that while Lord Chatham was in office he must ever hold the first place, but that no one else could have any weight or any consideration at all. Gerard Hamilton's ('Single Speech') account of his predominancy, is as correct as it is well-expressed—'For those who want merely to keep a subor-'dinate employment, Mr Pitt is certainly the best minister in 'the world; but for those who wish to have a share in the rule 'and government of the country, he is the worst.' It is easy to see that, with the exception of Lord Temple, his brother-in-law, all his other colleagues were likely to adopt Lord Bute's views, and to take part with him who was at once the King's choice and their own safeguard from the great Commoner's domination. This feeling soon appeared in the deliberations of the Cabinet. The French Court had thrown obstacles in the way of peace, by taking part with Spain in the differences then beginning with that power. Lord Chatham long perceived that the alliance of the different branches of the Bourbons was closer than the safety of Europe allowed; and he saw that every thing was tending towards a rupture with the Court of Madrid. When, therefore, the French ultimatum arrived, he gave a firm and somewhat stern answer to it; in a despatch which the Cabinet, after much discussion, only adopted by a narrow majority. Lord Bute, immediately after, wrote a letter to Lord Chatham, in which he communicated the King's desire that the despatch should be sent; but his 'great concern at a matter of such im-'mense importance being carried by so slender a majority'—and his surprise that words could not 'have been chosen in which 'all might have concurred.' In about a month after this occurrence, intelligence was received of the Family Compact—confirming Lord Chatham's recent apprehensions—and further information of measures about to be taken by Spain for protecting her valuable American commerce and remittances. On the 18th September, he gave his decided opinion to the Cabinet, that a rupture being now inevitable, 'prudence, as well as spirit, required

'England to secure to herself the first blow;' and he proposed seizing the Spanish fleets on their way to Europe. Lord Bute first opposed this proposal 'as rash and unadvisable.' No decision was come to, the Cabinet being thinly attended. A few days after, all being present, Lord Chatham resumed his advice for immediate hostilities; the majority were not satisfied of the necessity for this step, but no resolution was taken either way. Early in October, a third discussion led to the whole ministers being against him, except Lord Temple. The great man then declared, that, 'as this was the moment for humbling the House 'of Bourbon, it was the last time he would sit among them 'if his advice were now rejected.' He thanked them for their support; said 'that he was called to the ministry by the people's 'voice, and to the people should deem himself accountable for 'his conduct; but that he could not continue responsible for 'measures which he was no longer allowed to direct.' The King having rejected his advice, tendered in writing, he and Lord Temple resigned their places on the 5th of October.

On the following day, Lord Bute, by the King's desire, offered him the government of Canada, with five thousand a-year of salary, and the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, a lucrative sinecure; and, after some negotiation, it ended in a peerage to his wife and a pension of L.3000. The letters written by Lord Bute on this occasion are very becoming in every respect; those of Lord Chatham are extremely humble, and betoken a far more rapturous sense of the Royal favour showed to his family, than of indignation at the Court cabal which had just involved in ruin the best interests of his country. 'Overwhelmed with the 'King's gracious goodness, he desires to lay himself at the 'Royal feet with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and 'respectful gratitude.'—'Penetrated with the bounteous favour 'of a most benign Sovereign and master, he is comforted with 'his condescension in deigning to bestow one thought about 'any inclination of his servant.'—'Any mark of approbation, 'flowing from such a spontaneous source of clemency, will be 'his comfort and his glory.' Then, when the matter is finally settled on his own suggestion, he has afterwards to express the 'sentiments of veneration and gratitude with which he receives 'the unbounded effects of beneficence and grace, which the 'most benign of Sovereigns has condescended to bestow.'—'No wonder that the sensations which possess his whole heart, 'refuse him the power of describing their extent.' But he only desires to 'offer his Majesty the genuine tribute of the 'truly feeling heart, which he dares to hope the same Royal 'benevolence which showers on the unmeritorious such unlimited

'benefits, may deign to accept with equal welcome and goodness.' In all this, we find it hard to say whether the honourable and manly feelings of the mind, or the principles of correct taste, are the most outraged. The feelings expressed by the Great Commoner on account of bounty,—of pecuniary bounty, accompanying his being driven from the helm to make way for what he deemed imbecility, and what certainly was favouritism—are of a cast bordering upon the mean and the servile—even the sordid; while the words chosen to convey them, are barely the ordinary English of a bad novel. Surely we have made a great step towards the acquisition of plain good sense, in thinking of and speaking to sovereigns, since the year 1761. The most abject courtier would hardly now venture to use such expressions of almost idolatrous devotion to his king, as the greatest patriot of the last century blushed not to employ, when making his successful competitor for power the channel of carrying his thanks for royal favour. We doubt if any man of our times durst so far become accessory to his own undoing with the country—to the loss of all popular weight and influence—as to take a pension and a title upon being extruded from office for a difference of principle. We are quite sure, no one who did stoop so low, would venture still further to seek his own degradation by such humble and almost pious thanksgivings as Lord Chatham poured out before the altar of Royal Mercy.

It is but just that we should add—what these letters plainly prove—the fact of Lord Chatham never casting any kind of blame on Lord Bute for his conduct on this memorable occasion. The meanest of the mean, indeed, Bubb Doddington, in his notorious 'Diary,' has recorded the triumphant exultation of the base herd of courtiers he belonged to; and has printed a letter, written by him to the favourite, 'sincerely wishing him joy of 'being delivered of' (as if he had been brought to bed) 'a most 'impracticable colleague, his Majesty of a most impure servant, 'and the country of a most dangerous minister;' and he adds a very handsome offer, of 'readily undertaking any place where the 'service is most dangerous and difficult;'—which they well know who know courtiers and their temperament, means any good easy place, with little work to do, and much salary to receive. Lord Bute's answer does him great credit. While he promises to acquaint the King with Bubb's 'very frank and friendly declaration,' (whereof no advantage of course was taken,) he says 'he is far from 'thinking the change advantageous to the King's affairs;' and he then shows how all the blame will be thrown on himself, which, however, will make him steady and resolute as well as cautious. Lord Bute, in the course of a year and a half, was driven from the helm, as he himself distinctly admitted, by the clamour raised against him mainly on account of his native country; and, although

he continued for three or four months longer a member of the Cabinet, he soon gave that situation up also, and retired for ever from all concern in public affairs. Before leaving office he opened a communication with Lord Chatham, whom he saw more than once, and who saw the King. The frank exposition which he made of the sweeping change necessary for carrying on the public service, alarmed the sovereign, and the treaty broke off. It was the subject of very great discussion in those days; and, being some time afterwards tabled in the House of Commons, a curious letter remains of Gerard Hamilton, giving an account of the debate. It appears that the King had said to Lord Chatham, 'Should I 'consent to these demands, Mr Pitt, there would nothing more 'be left for me, but to take the crown from my head and put it 'on yours, and then patiently submit my neck to the block.' All that had been asked, however, was to turn out the Tories, and those who voted for the peace. This passage was not given in the debate; but all who spoke did ample justice to Lord Bute's conduct. 'I think,' says Gerard Hamilton, 'the day was a very reputable 'one for Lord Bute—that it gave, as indeed it ought to give, a 'great deal of satisfaction to his friends, to hear both Mr 'Pitt and George Grenville labouring to explain that they had 'not the least degree of personal animosity whatever to him; and 'letting it be understood, that if he would wish either of these ministers to be satisfied with a moderate share of influence, they should 'be extremely happy in his friendship,' (II. 379.) It is plain, however, from this passage, that the writer laboured under the common error of supposing that Lord Bute had some influence over, and communication with the King after his resignation in 1763. This impression is visible throughout most of the letters, in this collection, in which any reference to Lord Bute is made. The truth is, nothing can be more utterly groundless than the supposition of his ever having interfered in public affairs after he resigned. We have the most positive assertion to that effect, on the authority of both George III., and the family of Stuart, in Lord Brougham's 'Historical Sketches.'* Mr Wilberforce once in the House of Commons made the same statement, distinctly and authentically; and these volumes contain a remarkable confirmation of it in the conversation between Lord Chatham and George III. himself, in August 1763. When Lord Chatham (vol. ii. p. 250) suggested that the King would be pleased to hear of Lord Bute and himself 'uniting their councils for 'his service,' the King stopped him short with, 'How, Mr

* I. 48, 390, and II. 1.

'Pitt, do you mean to laugh at me? You must know, as 'well as I, that that nobleman is determined never more to 'take any share in the administration.' This plainly shows that the King himself felt strongly on the subject; and this was possibly one cause of Lord Bute's complete retirement from state affairs. Whether his Majesty had become aware of the connexion long believed to exist with his mother, (a kind of *mesalliance* which princely personages are supposed to forgive much less easily than they overlook other and less worthy intimacies;) or that he disliked the share which fell to his lot of the former favourite's unpopularity; and that he particularly was impatient of the Scotch connexion, as he in later periods always showed both when speaking of Lord Loughborough and Lord Melville; certain it is, that the somewhat sharp expressions used on this occasion, betoken a wish on his part to give the connexion with Lord Bute a peremptory contradiction; and the same feelings most probably had some concern in actually breaking it off.

While these scenes of our older party history pass under review, it is impossible to avoid marking the great and salutary change which has been wrought in public feeling, and to which the movements of faction have as usual accommodated themselves, since the beginning of George III's reign. We allude to the vulgar outcry then raised against Lord Bute on account of his birthplace. His defects as a statesman may have been considerable, although we verily believe they were much exaggerated; for he was a man of perfectly sound judgment, possessed of more plain good sense than fell to the lot of some more brilliant persons; and far better informed than most politicians of his day. His pursuits were those of a literary and even a scientific man. In the history of his own country, he was perfectly well read. Of foreign nations, their literature, and their affairs, he knew more than most people. He was sincerely attached to the constitution of the country; and no man ever had a more true or a more judicious friend than George III. and his family possessed in him. That he wanted the decision which was required in whoever would guide the state at a crisis of complicated difficulty—difficulty increased even by the splendid victories which had crowned the arms of our ally in Germany, as well as our own in America and the East—is not to be denied. That he possessed none of the bold original views in administering state affairs, which marked out Lord Chatham for universal admiration, which happily were attended with dazzling success, but which might have nearly ruined the country—is readily admitted; and the want of them was, indeed, one of the qualifications for filling the place of a safe coun-

sellor which Lord Bute relied on—one of the titles on which he advanced his claims to direct the public councils. He professed to be 'fit for a calm,' and not one that would 'steer too near the 'shore to show his wit,' any more than, like 'a daring pilot in 'extremity'—

> 'Pleased with the danger when the waves run high,
> He sought the deep.'

His was a compromising spirit, much more resembling the character of Lord Chatham's prudent and practical son, than the genius and the fire of the father. But to the eloquence of neither father nor son did he make any pretensions. He had, indeed, but small force of speech; spoke as much below his abilities as many others have done above theirs; and delivered what he said after so slow and sententious a fashion, that Charles Townsend amused himself with comparing the operation to 'the 'firing of minute guns;'—alluding possibly to the want of effect, as well as the intervals. Some favouritism towards connexions and north countrymen, he might perhaps be accused of; but assuredly not one whit more than might be found in the proceedings of all ministers in those days. Nor could any thing be more clean-handed than his whole conduct as regarded himself; for he was the favourite and the minister of a young king, whose entire confidence he possessed for three or four years; and he retired into private life without a pension, a sinecure place, a step in the peerage to himself or any of his family; nay, without more than a riband and a star to bear witness of his favour. Nor did he ever adopt the practice resorted to by public men in former times, that of making state promotion at home and abroad, the means of silencing troublesome claimants, and disposing of inconvenient neighbours and place-mates. No such charges were ever made against Lord Bute, for so many years, both in and out of power, the object of such unwearied attacks.

But, indeed, no personal charges at all seem ever to have been thought of, or deemed necessary, to swell the voice of public indignation. He was a *Scotchman*, and that was all; but that was enough in those days of strong national prejudice, and unreflecting popular violence. That he was a favourite might often be averred, too; but the *gravamen* was in the addition of his country, not in the quality of his post. He was a *Scotch favourite*, and that sufficed. This simple, intelligible topic, founded on a plain and perfectly undeniable fact, suggesting reflexions level to the meanest capacity, abounding in results peculiarly interesting, well adapted to excite a personal feeling in all English people, and, as it were, to make every one born south

of the Tweed, feel individually concerned in destroying the object of general hostility—this fertile topic, as inexhaustible as it was easy to be handled, furnished all the libellers of the government for many long years with materials for invective;—lent itself to every kind of low ribaldry; became the natural ally of each additional slander that might occasionally be engrafted on it; and was easily combined with whatever fictions a malignant fancy could supply, when there should arise any demand for variety of abuse. The popular declaimers of the day poured all their invectives on Scotland—for Scotland was reserved the boisterous ranting of the hustings, as well as the more subdued insinuations of the senate—on Scotland was poured out all the phials of wrath which the press diffused through the various classes of society. Scotchmen, Scotch customs, Scotch principles, Scotch appointments, were the perpetual theme of abuse with all who would recommend themselves to English favour in any quarter. The Scotch party were stamped with all the odium of rebellion, because the Pretender had appealed to the Highlanders before he marched into the very loyal country, where, a few years before, it had been found necessary to suspend the constitution, lest the great majority of the people should restore the Stuarts by Act of Parliament! Scotch selfishness was spoken of as glibly as if the talkers did not live in a country where public principle meant the partition of lucrative places amongst a few great families and their retainers. Scotch corruption was declaimed against by those whose rulers openly bought with a price, paid in moneys numbered, the votes of their representatives; and the jobs done for the Scotch were impudently complained of by the English, only because they were not done for themselves. Nor was it only the bluster of mob meetings, and the ribaldry of the newspapers, that made this base material the staple of their traffic: the most approved vehicles of political sentiment were only fraught with the same article. That it was in universal demand, plainly appears from the use constantly made of it by such a writer as 'Junius.' It forms the subject of his constant allusions; and even when attacking Lord Mansfield, who had left Scotland in his early infancy, his nativity is never forgotten. Wilkes, however, the mob patriot of the day, the sworn representative of English popular feeling, went still further in the same direction. His name was not in those times more wedded to that of liberty—which he degraded, after trying in vain to sell it for a price—than his principles (if we may so prostitute the word) were interwoven with the national feeling against Scotland. Nay, as periodical writers in our better day choose for the title of their

publications some name connected with the sound and enlightened sentiments of the age, and recommend the productions of their pen to general favour, under the designation of Reformer, or Liberal, or Patriot, or Instructor; the unprincipled pretender to patriotism addressed the prejudices of his countrymen under the title of '*North Briton*,' to show that on a hatred of part of his fellow-citizens he founded his claims to the confidence of the rest.

It is gratifying to reflect on the complete change which the public feeling on this subject has since that day undergone, universally all over England. Justice is now done, and ample justice, to the merits and the worth of Scotchmen. No jealousy is felt at their promotion to the highest places in the empire. Ministers of state, chancellors, parliamentary orators, learned professors, commanders of first-rate eminence by sea and by land, have come from this country, in a proportion to its extent and the number of its people, highly honourable to our nation; and national jealousy of any kind is the last feeling excited among our southern neighbours by the success of our countrymen all over the world. While the feeling towards us is so much improved among the English by their extended information and more enlightened views, our own national character has manifestly made considerable advances. The slavish dependence on the rulers of the day; the steadfast looking unto the powers that be, as if they were of God; the dread of any act or word that could betoken independence of great men, by which our ancestors were distinguished—have given place to a more manly and erect state of the mind. While the English have become less bigoted in their prejudices, more refined in their estimate of public virtue, and more habituated to think rather of principle than of party and personal advantage; so have we gained not a little of sound and pure notions upon state affairs. Much, however, remains to be done in both parts of the island; much to be learned, and not a little to be unlearned also. We are not, like our English neighbours, apt to be suddenly led away by a cry or a project—'of schemes 'enamoured, and of schemes the gulls;'—nor, like the enthusiastic sons of Ireland, can we submit our faith without the least reflection to the first deceiver who comes forward to play upon us. From such English, and still more from such Irish wanderings, our cautious, wary, distrustful nature, which we not erroneously call sound and safe judgment, for the most part secures us. But that we still regard the political conflict too much as a game of adversaries, and look far more to the interesting question of position than the essential one of principle—regarding rather where men are, on the sunny or the

shady side of the wall, than what positions they hold in point of doctrine—looking more to their associates and connexions than their principles—weighing in nice scales their preponderance at court, rather than their estimation in the senate—all this is, perhaps with some show of truth, still alleged against us: but if such peculiarities of character and habits exist, it cannot be doubted that they are destined speedily to give place to a more sound and a more respectable political temperament. The change would be as nothing compared with that which we have been contemplating in the English people's prejudices respecting ourselves;—prejudices the more hard to be overcome, because the habits of thinking which have their origin in strong feelings, are far more difficult to eradicate than any mere error of judgment, which so naturally falls before the exertion of the reasoning powers.

These volumes afford a striking illustration at once of the former prejudices to which we have been referring, and of Lord Chatham rising, as indeed was to be expected, proudly above them. Two letters are preserved; one by a Kentish clergyman, a devoted admirer of the great statesman, and speaking the accustomed language of his party—the liberal and patriotic party of the day—about Wilkes and about Scotland; the other from the Earl himself, sharply and sternly rebuking the officious and perverted zeal of the busy priest. We print them at length for the reader's edification.

The Rev. Paul Shenton to Mr Pitt.

'Hartliffe, near Chatham, Dec. 4, 1764.

'HONOURED SIR,—I am a clergyman, and a sincere wellwisher to the glorious society in Albemarle Street, and to all Mr Pitt's friends and party. I have often had thoughts of making my wishes known to Mr Pitt, but have hitherto been deterred by the fear and awe of approaching so great a name. I have at length broke through my natural timidity, and have ventured in this manner to let the glorious minority know they have many friends in secret.

'My intention of intruding upon your time is this. In my two parishes I can procure eight or nine votes; and, in the neighbourhood, I may venture to say I could procure twenty. I belong to a club of gentlemen, some of whom have votes, and all sincere partisans of Mr Pitt. Our intention is to bring in, at the election for the county, some gentleman of your party; that is, the party of honour and virtue. If Mr Wilkes returns to England by the time of the election, and if you would honour us so far as to send down that able statesman, I sincerely believe the county in general would elect him, for his own and your sake. If it is incompatible with Mr Wilkes's affairs to represent the county, I dare be bold to say, that the county will make choice of any one you will recommend.

'I have some thoughts of writing a pamphlet, to exhort the people of

England to repeal the Union Act. This book I should be extremely glad of dedicating to Lord Chief-Justice Pratt; or, if I could have your permission of dedicating it to yourself, I should think myself superlatively happy. In this little pamphlet, I have traced the Union from the time that Edward the First conquered Scotland, and shall point out, *honesto calamo*, all the miseries and disgraces England has suffered since she has been united to that barren province. I have nothing more to add, but to ask your pardon for this great freedom.—I am, honourable sir, your most obedient, most humble servant,

'PAUL SHENTON.'

Mr Pitt to the Rev. Paul Shenton.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

'Hayes, Dec. 8, 1764.

'SIR,—Having received a letter signed with the name to which I direct this, I cannot defer a moment expressing my astonishment and concern that one of your rank, a clergyman, could so misconceive of me, as to imagine that I countenanced libels, because I disapproved of part of the methods of proceeding relating to them. Let me undeceive you, sir, by telling you, that no wellwisher of mine, which you are so good as to say you are, can have led you into this error. I have ever abhorred such odious and dangerous writings; and, in the late unhappy instance of the *North Briton*, no man concurred more heartily than I did, in condemning and branding so licentious and criminal a paper.

'Next, as to a pamphlet which you say you have thoughts of writing, to exhort the people of England to repeal the Act of Union, and which you wish to dedicate to me, or to the great magistrate which you mention—know, sir, that I revere the Union as the main foundation of the strength and security of this island; that it was the great object of our immortal deliverer, King William; that France may wish to dissolve it, but that all good Englishmen will ever maintain it inviolate.

'You will, I doubt not, accept in good part this free, but not unuseful admonition to misguided zeal; and, if you really favour me with your good wishes, you will be glad to understand me aright. Be assured, then, sir, that I disdain and detest faction, as sincerely as I reverence and love the laws, rights, privileges, and honour of my country.—I am, sir, your obedient humble servant,

'WILLIAM PITT.

'P.S.—This letter to you may serve for all who, like you, are so widely mistaken concerning me.'

There is nothing, in this just and excellent letter, more to be remarked than the illustrious writer's noble disregard of personal consequences, when he is called upon to take his part respecting a man at that time so powerful as Wilkes, and a party so devoted to their base idol as was his. Lord Chatham had become the object of unmeasured attacks, as we shall presently

have occasion to observe, ever since his celebrated Resignation. The Court hated, because it had lost him; hated yet more bitterly, because it had maltreated him. Many of his supporters among the people had turned their backs upon the man no longer at the right hand of power. He still had the hearts of the liberal party with him; but over that party Wilkes and his city junto exercised an almost boundless sway. In these circumstances, a man situated as he was had the strongest motives to avoid a breach with that *coterie*, and indeed with that party; nor could any thing more put its favour to hazard, than at once declaring war against its daily leaders out of doors. Yet this step he hesitated not one moment to take. He did not rest there. In his place in Parliament, a year before, and in circumstances yet more critical as regarded his own standing with the popular party, he had openly 'disavowed all connexion with the man;' describing him as 'the blasphemer of his God, and libeller of his king;' declaring 'his abhorrence of the whole series of *North Britons*, 'and all his national reflections as illiberal, unmanly, detest-'able;' professing his opinion that, as the King's subjects were 'one people, the man who divided them was guilty of sedition;' and finally branding him 'as one not deserving to be ranked 'among the human species.' This strong and even vehement language was applied to the man, at a time when Lord Chatham was vigorously defending the constitution assailed in his person, and was maintaining the doctrine that privilege of Parliament extended to cases of libel; as he afterwards resisted the absurd extension of that privilege to the expulsion of Wilkes, when duly elected to serve. For Lord Chatham justly thought, that if the personal character of any one is to alienate men of principle from their defence, when attacked by arbitrary power, whether of courts or of senates, there is no safety for freedom, no protection for rights; inasmuch as it is ever in such vile subjects that the wily hand of tyranny makes its experiments how far arbitrary power may be safely pushed;—cunningly availing itself of men's natural repugnance to ally themselves with infamy, even when the infamous are oppressed, and when their wrongs, and not their characters, are alone in question.

In the course taken by this great man upon the occasion we have been referring to, a lesson well deserving to be deeply considered, and an example most worthy of being imitated by all statesmen, is held up to their view. A truckling, temporizing, neutral course, can never honourably, nor for any length of time beneficially, nor in the end even safely, be pursued towards base and profligate coadjutors, by public men; whether in office, or only standing upon the higher and the independent ground of their personal autho-

rity. To gain the support of such unworthy allies for the hour of difficulty, may tempt some; to ward off the blow for a season, by suppressing their opinion, by concealing their disgust at meanness and falsehood, may appear the dictates of prudence; but let them be well assured that all difficulties will only be augmented, all troubles be made to thicken around them, by a course as despicable as it is shortsighted; unless, indeed, the resolution has been taken of unqualified, unconditional submission—that step to which things must come at last. More noble, and not less wise and discreet than noble, sentiments inspired the great man whose career we are surveying. He, without any hesitation, declared war upon profligate and unprincipled panders to the passions of the mob; and to find them in alliance with the party on whose support he relied, and with the principles which in general he approved, only made him the more anxious to shake himself and his opinions the more free from the load of such a contamination. That no advance towards hostility had ever been made by the party in question before this attack, these volumes bear witness; for they contain a letter from Wilkes to the minister, asking a place;—of course vowing eternal attachment to him 'among all the chances and 'changes of a political world;' and professing that 'it is his pride 'to have Mr Pitt for his patron and friend.' That some personal intimacy had subsisted between the parties, was probably a reason the more for throwing the bad man off. The speech in Parliament bears some proofs of this, especially in alluding to Lord Temple, in whose militia regiment Wilkes was an officer.

The course of these reflexions and these statements regarding Lord Chatham's history, has brought us to mention the person who at that time of day filled the principal place among the demagogues out of doors, and whose name was for a long time regarded as synonymous with resistance to oppression.

The history of Wilkes is well known, and his general character is no longer any matter of controversy. Indeed, it is only justice towards him to remark, that there was so little about him of hypocrisy—the 'homage due from vice to virtue' being by him paid as reluctantly and as sparingly as any of his other debts—that, even while in the height of his popularity, hardly any doubt hung over his real habits and dispositions. About liberty, for which he cared little, and would willingly have sacrificed less, he made a loud and blustering outcry, which was only his way of driving his trade; but to purity of private life, even to its decencies, he certainly made no pretence; and, during the time of the mob's idolatry of his name, there never existed any belief in his good character as a man, however much his partisans might be deceiv-

ed in their notion that he was unlikely to sell them. He had received a good education—was a fair classical scholar—possessed the agreeable manners of polished society—married an heiress half as old again as himself—obliged her, by his licentious habits and profligate society, to live apart from him—made an attempt, when in want of money, to extort from her the annuity he had allowed for her support—is recorded in the Term Reports of the Court of King's Bench,* to have been signally defeated in this nefarious scheme—continued to associate with gentlemen of fortune far above his own—passed part of his life as a militia colonel—and fell into the embarrassed circumstances which, naturally resulting from such habits, occasioned in their turn the violent political courses pursued by him in order to relieve his wants. Contemporaneous, however, with the commencement of his loud-toned patriotism, and his virulent abuse of the Court, were his attempts to obtain promotion. One of these we have already noted in his application to Lord Chatham for a seat at the Board of Trade. Soon after that failure, he was defeated in his designs upon the Embassy at Constantinople, which his zeal for the liberties of the English people, and his wish to promote them in the most effectual manner, induced him to desire; and a third time his attempt was frustrated, to make head against the corruptions of the British Court, by repairing as governor to the province of Canada. Lord Bute and his party had some hand in these disappointments; and to running them down his zealous efforts were now directed. With such a history, both in public and private, there was a slender chance of his figuring to any good purpose as a patriot; but he took the chance of some of those lucky hits, those windfalls, which occasionally betide that trade, in the lucrative shape of ill-judged persecution. He fared forth upon his voyage in the well-established line of *Libel*, and he made a more than usually successful venture; for he was not only prosecuted and convicted in the ordinary way, but a blundering Secretary of State issued a General Warrant to seize his papers—was of course resisted,—allowed the matter to come into Court—sustained an immediate defeat—and was successfully sued for damages by the victorious party. Add to this, his imprisonment for a libel, with his repeated expulsions from the House of Commons, and his finally defeating that body, and compelling them to erase the resolution from their journals—and his merits were so great, that not even the ugly concomitant of another conviction for a grossly obscene book, printed clandestinely at a private

* 1 Burr. 452. Easter, 31 Geo. II., Rex *v.* Mary Mead.

press, could countervail his political virtues. He became the prime favourite of the mob, and was even admitted by more rational patriots to have deserved well of the constitution, by the courage and the skill he had shown in fighting two severe battles, and gaining for it two important victories. The promotion which he had in vain sought in the purlieus of Whitehall, awaited him in the city; he became Alderman; he became Lord Mayor; and, having obtained the lucrative civic office of chamberlain, which placed him for life in affluent circumstances, he retired, while in the prime of life, from a political warfare, of which he had accomplished all the purposes, by reaping its most precious fruits;—passed the rest of his days in the support of the government; never raised his voice for reform, or for peace, or to mitigate the hostility of our Court towards the country that had afforded him shelter in his banishment; nor ever quitted the standard of Mr Pitt when it marshalled its followers to assaults on the constitution, compared with which all he had ever even imputed and invented against Lord Bute, sank into mere insignificance.

That the folly of the government, concurring with the excited and sulky temper of the times, enabled Wilkes to drive so gainful a trade in patriotism, with so small a provision of the capital generally deemed necessary to embark in it, there can be little doubt. In any ordinary circumstances, his speculation never could have succeeded. In most of the qualities required for it, he was exceedingly deficient. Though of good manners and even a winning address, his personal appearance was so revolting as to be hardly human. High birth he could not boast; for his father was a respectable distiller in Clerkenwell. Of fortune he had but a moderate share, and it was all spent before he became a candidate for popular favour; and his circumstances were so notoriously desperate, that he lived for years on patriotic subscriptions. Those more sterling qualities of strict moral conduct, regular religious habits, temperate and prudent behaviour, regular industrious life—qualities which are generally required of public men, even if more superficial accomplishments should be dispensed with—he had absolutely nothing; and the most flagrant violations of decency on moral as well as religious matters were committed, were known, were believed, and were overlooked by the multitude, in the person of their favourite champion, who yet had the address to turn against one of his antagonists, a clerical gentleman, some of those feelings of the English people in behalf of decorum, all of which his life was passed in openly violating. Of the light but very important accomplishments which fill so prominent a place in the patriotic character, great eloquence, and a strong and masculine

style in writing, he had but little. His compositions are more pointed than powerful; his wit shines far more than his passions glow; and as a speaker, when he did speak, which was but rarely, he showed indeed some address and much presence of mind, but no force, and produced hardly any effect. Of his readiness, an anecdote is preserved which may be worth relating. Mr Luttrel and he were standing on the Brentford hustings, when he asked his adversary privately, whether he thought there were more fools or rogues among the multitude of Wilkites spread out before them. 'I'll tell them what you say, and put an end 'to you,' said the Colonel—but perceiving the threat gave Wilkes no alarm, he added, 'Surely you don't mean to say you 'could stand here one hour after I did so?' 'Why (the answer 'was) *you* would not be alive one instant after.'—'How so?'—'I 'should merely say it was a fabrication, and they would destroy 'you in the twinkling of an eye!'

If we are to judge of his speaking by the very few samples preserved of it, we should form a very humble estimate of its merits. Constant declamation about rights, and liberties, and tyrants, and corruption, with hardly the merit of the most ordinary commonplaces on these hackneyed topics, seem to fill up its measure—with neither fact, nor argument, nor point, nor any thing at all happy or new in the handling of the threadbare material. But what it wanted in force it probably made up in fury; and, as calling names is an easy work to do, the enraged multitude as easily is pleased with what suits their excited feelings, gratifying the craving for more stimulus which such excitement produces. That he failed, and signally failed, whenever he was called upon to address an audience which rejects such matter, is very certain. In Parliament he was seldom or never heard after his own case had ceased to occupy the public attention; and nothing can be worse than his address to the Court of Common Pleas when he was discharged. The occasion, too, on which he failed was a great one, when a victory for constitutional principle had been gained perhaps by him—certainly in his person. All the people of London were hanging on the lips of their leader; yet nothing could be worse or feebler than his address, of which the burden was a topic as much out of place as possible in a court of justice, where the strict letter of the law had alone prevailed, and the topic was handled with miserable inefficiency. 'Liberty, my lords, 'liberty has been the object of my life! liberty'—and so forth. He might about as well have sung a song, or lifted his hat and given three cheers.

In his writings, especially his dedication to Lord Bute of 'Roger Mortimer,' a tragedy, his notes on Warburton, and his

ironical criticism on the Speaker's reprimand to the Printers, we trace much of that power of wit and of humour which he possessed to an extraordinary degree in private society. The last of these three pieces is by far the best, though he himself greatly preferred the first. It must be allowed, however, that neither is very original; and that they might easily enough have occurred to a diligent reader of Swift, Addison, Arbuthnot, and of Bolingbroke's dedication to Walpole, under the name of D'Anvers—a very superior production in all respects to the dedication of Roger Mortimer.

Of his convivial wit no doubt can remain. Gibbon, who passed an evening with him in 1762, when both were militia officers, says, 'I scarcely ever met with a better companion; he 'has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great 'deal of knowledge.' He adds, 'a thorough profligate in prin-'ciple as in practice; his life stained with every vice, and his 'conversation full of blasphemy and indecency. These morals 'he glories in; for shame is a weakness he has long since sur-'mounted.' This, no doubt, is greatly exaggerated, and the historian, believing him really to confess his political profligacy, is perhaps in error also,—'he told us that in this time of public 'dissension he was resolved to make his fortune.' Possibly this was little more than a variety of his well-known saying to some one who was fawning on him with extreme doctrines—'I hope 'you don't take me for a Wilkite.'

Of his wit and drollery some passages are preserved in society; but of these not many can with propriety be cited. We doubt if his retort to Lord Sandwich be of this description, when being asked, coarsely enough, 'Whether he thought he should die by a 'halter or by a certain disease?' he quickly said, 'That depends 'on whether I embrace your Lordship's principles or your mis-'tress.' We give this, in order to contradict the French anecdote, which ascribes this *mot* to Mirabeau as a retort to Cardinal Maury, sitting in the National Assembly. We heard it ourselves from one who was present when the dialogue took place, many years before the French Revolution. His exclamation, powerfully humorous certainly, on Lord Thurlow's solemn hypocrisy in the House of Lords, is well known. When that consummate piece of cant was performed with all the solemnity which the actor's incredible air, eyebrows, voice, could lend the imprecation, 'If I 'forget my sovereign, may my God forget me!'—Wilkes, seated on the steps of the throne, eyeing him askance with his inhuman squint and demoniac grin, muttered, 'Forget you! He'll see you d——d first.'

One quality remains to be added, but that a high one, and for

a demagogue essential. He was a courageous man. Neither politically nor personally did he know what fear was. Into no risks for his party did he ever hesitate to rush. From no danger, individually, was he ever known to turn away. The meeting which he gave Secretary Martin, and which nearly cost him his life, was altogether unnecessary; he might easily have avoided it; and, when a wild young Scotch officer asked satisfaction for something said against his country, he met no refusal of his absurd demand; but was ordered on a distant service before he could repair to Flanders, whither Wilkes went to fight him, after the Mareschal's Court of France had interdicted a meeting in that country.

Some of the other honourable feelings which are usually found in company with bravery, seem generally to have belonged to him. He was a man, apparently, of his word. In his necessities, though he submitted to eleemosynary aid for pecuniary supplies, and maltreated his wife to relieve his embarrassments, he yet had virtue enough to avoid any of the many disreputable expedients which have made the condition of the needy be compared to the impossibility of keeping an empty sack upright. His worst offence, and that which brings his honesty into greatest discredit, is certainly the playing a game in political virtue, or driving a commerce of patriotism, which the reader of his story is constantly struck with; and in no instance does this appear more plainly than in such attempts at pandering to the passions of the people, as his addressing a canting letter to the Lord Mayor, when refusing, as Sheriff of London, to attend the procession to St Paul's on the occasion of the King's accession. He grounds his refusal on the preference he gives to 'the real administration of justice, 'and his unwillingness to celebrate the accession of a prince, 'under whose inauspicious reign the Constitution has been grossly 'and deliberately violated.' That this was a measure to catch mob applause, is proved by his sending a draft of his epistle to Junius for his opinion, and in his note, inclosing the paper, he calls it a 'manœuvre.'*—(Woodfall's Junius, I. 324.)

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* In admitting the polished manners of Wilkes, and that he had lived much in good society, somewhat in the best, we do not admit that his turn of mind was not in some sort vulgar—witness his letters to Junius throughout—particularly the papers wherein he describes Junius's private communications to him as '*stirring up his spirits like a kiss from Chloe*,' and asks the 'great unknown' to accept of what? Books? Valuable MSS.? Interesting information? No—but tickets to the Lord Mayor's dinner—his intolerable dinner—and the Lady Mayoress's far

We have dwelt longer upon this celebrated, rather let us say noted person, than may seem to be in proportion or keeping with this sketch of the group in which he figures; because it is wholesome to contemplate the nature, and reflect upon the fate, of one beyond all others of his day the popular favourite—that is to say, the idol of the mob; one who, by the force of their applause, kept so far a footing with the better part of society as to be very little blamed, very cautiously abjured, by those most filled with disgust and with detestation of his practices. The men in Parliament, the members of the popular party, with perhaps the single exception of Lord Chatham, while they would have viewed with utter scorn any approaches he might make to their intimacy, nevertheless were too much afraid of losing the countenance of the multitude he ruled over, to express their strongly entertained sentiments of his great demerits. They might not so far disgrace themselves as to truckle in their measures; they never certainly courted him with their patronage to himself or his accomplices; but they were under the powerful influence of intimidation, and were content to pass for his fellow-labourers in the Whig vineyard; and to suppress the feelings with which his conduct in public and private life filled them, rather than encounter his vengeance and risk the loss, the temporary loss, of mob applause. How base does such conduct now appear, and how noble the contrast of Lord Chatham's manly deportment in the eyes of impartial posterity!

But the fall, the rapid and total declension, of Wilkes' fame —the utter oblivion into which his very name has passed for all

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more intolerable ball, with a hint to bring his Junia, if there be one.—Woodfall, I. 325.

When, in 1817, Mr Brougham stated his strong opinion in the House of Commons on Wilkes's character, and the shame that his popularity brought on the people of England for a time, Mr Wilberforce expressed his thanks to him and confirmed his statements. Mr Canning, however, observed that Wilkes was by no means a singular instance of demagogues not being respectable, and added,

He's Knight o' th' shire, and represents them all,

which is an exaggerated view certainly. Sir Philip Francis, the morning after, remonstrated strongly, in company of other friends, with Mr B., upon his saying any thing in disparagement of a man run down by the Court. He regarded the offence as greatly aggravated by the praise which had been given to Lord Mansfield, against whom he inveighed bitterly. This tone, so precisely that of Junius upon both subjects, was much remarked at the time.

purposes save the remembrance of his vices—the very ruins of his reputation no longer existing in our political history—this affords also a salutary lesson to the followers of the multitude,—those who may court the applause of the hour, and regulate their conduct towards the people, not by their own sound and conscientious opinions of what is right, but by the desire to gain fame in doing what is pleasing, and to avoid giving the displeasure that arises from telling wholesome truths. Never man more pandered to the appetites of the mob than Wilkes; never political pimp gave more uniform contentment to his employers. Having the sturdy English and not the voluble Irish to deal with, he durst not do or say as he chose himself; but was compelled to follow that he might seem to lead, or at least to go two steps with his followers that he might get them to go three with him. He dared not deceive them grossly, clumsily, openly, impudently—dared not tell them opposite stories in the same breath—give them one advice to-day and the contrary to-morrow—pledge himself to a dozen things at one and the same time; then come before them with every one pledge unredeemed, and ask their voices, and ask their money on the credit of as many more pledges for the succeeding half year—all this with the obstinate and jealous people of England was out of the question; it could not have passed for six weeks. But he committed as great, if not as gross, frauds upon them; abused their confidence as entirely if not so shamefully; catered for their depraved appetites in all the base dainties of sedition, and slander, and thoughtless violence, and unreasonable demands; instead of using his influence to guide their judgment, improve their taste, reclaim them from bad courses, and better their condition by providing for their instruction. The means by which he retained their attachment were disgraceful and vile. Like the hypocrite, his whole public life was a lie. The tribute which his unruly appetites kept him from paying to private morals, his dread of the mob, or his desire to use them for his selfish purposes, made him yield to public virtue; and he never appeared before the world without the mark of patriotic enthusiasm or democratic fury;—he who in the recesses of Medenham Abbey, and before many witnesses, gave the Eucharist to an ape, or prostituted the printing-press to multiply copies of a production that would dye with blushes the cheek of an impure.

It is the abuse, no doubt, of such popular courses, that we are reprobating. Popularity we are far from contemning; it is often an honourable acquisition; when duly earned, always a test of good done or evil resisted. But to be of a pure and genuine kind, it must have one stamp—the security of one safe and certain die; it must be the popularity that follows good actions, not

that which is run after. Nor can we do a greater service to the people themselves, nor read a more wholesome lesson to the race, above all, of rising statesmen, than to mark how much the mock-patriot, the mob-seeker, the parasite of the giddy multitude, falls into the very worst faults for which popular men are wont the most loudly to condemn, and most heartily to despise, the courtly fawners upon princes. Flattery indeed! obsequiousness! time-serving! What courtier of them all ever took more pains to sooth an irritable or to please a capricious prince than Wilkes—to assuage the anger or gain the favour by humouring the prejudices of the mob? Falsehood truly! intrigue! manœuvre! Where did ever titled suitor for promotion lay his plots more cunningly, or spread more wide his net, or plant more pensively those irons in the fire, whereby the waiters upon royal bounty forge to themselves and to their country, chains, that they may also make the ladder they are to mount by, than the patriot of the city did to delude the multitude, whose slave he made himself, that he might be rewarded with their sweet voices, and so rise to wealth and to power? When he penned the letter of cant about administering justice, rather than join in a procession to honour the accession of a prince, whom in a private petition he covered over thick and threefold with the slime of his flattery, he called it himself a manœuvre. When he delivered a rant about liberty before the reverend judges of the land—the speaking law of the land—he knew full well that he was not delighting those he addressed, but the mob out of doors, on whose ears the trash was to be echoed back. When he spoke a speech in Parliament of which no one heard a word, and said aside to a friend who urged the fruitlessness of the attempt at making the House listen —'Speak it I must, for it has been printed in the newspapers 'this half-hour'—he confessed that he was acting a false part in one place to compass a real object in another;—as thoroughly as ever minister did when affecting by smiles to be well in his prince's good graces before the multitude, all the while knowing that he was receiving a royal rebuke. When he and one confederate in the private room of a tavern issued a declaration, beginning, 'We, the people of England,' and signed 'by order of the 'meeting,'—he practised as gross a fraud upon that people as ever peer or parasite, when affecting to pine for the prince's smiles, and to be devoted to his pleasure, in all the life they led consecrated to the furtherance of their own. It is no object of ours to exalt courtly acts, or undervalue popular courses; no wish have we to over-estimate the claims of aristocracy at the cost of lowering the people. Both departments of our mixed social structure demand equally our regard; but we wish to put the

claims of each on their proper footing. We say, and very sincerely say, with Cicero—'Omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus, 'et quia utile est reipublicæ nobiles homines esse dignos majo-'ribus suis; et quia valet, apud nos, clarorum hominum et bene de 'republica meritorum memoria, etiam mortuorum,' *(Pro Sext.)* These are the uses, and these the merits of the aristocratic branch of our system; while the mean arts of the courtier only degrade the patrician character. But mean as they are, their vileness does not exceed that of the like arts practised towards the multitude; nor is the Sovereign Prince whose ear the flatterers essay to tickle, that they may deceive him for their own purposes, more entirely injured by the deception which withholds the truth, than the Sovereign People is betrayed and undone by those who, for their own vile ends, pass their lives in suppressing wholesome truth, and propagating popular delusion.

Nor let it be deemed the exclusive province of false patriots, to deal in such practices upon the public credulity. They drive a trade, indeed, of which these form the staple; but their monopoly is interfered with oftentimes by the tools of the court. A memorable instance of this is furnished in the result of that Resignation, the history of which we were considering when drawn aside to contemplate the character of men who flourished in those times, and were mixed up with the event. No sooner had Lord Chatham ceased to serve the Crown, than he was assailed with every weapon of abuse which gold could hire, or patronage command, or factious rage marshal, or personal malice, partly originating in envy, partly no doubt in disappointed place-hunting, could point against him. He had quitted the councils of his sovereign with every degree of respect towards him, and in as inoffensive a manner towards his colleagues as it was possible to conceive. Yet was his removal not to be forgiven by the Court he had left. His loss of office was the result of his honest and inflexible principles, which he would not sacrifice to the love of power; yet was he treated as if he had betrayed the country and abandoned his opinions. He was in truth the injured, and, next to the country, the most deeply injured party; yet did the wrong-doers, they who had deprived the country of his councils, and him of the power to serve and to save her, treat him as if they were the victims themselves of his misconduct—acting on the established principle of bad men, never to pardon those they injure or betray. Hear how Mr Burke describes the assaults on him:—'Upon the resignation of Mr Pitt, a torrent of low and illiberal 'abuse was poured out. His whole life, public and private, was 'scrutinized with the utmost malignity, to furnish matter of 'calumny against him. The successes of his administration were

'depreciated; his faults were monstrously exaggerated; and the 'rewards and honours so justly conferred on him by his sovereign, 'were, by every trick of wit, ridicule, and buffoonery, converted 'into matter of degradation and disgrace.' In all these attacks he remained unmoved—unmoved, saw himself misrepresented and defamed—unmoved, perceived how much he was assailed by one party, how little defended by the other—unmoved, observed how the honesty with which he had discharged his official duty, by refusing promotion to unworthy men, was now the real motive of the most slanderous attacks—proceeding from the most sordid of all spite, the spirit of revenge, and envenomed by the necessity of concealing its source, or cloaking it under the false mask of public spirit.

Among those who distinguished themselves in Parliament, and were supposed to exhaust unabashed, unpunished, the malignity of a base nature, Colonel Barrè held a distinguished place;—an Irishman of obscure origin, superficial accomplishments, much personal spirit, and considerable powers of speech; but regardless of moderation or even decorum in seeking either preferment to place of which he deemed himself worthy, or revenge for slights he thought he had received. This gallant orator, who had made a very humble and earnest application to the Minister for promotion, and vowed, only a year before, that the treatment he then met with had 'bound him in the highest 'gratitude,' had not sat two days in Parliament before he conceived that it would be a good speculation to attack Mr Pitt, now out of power. In thus pursuing what he deemed the shortest road to a further step in the army, he descended to a ribaldry which, though its illustrious object might well suffer to pass over his head, (and accordingly he stooped not even to make any mention of it,) it was abundantly shameful for the House, so long his adoring follower, to permit;—that House which, for years of his lead in it, had never even divided against him. A sample of this base performance is found in the Mitchell MS., and given in the publication before us.* Speaking of the great orator's manner, he said—'There he would stand, turning 'up his eyes to heaven that witnessed his perjuries, and, laying 'his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious 'hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his 'country.' In after times, the author of this stuff became distinguished for a strong, pointed, and often successful species of eloquence. He never attained the rank of an important debater;

* Vol. ii. p. 171, Note.

but was one of the light troops who performed good, because active and ready, service in skirmishing against a ministry on the spur of the occasion. His style was ambitious, often epigrammatic, and dealt largely in the sarcastic; and Junius, when characterising Burke for the figurative, says—'I willingly accept a 'simile from Mr Burke, or a sarcasm from Colonel Barrè.' If he had much success in these lines, he must have improved very much in after life upon the sample which is quoted above; and which is about as mean in the execution as vile in the design.

The person who discovered this adventurer, and brought him into Parliament, filled one of the most distinguished places in the times of Lord Chatham; and was uniformly attached to that great man, both in public and in private life, with the most unvarying steadiness of which either friendship or faction is capable. We shall at once be understood to mean the Earl of Shelburne, representative of the ancient house of Fitzmaurice, Earls of Kerry, and of the family of Petty—yet more distinguished by the celebrity of its founder, the great Political Arithmetician of the seventeenth century; honourably known, too, and usefully for his country, as father of the present Lord Lansdowne, one of the most able, honest, and amiable statesmen of our times.* Than Lord Shelburne, few political characters in any age ever brought a larger share of information, or a more statesmanlike cast of mind, to the task of administering state affairs. Though bred to arms, and having illustrated his early years by serving at Minden and other fields, he had none of the indolent mental habits in which soldiers are apt to indulge; as if the courage of their profession could cover all defects of education or of exertion. In a rank and fortune generally found so unfavourable to habits of study, he cultivated science, and relaxed his mind in literary pursuits like a man of humbler station. Far superior to the frivolous tastes of the giddy throng whom wealth and rank intoxicate, still further removed from the contempt which they often affect for men of learning, Lord Shelburne preferred habitually the society of the latter to that of the 'little great' who look down upon them; and he made his palaces the abode of the chemists, and the resort of the mathematicians and the lawyers, who were magnanimously extending the bounds of human knowledge by their discoveries, or usefully imparting to

* It is impossible ever to name this noble house, without renewing the expressions of grief at the untimely loss of its heir and hope, Lord Kerry, one of the fastest friends that ever popular improvement had to deplore.

the zealous student those lights which others had struck out. The malice of factious and ignorant men rewarded him according to his deserts, when they confessed that they had nothing worse for which to lampoon him than his habitual intimacy with the Prices, and the Priestleys, and the Franklins.*

The administration of this eminent person was distinguished, both when Secretary of State at a very early age, and when Prime Minister later in life, by a scrupulous regard for the principles of a free government—by the most wise and provident uses of the resources and commerce of the country—by an enlarged and judicious management of her foreign relations; and, above all, by a strict adherence to the policy—say rather the virtue, the cardinal virtue of peace. He closed the American war by a treaty which gave up less, and gained more, for the empire than could reasonably have been expected after a series of such disastrous years. It was the vile game of party to attack this great negotiation, in order to displace the ministers who had so admirably conducted it; and, in order to compass this design, the serious enemies of the American war joined with those who had wrongfully made it, and worse conducted it, in a coalition which was punished by the destruction of the popularity of both the parties to the intrigue.

If Lord Shelburne was the fast friend of civil liberty—a minister, as Bentham said, who never feared the people—he was even more distinguished for his liberal and tolerant principles on religious subjects. Men of bigoted habits of thinking called him a Socinian, for the purpose of discrediting him who patronised the followers of Locke and Newton in science; and who had no occasion to blush at being as good a Christian as those great lights of this world, and pillars of our faith in the next. But it is more than probable, that his friendship with Priestley and Price obtained for him this reputation; for we believe he was of principles that allied him to the Established Church.

His oratory was simple, unambitious, fraught with important matter, abounding in extensive and various information; and accordingly, the superficial men who jeered at his literary pursuits, likewise made themselves merry with the learned texture of his discourse, and held him up to ridicule for communicating to his hearers the information most wanted upon the subject-matter of discussion. There were certain qualities which they found safer to pass over in silence, than to provoke the display of. He was, like his illustrious friend and the set of men he lived with,

* Rolliad.

a man of consummate boldness—in action as well as in counsel; and he lived at a time when the chiefs of contending parties never went into the field of argument, without deeming it very probable that the war should be transferred within a few hours to other plains. His coolness, as well as perhaps his pride, were shown on one of those occasions; when a gentleman, then extremely little known, and who much overrated his own importance, desired a hostile meeting; and, finding his request very readily granted, came out with his friend. 'Which of these is the gentleman 'I am come to meet?'—asked his Lordship with a civil smile. Being seriously wounded by Colonel Fullerton, he amused himself with a good-humoured jest on the nature and possible results of the injury he had received.

If in his oratory—his diction and the manner of his speaking—this eminent statesman bestowed little care, his written compositions showed still less. Nothing can be more inartificial, and even slovenly, than the expression of his sound and sagacious opinions, the proposition of his provident and judicious plans, in his letters; many of which are to be found in these volumes, and all of which, by their matter, though not their style, amply repay the trouble of perusal. In some of them, indeed, we are reminded of the diction of Oliver Cromwell, though the meaning is far from being so hard to get at. Take an example. 'Though 'I believe I am pretty exact in relating what Lord Rockingham 'said; yet, as he did not expressly desire it to be communicated, 'I should be sorry that it made the foundation even of an opinion 'in your own mind, till you had it from better authority. 'Though he seemed to me to speak with a manner of decision, 'yet he may have meant it a manner of negotiation which I 'may not understand. At any rate, I have many pardons to ask 'for troubling you with so long a letter, and, in return, I will 'only beg for a very short one, either from you or Lord Chatham, 'to tell me. I hope that you are not the worse for sitting up 'so late in the House.'

Again,—'My reason for not choosing the new department 'proposed is no dislike to the offer, but that I think the general 'system affected by it; but if Lord Chatham desires I should do 'it, I am very ready to take the post he wishes, notwithstanding 'my own earnest inclination. Lord Chatham, if he enters at all 'into the situation, must carry me very strongly, to miss no pro-'per opportunity of declining office altogether, when I do not 'see my way, and have little or nothing to direct my conduct.'

The Whigs, in revenge for his heading the government on Lord Rockingham's death, in violation of no party tie, for he never belonged, or professed to belong, to any party, constant-

ly endeavoured to represent him as a dangerous, treacherous, jesuitical person. There remains no kind of evidence to bear out this grave charge. His attachment through life was to Lord Chatham, whom, as he never flattered, so he never deserted or betrayed. The brutal attack of Colonel Barrè, when sitting for Calne under his patronage, is the only thing that requires to be explained. He ought, assuredly, to have had the man out of Parliament, on the first opportunity. But it deserves to be considered, that we are unacquainted with what passed with him in private, after he had committed the outrage in the House of Commons. The political adventurer may have shown a contrition as abject as his offence had been shameless; and the great man who was the object of his abuse may have been gained over to make intercession, and prevent his ruin. Thus much is certain, that until death closed the career of Lord Chatham, his firm and steady supporter was Lord Shelburne; and that he made his son his Chancellor of the Exchequer at the early age of three-and-twenty.

His promoting men of sterling talents, and surrounding himself with such, is another characteristic of this remarkable person. We say nothing of Mr Pitt, for his station was established when he united him to his government; nor of Colonel Barrè, because he was but a second-rate man. But it deserves to be recorded that the same person, whose home was the abode of Priestley, first brought into public life the great capacity of Dunning, and the greater and more universal genius of Jarvis.

In their political lives, Chatham and Shelburne were united, and in their fates they were not divided. Both disclaimed all party ties; both were the object of rancorous, unrestrained, and, in the end, innocuous party abuse. It was Lord Chatham's boast that he thought and acted for himself; would bend to the dictation of no man—no junto; would pursue his course for the good and the glory of his country, and not suit it to the calculations of party interest. He constantly and manfully declared that he would go into Parliament unfettered, and free to deliver his unbiased opinion on state affairs; that the country's friends were his allies; and that he knew but one adversary—her enemies and the enemies of her free constitution. His scorn of the miserable councils to which party tactics so often subject such associations, breaks out at every turn of affairs. 'I was in town on Wednes-'day, (says he,) and saw Lord Rockingham, and learnt nothing 'more than what I knew before, that the Marquis is an honest, 'honourable man, but that "moderation! moderation!" is the 'burden of the song among the body. For myself, I am resol-'ved to be in earnest for the country, and shall be a scarecrow

'of violence to the gentle warblers of the grove, the moderate 'Whigs and temperate statesmen.'

By a persevering, compromising conduct—by what is called listening to the voice of prudence, and holding what is termed a judicious course, he would have entitled himself to a place among the practical men whom political speculators are prone to follow, because they show the way to get, and enable them to keep, office. He would have been in place as many years of his life as he was months in real power; would have served his prince half his time, instead of reigning over his country, to her infinite glory and his own immortal fame, for a short season. Well! he would at last have quitted office and its sweets; he would have sunk into the grave sincerely lamented by his followers trembling for their situations, passionately deplored by party expectants made desperate by the prostration of their hopes. Behind him he would have left the fame of a brilliant orator, a successful cultivator of ambition; but the annals of England would not have had to boast of that name by which her political history now shines with the most resplendent lustre.

In a former article, we adverted to the doubts cast by some upon the nature of the complaint under which Lord Chatham laboured at different times, but especially during his last administration. The account given of it was, a suppressed or unfixed gout; and the story built on this account, ascribed his complaint to insanity. The ground of the suspicion was his remaining so long inaccessible to his colleagues, and most of his friends, while attended by his physicians. With the accustomed consistency of party fabrication, there was at the same time another story stated. The whole was a sham, a fraud, a political illness, as an excuse for neglecting his duty in Parliament, and estranging himself from the councils of his feeble colleagues, and escaping the responsibility of his station; for it was not enough that the heaviest of all the visitations of Providence should be said to have fallen upon that great intellect; he must be held up as equally despicable and pitiable; described not merely as a madman, but a cheat. No matter how impossible the two things were to co-exist; no matter how entirely the one falsehood exposed the other—some might swallow one, some the other; nay, some might be found ready to approve their faith by believing both.

The letters now before us throw a clear and steady light on this question, and to them we direct the reader's attention. It was at one time supposed that Lord Chatham, like other men of genius, was of the temperament so often found united to that great but perilous gift; that he was of a melancholic or hypo-

chondriac habit, united with fits of low spirits, which made him shun society, or possessing his powers of application, or his fits of fancy irregularly, so as not to have at all times the same faculty of exertion, or to exert his talents with the same felicity. Collins and Thomson are well known to have suffered under such inequalities. Milton's immortal verse never flowed between the autumnal and vernal equinox; but, mute in winter, his song was awakened by the temperature that made the groves, too, vocal. But the letters now published show clearly that a wandering and ill declared gout was the sole cause of Lord Chatham's long and distressing malady. It fell upon his nerves, and made him, though in perfect possession of his great faculties, unable to exert them without serious risk to his life. Even writing a common letter was too much for him; and when he was compelled to do any, the least act of business, he was overset for days. The accounts given by Lady Chatham from time to time of his condition are of this kind:—To Lord Camden she writes, 23d January 1768, 'The state of extreme weakness and 'illness in which my Lord finds himself, from the gout not being 'fixed, obliges him to beg leave of your Lordship to acknowledge 'by my hand the honour of your much obliging letter.' (Vol. iii. p. 317.) In a memorandum in his handwriting of a conversation held Oct. 9, 1768, with the Duke of Grafton, then First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Chatham being really Prime Minister, though only Privy Seal, we find her giving His Grace this description of her husband's situation: 'I must confess, 'from the length of my Lord's illness, and the manner in which 'the gout is dispersed upon his habit, that I believe there is but 'small prospect of his ever being able to enter much again into 'business.' (Vol. iii. p. 337.) During the many months that this dreadful malady continued, the ministry, whose whole reliance was upon the power of his mighty name, were unceasing in their attempts to obtain the further benefit of his advice, or rather orders, and often were fain to intreat a token of countenance to increase their weight with the country. In general, indeed almost always, they found him unable to hold the least communication with them. Sometimes, however, their difficulties pressed so sorely upon them, that they were obliged to become more urgent than usual; and, independent of the consenting letters, which were by the style all plainly from himself, though written in Lady Chatham's hand, the most decisive evidence of his faculties being entire is afforded by his consenting to see the Duke of Grafton, with whom he had more interviews than one. It will be at once the most satisfactory contradiction to all the stories of his insanity—the most curious information which can be given upon

the relation between the cabinet and its most powerful, though inactive member—the most striking picture of the King's entire reliance upon him—and the most remarkable illustration of the power still residing in his great name, if we transcribe one or two of the letters that passed between the parties on one of these occasions. Let it be premised that, at the time when all parties believed his authority to have such weight, and when all looked up to him for a sign intimating his pleasure, he had been for four months wholly incapable, not only of transacting any business, but even of seeing any colleague, or doing more in the way of correspondence than dictating a few notes to refuse all interviews. He continued for a year and a half longer in the same condition; and all the anxiety of the King and the cabinet was to prevent the calamity of his resigning—that is of his name, the only part of him they possessed, being withdrawn from their government.

On the 27th of May 1767, the Duke of Grafton states the ministerial majority to have been only 65 to 63 of the opposition the night before, and expresses himself 'most anxious to have 'more conversation with him.' 'If' (says he) 'I could be 'allowed but a few minutes to wait on you, it would give me 'great relief; for the moment is too critical for your Lordship's 'advice and direction not to be necessary. If, therefore, you 'allow me one quarter of an hour to intrude upon you, without 'prejudice to your health, it will greatly oblige me.'

Lord Chatham's answer, in his wife's hand, is as follows:—

'Lord Chatham, still unable to write, begs leave to assure the Duke of Grafton of his best respects, and at the same time to lament that the continuation of his illness reduces him to the painful necessity of most earnestly entreating his Grace to pardon him, if he begs to be allowed to decline the honour of the visit the Duke of Grafton has so kindly proposed. Nothing can be so great an affliction to him as to find himself quite unable for a conversation, which he should otherwise be proud and happy to embrace.'

Disappointed in this application, the Duke then consulted the Lord President, Lord Camden, Lord Chatham's confidential friend, and both severally laid before the King their opinion of the state of his government, and their inability to conduct it if deprived of all communication with the great man. The King, as the Duke wrote to him, has unabated confidence in his own affairs, if he can either have the 'presence or the 'advice of Lord Chatham;' and both the Duke and President having conferred together by the King's advice, the result is a communication to Lord Chatham that his counsel alone can relieve them, but that 'with his commands,' and in execution of

them, they will agree to go on. Here is his answer, also in his wife's hand:—

'Lord Chatham, continuing under the same inability to write which he was under the unhappy necessity of conveying to the Duke of Grafton so lately, begs again his Grace's indulgence for taking this method of repeating the same description of his health, which for the present renders business *impossible* for him.

'He implores the Duke of Grafton to be persuaded that nothing less than *impossibility* prevents him from seeing the Duke of Grafton, which he so ardently desires, and entering into the fullest conversation with his Grace. At present, all he is able to offer, in true zeal for his Majesty, is, that the Duke of Grafton and Lord President may not finally judge it necessary to leave the situations they are in. The first moment health and strength enough return, Lord Chatham will humbly request permission to renew at his Majesty's feet all the sentiments of duty and most devoted attachment.'

Upon this the King comes down to the assistance of his distracted ministry, and writes himself the following remarkable and characteristic letter to Lord Chatham:—

'Lord Chatham,

'No one has more cautiously avoided writing to you than myself, during your late indisposition; but the moment is so extremely critical, that I cannot possibly delay it any longer. By the letter you received yesterday from the Duke of Grafton, you must perceive the anxiety he and the President at present labour under. The Chancellor is very much in the same situation. This is equally owing to the majority in the House of Lords, amounting on the Friday only to six and on the Tuesday to three, though I made two of my brothers vote on both those days; and to the great coldness shown those three ministers by Lord Shelburne, whom they, as well as myself, imagine to be rather a secret enemy; the avowed enmity of Mr Townshend; and the resolution of lieutenant-general Conway to retire, though without any view of entering into faction.

'My firmness is not dismayed by these unpleasant appearances; for, from the hour you entered into office, I have uniformly relied on your firmness to act in defiance to that hydra faction, which has never appeared to the height it now does, till within these few weeks. Though your relations, the Bedfords, and the Rockinghams are joined, with intention to storm my closet, yet, if I was mean enough to submit, they own they would not join in forming an administration; therefore nothing but confusion could be obtained.

'I am strongly of opinion with the answer you sent the Duke of Grafton; but, by a note I have received from him, I fear I cannot keep him above a day, unless you would see him and give him encouragement. Your duty and affection for my person, your own honour, call on you to make an effort: five minutes' conversation with you would raise his spirits, for his heart is good; mine, I thank Heaven, wants no rousing: my love to my country, as well as what I owe to my own character and to my family, prompt me not to yield to faction. Be firm, and you will

find me amply ready to take as active a part as the hour seems to require. Though none of my ministers stand by me, I cannot truckle.

'I wish a few lines in answer, as I am to have the Duke of Grafton with me this evening; and if you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to call at North-end on my return that evening to this place. Whilst I have sixty-five present and thirty proxies in the House of Lords ready to stand by me, besides a majority of 151 since that, in the House of Commons, against 84, though the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were in the minority, I think the game easy, if you either come out or will admit very few people.

'GEORGE R.'

Lord Chatham, in his answer, prefers seeing the Duke of Grafton. He sends a formal letter to that effect, but also the explanatory one, which will be read with a tender interest by all the admirers of genius, and all who can feel for the ravages which bodily illness makes on the strength of the mind, as far as regards exertion.

'Lord Chatham most humbly begs leave to lay himself with all duty at the King's feet, and, fearing lest he may not have rightly apprehended his Majesty's most gracious commands, humbly entreats his Majesty to permit him to say, that, seeing the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, he understands it not to be his Majesty's pleasure, that he should attend his Majesty any part of the day to-morrow. He is unhappily obliged to confess, that the honour and weight of such an audience would have been more than he could sustain, in his present extreme weakness of nerves and spirits. He begs to pour forth again the deepest sense of his Majesty's boundless condescension and goodness, and to implore that, in compassion for his state, his Majesty would be pleased to grant him some further time for recovery.

The subsequent letters show that he had this interview, and a second with the Duke. But the King having sent a very kind note to inquire after his health, and to express a hope that the exertion he had made did not prove hurtful, the answer is, that they had. Immediately after the King applies to him again, in consequence of a still more critical state of his government, and adds,

'Upon the whole, I earnestly call upon you to lay before me a plan, and also to speak to those you shall propose for responsible offices. You owe this to me, to your country, and also to those who have embarked in administration with you. If after this you again decline taking an active part, I shall then lie under a necessity of taking steps, that nothing but the situation I am left in could have obliged to.

'GEORGE R.'

The Earl's answer is as follows:

'Lord Chatham, totally incapable from an increase of illness to use his pen, most humbly begs leave to lay himself with all duty and submis-

sion at the King's feet, and with unspeakable affliction again to represent to his Majesty the most unhappy and *utter disability* which his present state of health as yet continues to lay him under; and once more most humbly to implore compassion and pardon from his Majesty, for the cruel situation which still deprives him of the possibility of activity, and of proving to his Majesty the truth of an unfeigned zeal, in the present moment rendered useless.'

His Majesty then prescribes a physician for his afflicted minister; and is respectfully and thankfully intreated to leave him in Dr Addington's hands, who 'gives him the strongest assurances of 'recovering with proper time.' The prediction is gradually but completely verified, and at length the patient's health is restored so as to suffer little more than ordinary gout, which ten years later, as is well known, brought his illustrious life to a close.

It is manifest from all these documents that nothing could be more false than the stories of the Earl's insanity. *First*, When his colleagues wrote letters to him treating him as a perfectly sane person, it is clear that they had sufficient information, through the usual channels, of his situation. *Secondly*, The answers they received regularly, though in Lady Chatham's hand, were manifestly dictated by himself. *Thirdly*, When he was at the very worst, he wrote to the King in his own hand. And *Lastly*, At the same period of greatest exacerbation of his malady, he twice had interviews with his colleagues on state affairs.

Here, for the present, we close these imperfect portraitures. To complete the group which we have undertaken to represent to our countrymen in the present day, some striking figures remain to be added. Sir Robert Walpole and Mr Pulteney, Lord Bolingbroke and Sir William Wyndham, in Lord Chatham's earliest years; Lord Camden, Lord Hardwicke, and Charles Townshend, towards the middle of his history: Dunning, and Lee, and some lesser men, towards its concluding scene, will furnish matter for much reflection as well as food for some curiosity before we finally quit this subject.

Before dismissing the subject, however, we must be permitted to add, that these chapters of Commentary upon the Political History of the country have been composed, not only without the least desire to serve the purposes of party, but rather with the intention, first, of showing how dangerous is the abuse of party principle; and next and chiefly, of setting before the people the great duty of forming their own opinions, and before statesmen the paramount obligations under which they are laid, by the position they volunteer to occupy;—obligations that make it a great crime to neglect, for any selfish or any factious consideration, the duties they owe to the improvement of their fellow-citizens. We

are well aware that they who attack party, or make a stand against its unthinking violence, expose themselves to the united assaults of all the factious of the day. But we are also convinced that, without at all undervaluing the important services which the principle of party association is calculated to render, its abuses are most carefully to be guarded against; and of this we are quite certain, that a better service cannot be rendered to the people, than to show them how they may most safely as well as most beneficially avail themselves of the advice of great statesmen, namely, by looking to them and taking counsel with them, but also by thinking and resolving for themselves, so as to prevent their councillors from becoming their masters, and administering the state affairs not for the country's benefit but their own.

ART. V.—*A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions.* By Capt. MARRYAT. 3 Vols. 12mo. London: 1839.

IN the spring of 1837, Captain Marryat was looking out for new combinations of human nature. Having exhausted the old world, he bethought him of the new. The puerilities and contradictions of former travellers to the United States, had only provoked and puzzled him. He resolved, therefore, to take the case into his own hands. On his landing, and for three weeks afterwards, New York appeared extremely like one of our principal provincial towns; but he soon altered his opinion. 'Even 'at New York, the English appearance of the people gradually 'wore away; my perception of character became more keen, my 'observance, consequently, more nice and close; and I found that 'there was a great deal to reflect upon and investigate, and that 'America and the American people were indeed an enigma: and 'I was no longer surprised at the incongruities which were to be 'detected in those works which had attempted to describe the 'country. I do not assert that I shall myself succeed, when so 'many have failed; *but, at any rate, this I am certain of, my re-* '*marks will be based upon a more sure foundation—an analysis* '*of human nature.*' The immediate subject, which this analysis is to explain by reducing it to its elements, is then announced with the same emphasis and precision. 'I did not sail across 'the Atlantic to ascertain whether the Americans eat their din-'ners with two-prong iron, or three-prong silver forks. My 'object was to examine and ascertain *what were the effects* '*of a democratic form of government and climate upon a people*

'*which, with all its foreign admixture, may still be considered as* '*English.*'

These are brave words. The misfortune is, that they have nothing to do, or next to nothing, with the present work, beyond shining in the introduction. They belong to an 'all hail here-'after.' In the last paragraph of the last volume, the reader learns for the first time, from the author, (what, to be sure, he had previously discovered for himself,) that, 'in justice to the 'Americans,' he must suspend his judgment for the present; for that 'an examination into American society and govern-'ment, and the working out of the problem, are still to be exe-'cuted.' The announcement, it must be confessed, comes rather late. We never before encountered an introduction, written, as it were, for the express purpose of leading its readers to expect an entertainment of an entirely opposite description to what the author had provided for them. The contrast between the magnificent feast to which we were asked with all this ceremony, and the light repast which is actually served up, can produce only surprise and mortification, the worse for being gratuitous. Both author and reader lose so much by it, that we sincerely hope we may never meet with an experiment of the kind again. From the same cause, another ridicule attaches to the Diary and Remarks in their present shape. Their pretension to philosophical superiority over former publications on the United States, is absolutely ludicrous.

Cambuscan's story, 'left half told,' unluckily stopped short. As far as it went, it was, however, a striking part-performance of an intended whole. The contrary is the case with Captain Marryat's American story. Nor can we conceive how the first portion is capable of being usefully connected with the second, supposing the second portion to be written in conformity with the original engagement. There are some pleasant stories in this first portion—some (what are meant to be) grave discussions —heavy subjects lightly handled; but there is nothing which can be used as either fact or argument, in any work which shall be seriously designed to show, by competent analysis, the effects of a new government and climate upon an English race. Gossip does not easily become philosophy—least of all, the philosophy of a system. The book which Captain Marryat has given us, is therefore not only not the book, but it is not even a part of the book, which he had promised. While he has not performed a tittle of his undertaking, may it not happen, nevertheless, that he has established the converse, and proved that the undertaking is one which he never can perform? This, we think, Captain Marryat has done—at least it is a point on which, slightly as he

has approached his subject, he has thrown as much light as a reasonable person could desire. Sundry generalizations of human nature and democracy, are interspersed amongst the anecdotes. They are coarse and rash, and can conciliate no confidence towards him as a philosopher. Passing on to his anecdotes, the greater part of them have much less the air of sober history than of petulant and facetious caricature. The bias under which they have been selected, and the temper with which they are narrated, are equally fatal to him as an observer. The moral and intellectual nature of a people, is too serious a question to be determined by a superficial judgment, passed upon superficial evidence. A theory of national character, deduced as the positive effects of certain causes, is perhaps the most complicated and baffling subject which man in a state of society presents. It is an enterprise of wonderful ambition and extent. To draw up a correct and complete statement of the various elements which enter into the composition of the character of a nation—to verify the appropriate phenomena—to mark their several classes and proportions, is only to make the first preliminary steps. This is merely the collecting and describing the materials, from which a higher philosophy is to construct a system and reason out its laws. Yet Captain Marryat may depend upon it, that few men are possessed of the wisdom, knowledge, and impartiality, to which it would be safe to trust even this lower work.

Captain Marryat, as every body knows, is sailor and novelist by profession. Both his old callings stand in the way of his new one. He may be right in saying, 'After all, there is no-'thing like being a captain!' Nevertheless, a life at sea is a sorry preparation for judging of life ashore. Every thing seems to suffer there 'some sea change.' Upon the great faculties and qualities which it quickens, it also impresses a form and colour of its own. No landsman can have been on board a ship a week, without coming to the conclusion that a sensible house-dog is more like the people he has left at home, than most of his new companions; and that it would be nearly as capable of solving problems on national character. The talents and habits of a novelist, are scarcely less unfavourable. A habitual story-teller prefers invention to description. He delights in sailing before the wind, and letting his humour take its course. He writes for effect; at one and the same time stiffening his characters into arbitrary consistency, and throwing both persons and things into contrasts beyond what exists in nature. On this account, works of imagination, even when they are professedly founded on or dealing with real life, are too often false and mischievous representations of it. Now, an author is seldom wiser than his works. In

the conversion of a great advocate into a great judge, there is much to overcome and alter, as well as to acquire. But this metamorphosis is not so entire as that through which a successful novelist must pass, before he can turn himself into a philosopher or historian. A tendency to over-confidence is among the risks to which sea-captains and writers of fiction are exposed. The first of these confidences was the ruin of Captain Hall—the second of Mrs Trollope—in their ambitious works upon America. Has Captain Marryat ever asked himself whether he is likely to fare better, from combining in his own person the disqualifications of both?

It was Mr Mill, we think, who considered himself better fitted to write a history of India, because he had never been there. This paradox was at least intelligible. But that a commentator on a people should visit them for the purpose of observing them for himself, and should resolve, as soon as he had got there, on avoiding them as much as possible, is to take more trouble than the breathing of their air, or the looking at the mere outsides of their existence, can possibly be worth. At a distance, the critic might have collected and compared his hearsays, and arbitrated them without fear or favour: once on the spot, this can no longer be the case. The necessary equanimity and fairness were endangered (perhaps irretrievably) when the bitter sense of having been 'insulted and annoyed from nearly one end of the Union to 'the other,' had been excited. A larger and more advantageous experience of American society than that of inns and steam-boats, might have corrected these impressions. It was a possibility of which the people, before he made up his mind on them as a whole, were entitled to the benefit. But Captain Marryat got out of humour almost at starting, and denied himself the opportunity. 'I had not (he says) been three weeks in the country, before I 'decided upon accepting no more invitations, even charily as they 'were made.' So much for his acquaintance with the Americans in private. On his visit to Saratoga, he informs us, 'people's 'pockets were empty, and Saratoga was to let. The consequence 'was, that I remained a week there, and should have remained 'much longer, had I not been warned, by repeated arrivals, that 'the visiters were increasing, and that I should be no longer alone.' So much for his intercourse with the Americans in public. There is a time for all things. The solitary grandeur of the quarter-deck, and the silent musings of the study, have their charms; and a passionate longing to fly from the haunts of men, to 'ocean 'prairies and wild forests,' is doubtless very fine. But the romance of spleen and sentiment on this occasion, was unfortunately in contradiction with the very object of his journey. If we are to

believe Captain Marryat's own account of his moodiness, abstraction, and estrangements, he did not afford himself a chance with the Americans. With the red man, the *real gentleman of North America*, it would appear that he was more at home.

These flippancies are probably not to be taken to the letter. They show, however, (to say the least of them,) that Captain Marryat very unnecessarily narrowed his sphere of observation; and that what he did observe must have fallen into a crucible ill adapted to the furnishing scientific tests of truth. The levity with which the book is written, is also often disagreeably out of keeping with its professed object, and very embarrassing besides. We protest that we cannot guess whether his notice of nine-pins at Niagara is in jest or earnest. 'I was very fond of frequenting 'their alleys, not only for the exercise, but because, among the 'various ways of estimating character, I had made up my mind 'that there was none more likely to be correct than the estimate 'formed by the manner in which people roll the balls, especially 'the ladies.' Other incidents are clear of doubt; yet seem but frivolous applications of the ancient maxim, that the way the wind blows will be best seen by throwing up a straw. Thus the evasion of a foolish act against nine-pins, by means of advertising 'ten-pins played here,' is made a Star-Chamber matter. It takes rank as the first illustration of a general assertion—signifying no less, than that 'every state enactment to uphold the morals, or for 'the better regulation of society, is immediately opposed by the 'sovereign people.' This, to be sure, is philosophy made easy to the humblest capacity. If Captain Marryat has been compelled, by his wilfulness and exclusiveness, to piece out his argument with insufficient evidence, and with the odds and ends of silly stories, the necessity, instead of being an excuse, is a serious aggravation. Every nation has a Joe Miller of its own. But they are good guide-books only to a certain extent. Our traveller's inclinations were plainly magnetized so powerfully in one direction, (witness his Tower Hamlets canvass, and his mode of accounting for Irish crime in the present volumes,) that whenever he quotes American authority, it is desirable to know who the persons were.

An analysis of human nature being the talisman by which Captain Marryat is to work his wonders—the discovery of what it means will enable us to divine what sort of treasures we are to expect from it. His first and principal point is the identity of human nature. This is a portable maxim, and disposes of numerous dilemmas. For instance, is the question—What good is to be derived from penitentiaries? the answer is—'Man-'kind have been, and will be, the same.' Are the Eastern

states to transfer their English partialities to the Western? 'Self-'interest governs the world.' Why does a railroad pass through a Rhode Island churchyard?—'After all, it is but human nature. 'I have run over the world a long while, and have always ob-'served that people are very religious, so long as religion does 'not interfere with their pockets. But, with gold in the one 'hand and godliness in the other, the tangible is always prefer-'red to the immaterial.' The paragraph proceeds, inconsistently enough, to suppose that it would, nevertheless, be otherwise in England. An identity which admits of such exceptions, which sends its apostle abroad for new modifications of it, and on which, as on a groundwork, the variations and peculiarities of democracy are to be demonstrated and displayed, proves to be the slang of a very cheap philosophy, and nothing more.

Perfectibility is no part of Captain Marryat's creed. Quite the contrary. Human nature, it appears, is so far to be presumed against, that at every stage of society experiments for raising the average of its virtues, especially its severe ones, are fallacies which must end in failure. Accordingly, the words 'a moral people, and the moral states,' provoke him like an assumption against a universal law. The practical lesson follows. Few novelties would seem to be of more questionable policy than schemes by individuals or societies for bettering mankind. Poor Connecticut is an example of what a country comes to from trying to be over good. 'At present there is no 'theatre in Connecticut, nor does any body venture to propose 'one. The proprietors of one of the equestrian studs made their 'appearance at the confines of the state, and intimated that they 'wished to perform; but were given to understand that their 'horses would be confiscated if they entered the state. The 'consequence is, that Connecticut is the dullest, most disagree-'able state in the Union; and, if I am to believe the Americans 'themselves, so far from the morals of the community being kept 'uncontaminated by this rigour, the very reverse is the case—'especially as respects the college students, who are in the secret 'practice of more vice than is to be found in any other establish-'ment of the kind in the Union. But, even if I had not been so 'informed by creditable people, I should have decided in my own 'mind that such was the case. *Human nature is every where the* '*same.*' What is true of Connecticut must be true of Massachusets also. One sign only, however, happens to be mentioned of the probable falling away of Massachusets. And this is an anticipated triumph, at the next election, of the 'topers' over the 'tee-'totallers.' In that event it is declared, that 'it will be satisfactorily 'proved, that in the very enlightened moral state of Massachusets,

'the pattern of the Union, there are more intemperate than sober 'men.' Considering the objections against tee-totalism which Captain Marryat repeats and adopts, and that moralists of the genus of the Bishop of Vermont have even denounced Temperance Societies as antichristian, the logic of the anticipated proof, it must be admitted, is worthy of the principle to be proved. With the suspicions which Captain Marryat entertains of the poisonous reaction which follows excessive efforts at being better than one's neighbours, it may be expected that he will find the evil fruits to ripen soonest in small communities. Hence his discovery that 'his own opinion of human nature was correct, and the conduct of 'the Shakers not altogether so.' Hence his complaint that many 'philanthropical societies, from being pushed too far, have done 'great mischief, and have much assisted to demoralize society.' Hence his fear that associations for the suppression of vice are the ruin of the innocent, by publishing its statistics. Hence, too, a more comprehensive maxim, which seems greatly to abridge and contradict the supposed advantages even of the social state:— 'Gregarious animals are by nature inoffensive, but, upheld and 'stimulated by each other, they become formidable. So it is with 'man.' The direction in which the zeal and sympathy of public bodies are represented to be so alarming, is certainly characteristic. The co-operation of numbers in Moral Reform Societies and at Revivals—that is, public meetings for charity and prayer —are the express occasion of the censure; for while the church is to be shut against these objects, it is declared, in the reprimand on Connecticut, that the theatre is to be kept open for its own. We cannot but think that it would have been a more just and reasonable feeling, to wish both of them open and both full.

A theory of the uniformity of human nature, which should leave things as they are, would at least let us know the worst; but, according to Captain Marryat, a process of deterioration, which it is impossible to resist, is a part of the uniformity. It was a favourite speculation of earlier ages, that the earth was to wear out, and that its productions were in a course of gradual decay. A credulous assent to the virtues of barbarians, and to the wisdom of our ancestors, was in harmony with this opinion; but Captain Marryat's view of the principle of population is much more desolate. He takes away from us the hope for future generations, towards which Mr Malthus allowed us, in some degree, to raise our eyes. 'Washington left America as an infant 'nation, a pure, and I may add a virtuous, republic; but the 'government of the country has undergone as much change as 'every thing else, and it has now settled down into any thing 'but a pure democracy. Nor could it be otherwise: a republic

'may be formed, and may continue in healthy existence when 'regulated by a small body of men; but as men increase and 'multiply, so do they deteriorate—the closer they are packed 'the more vicious they become, and consequently the more 'vicious become their institutions. *Washington and his coadju-* '*tors had no power to control the nature of man.*' The simplicity of this statement is beyond all price. The general proposition which it affirms has only to be true, and Captain Marryat's declaration, that he was about to build on 'a sure foundation,' which other people had overlooked, is at once explained and justified. If the proposition be true, the history of the world, in every quarter of it and in all ages, must be crowded with overwhelming evidence of the two facts upon which its truth depends. First, men must always have got worse as they multiplied and concentrated themselves; and next, their political institutions must have become more and more democratical in proportion as men got worse. The history of the world and the nature of man assuredly correspond. We need hardly ask, whether such is the evidence which history supplies?

Betwixt a work on human nature and a work on democracy, composed by Captain Marryat, it would be difficult to determine which of the two was the most original and profound. According to his political nomenclature, a republic is in the main distinguished from a democracy by the freedom of its government from pledges, instructions, and the immediate pressure of the majority. By a republic, he understands that form of government under which the persons possessed of most talent and wisdom, having been, by some means or another, selected to act for the benefit of a people, are left to their own judgment what course they shall pursue. But the principle sinks into a democracy when the persons selected by the people to represent them, instead of being allowed any exercise of private judgment, have only to obey the will of the majority, 'as is 'now in America.' If Captain Marryat intends his readers to profit by his distinctions, he must attend to them himself. He afterwards destroys the above distinction, for all practical purposes, when he observes, that 'in a republic, *or* democracy, the 'people will rule in every thing.' The temptation of confounding the Americans with an enigma which they will feel, 'although 'they will not acknowledge it,' leads him to a further incongruity. He adds, it is singular to remark 'how much more 'republican England is in her institutions than America.' If the remark is singular, the example given in confirmation of it is a great deal more so. The description of a republic having been, that the ablest persons are selected to govern in it, and are then

left to their own discretion, the executive magistracies of the two countries are compared with each other, by way of showing the greater republicanism of England. The point of comparison consists in contrasting the qualifications which are considered necessary for a president, with those of a female of eighteen years of age!

Mere fragments of a theory of democracy, or of the government of all by all, as explained in the last paragraph, are all that can be picked up and put together out of the present volumes. The result, as far as it goes, is not flattering to a majority assembled under this form of political communion; since, in every instance incidentally alluded to, a case much more to their disadvantage is supposed than an even chance between right and wrong. When Montesquieu required superior virtue as a condition or consequence of a popular government, he required, according to Captain Marryat, as far as a democracy is concerned, an impossibility and a contradiction. The other circumstances of America must be favourable indeed, or they can never counteract the causes of demoralization, which he assumes to be inherent in a democracy; and some of this he introduces us to upon this the threshold of his work.

Democracy, as far as it represents the levelling principle of equality, is opposed to honesty and property. 'There always 'appears to me to be a great want of moral principle in all Radi- 'cals; indeed, the levelling principles of radicalism are adverse 'to the sacred rights of *meum et tuum.*'

Democracy, from the same cause, encourages insubordination to the law, and partiality in its administration. 'Justice as well 'as religion will be interfered with by the despotism of the 'democracy.' To hear that in this state of things, the lawyers, notwithstanding, are its natural aristocracy, may be received, we should hope, as a circumstance in mitigation.

Democracy, by the tyranny which the laity exercise over the ministers of democratical churches, breaks up as well as breaks down the clergy, whom it first degrades, and then overworks; while, from the worship of money to which it is sold, body and soul, it destroys religion itself. This, we are assured, would take place to a certain extent under an establishment: it follows inevitably under the Voluntary system. '*Those who live under a* '*democracy have but one pursuit, but one object to gain, which is* '*wealth.* No one can serve God and Mammon.' 'Under a demo- 'cracy, therefore, you must look for religion among the women, 'not among the men; and such is found to be the case in the 'United States.'

A democracy merges all ambitions and distinctions in the pride of wealth. 'A virtue directed into a wrong channel, may, by 'circumstances, prove little better than (even if it does not sink 'down into) actual vice. Hence it is that a democratic form of 'government is productive of such demoralizing effects. Its 'rewards are few. Honours of every description, which stir up 'the soul of man to noble deeds—worthy incitements, they have 'none. The only compensation they can offer for services is 'money.' The acquisition of money, consequently, becomes there the great spring of action: not through avarice, but from ostentation—'the effect of ambition directed into a wrong 'channel.' And this is called human nature! As if the only honours which a community has to bestow were a peerage, or a place at court; and the love of our fellow-citizens was no incitement (at least no worthy one) to noble deeds!

Political ambition in a democracy, however, is so far from being merged in the ambition of being rich, that we are told in another place, that democracy, after all, actually reduces the value of money while it inflames the lust of power. What irreconcilable opposites are system-mongers obliged to swallow, without attempting to digest them! 'Wealth can give some 'importance, but *wealth in a democracy gives an importance which* '*is so common to many, that it loses much of its value.*' From the highest stations being open to all, the ambitious multitude are continually struggling for preferment in the tumultuous sea of democracy; where, of course, they are as continually disappointed. Notwithstanding those disappointments, the restless Americans are, by way of illustration, represented as being always ready to sacrifice wealth for power. 'The effects, there-'fore, of a democracy are, first, to raise an inordinate ambition 'among the people, and then to cramp the very ambition which 'it has raised.' 'Hence another species of demoralizing reaction.' The ambition, thus unsatisfied, finds for itself a double vent; one, in aggrandizing the nation by whatever means; the other, in forming associations, all of which (whatever may be their object, whether religious or philanthropical) 'connect themselves alike with politics.'

Stinginess is another characteristic vice of a democratical government. 'There never was, nor ever will be, any thing 'like liberality under a democratic form of government.'

Slander and duels also flourish under it. 'Slander and detrac-'tion are the inseparable evils of a democracy; and as neither 'public nor private characters are spared, and the law is impo-'tent to protect them, men have no other resource than to defend

'their reputations with their lives, or to deter the defamer by the 'risk which he must incur.' 'Duelling always has been, and 'always will be, one of the evils of democracy.'

The truth of these general propositions concerning democracy, will not be proved by simply proving the existence of facts which correspond with them in democratical communities. The facts may be the result of other causes. To raise them to the rank of proofs, it must be shown that they prevail to a greater degree under a democracy than would have been the case, other circumstances being the same, under a different form of government. Democracy is properly answerable only for such excess. Before this problem can be worked out, sufficient means, by which the supposed excess can be identified and ascertained, must both exist and be applied. Captain Marryat vows—'I have not 'written one line of this work' (jokes and broad farce, we suppose, included) 'without deliberation and examination. What 'I have already done has cost me much labour; what I have 'still to do will cost me more.' Upon this statement, and after full deliberation, examination, and much labour also, upon our part, we are satisfied that his friends can show him no greater kindness than by prevailing on him to save himself the trouble of going on. If human nature always were the same, a deeper knowledge of it would nevertheless be wanted to verify the characteristic evils of democracy than his simple metaphysics. But human nature is far from being a fixed quantity, every where the same: especially when the question to be determined, by a reference to human nature, is the power of a people for self-government.

Democracy means the will of the majority. The advantages and disadvantages of a democracy, accordingly, must vary with all the elements which enter into the condition of that majority; physical, intellectual, and moral. These are infinitely different, not only in different countries, but in the same country at different times. Thus, Captain Marryat has himself made up his mind on one point, which is, 'that, with all its imperfections, 'democracy is the form of government best *suited to the present* 'condition of America, in so far as it is the one under which the 'country has made, and will continue to make, the most rapid 'advances.' In the same manner, we have no doubt, that circumstances not only may be supposed, but have existed, in which the average of the moral evils which are mentioned above, as being characteristic of it, would (to say the least) be as low under a democracy as under any other government. We are no general admirers of democracy;—the periods are so short, and the places so few, in which it has any probability of succeeding. But our objections to it are political only. There are many societies which

we think it might politically destroy; few which we think it would morally corrupt. In the ordinary state of things, the widening the channels of power will tend to raise the character of those to whom the consideration of social interests, and the exercise of public trusts, are thus extended; while no kind of virtue, that we ever heard of, can suffer much from the loss of a Court and of a hereditary Nobility.

Many persons are of opinion that political science has less dependence upon a few trivial assumptions concerning human nature, than on enlarged comparisons of governments; and on a full investigation into the changes which are introduced into society by civilisation, under its several forms and at its different stages. In that case, Captain Marryat's incompetency to sit in judgment upon democracy is only so much the more evident. Aristotle, before he composed his 'Politics,' is said to have compared together four hundred constitutions. Captain Marryat has come forward to reason out the character of the American people from the nature of American democracy. Yet it is plain that he has not been at the pains of reading a commentary upon its history, so direct and indispensable as the Memoirs of Jefferson; a man who was as much the father of the Democracy of the United States, as Washington was father of the Republic. If he had ever read that very instructive book, (I. 17,) he would have been aware how grossly a Mr Vaughan of Philadelphia was *hoaxing* him, when he talked of having discovered the original draft of the 'Declaration of Independence.' He might as well have talked of discovering Magna Charta.

Irregularities, disturbing the smoothness of the argument, rise up even at this early period of his task, quite sufficient to have arrested the course of a less unsuspecting reasoner. Certain consequences of democracy are laid down as so many universal truths. In this case, facts corresponding with the allegations must equally occur over every part of the United States; since every part of the United States is equally subject to democracy. In accordance with this supposition, scarcely any notice is taken in these volumes of there being any difference in this respect between different portions of the Union—except incidentally and by-the-by; whereas nothing is more notorious, than that in fact the greatest possible difference prevails; and that the difference between one state and another is as obvious in the points above mentioned as being characteristic of democracy, as in any other point whatever. The necessity of this species of discrimination was never more positively avowed in a preface than on this occasion; and never afterwards more marvellously overlooked in the body of the work. To do justice to 'all parties, America should be examined

'and portrayed piecemeal, every state separately; for every 'state is different, running down the scale from refinement to a 'state of barbarism almost unprecedented. It is hardly possible 'to make a remark, which may be considered as general to a 'country where the varieties of soil and climate are so exten-'sive. Even on that point upon which one might venture most 'safely to generalize, *(indeed!)* namely, the effect of a demo-'cratical form of government upon the mass, your observations 'must be taken with some exceptions.' After this, it seems at first sight inconceivable how Captain Marryat should, for all practical purposes, have proceeded to discuss America as a whole. Doubtless there was a reason. And what if the reason should be nothing less, than that to have observed the distinction would have been to destroy the book?

Again, the degeneracy of the people is not merely assumed as a probability from appearances. It is stated in one of the sentences which we have extracted, that, considering the increase and concentration of their numbers, things could not have been otherwise. No sooner, however, does it fall in with Captain Marryat's object to bring forward other causes of their degeneracy, than his logic and candour are both forgotten. For instance, the education of the youth of the United States is pronounced to be immoral. The reader, it is thought, may wish to hear some evidence for this assertion. He is told, that 'the evidence that 'it is so, is in the demoralization which has taken place in the 'United States since the era of the declaration of independence, 'and which fact is freely admitted by so many American 'writers.' We need scarcely observe, that it is self-evident that the alleged demoralization can be, of itself, no evidence at all against the system of education; if, as their numbers augmented, the demoralization were a necessary consequence of augmented numbers. The same observation applies to the chapter on Religion. This chapter enumerates sundry other causes of degeneracy; and the first it mentions, so far from being connected with the closer packing of increasing numbers, is in positive contradiction to it. 'Not fifty years back, at the time 'of the declaration of independence, was not the American com-'munity one of the most virtuous in existence? Such was in-'deed the case, as it is now equally certain that they are one of 'the most demoralized. The question is, then, what can have 'created such a change in the short period of fifty years? The '*only reply* that can be given is, that as the Americans, in their 'eagerness to possess new lands, pushed away into the west, so 'did they leave civilisation behind, and return to ignorance and 'barbarism—they scattered their population, and the word of God

'was not to be heard in the wilderness. That as she increased 'her slave states, so did she give employment, land, and power, 'to those who were indifferent to all law, human or divine. And 'as, since the formation of the Union, the people have yearly 'gained advantages over the *Government* until they now control 'it, so have they controlled and fettered *Religion* until it pro-'duces no good fruits. Add to this, the demoralizing effects of 'a democracy, which turns the thoughts of all to Mammon; and 'it will be acknowledged that this rapid fall is not so very sur-'prising.' An 'only reply' ought not to be altogether independent of, still less partly inconsistent with, a more general reason previously assigned. Captain Marryat says, he never prophesies. He anticipates, however, that the United States will break up, sooner or later, under new institutions. What these institutions will be, is a curious speculation. For, with the increasing population, the institutions are to become worse; and it is hard to guess what is the form of government which, in Captain Marryat's opinion, would be worse than a democracy.

Many men might collect materials for a house who could not build one. This, however, is not Captain Marryat's case. He is scarcely better fitted for the humbler than for the higher office. The Diary and remarks abundantly exemplify his mode of verifying facts, and of applying them. On this point it would be useless to wait for further evidence. There is such a want of range and precision in his personal observations—so little of sceptical sagacity in his scrutiny of the information of others—so wide a departure in his statements, here and there, from the severity of historical narrative, that a cloud of uncertainty is necessarily thrown over the whole. His imagination is plainly at times at its old tricks—forgetting the difference of the object on which he is now engaged. The clever conversation in the stage-coach between the lady of the plush and the lady of the silk bonnet, *(both ladies,)* is an instance of the latitude which professional story-tellers allow themselves in dressing up a story. No person, as long as a story is told him for amusement only, will be so much his own enemy as to ask what part of it is embellishment, and what part truth. But stories which are to settle the reputation of a people, ought to lay their account upon being looked into after another fashion. It is proper then to ask, how far Captain Marryat is a safe authority for the facts which he repeats, and the conclusions which he infers.

In his chapter on Credit, Captain Marryat is prepared to deny the honesty of the Americans. After bearing ample testimony to the sacrifices made by the New York merchants at the last commercial crisis, he insinuates, more knowingly than charitably,

that 'it is sufficient that it is their interest to be honest, and they 'are so. I state the case in this way, because I do not intend to 'admit that the honesty of the merchants is any proof of the 'morality of a nation.' The working out of the problem will, we conclude, support this protest by some stronger testimony of dishonesty than the leaning of the Americans towards political equality—that equality, 'perhaps to be hereafter,' which Milton thought worthy of being called *just*, and in which courts of equity have presumed that equity consists. Thus far, to the contrary, is clear, upon Captain Marryat's own showing. A spirit of barter and a system of credit, of which, in England, we have no conception, pervade the whole country. Moreover, general prosperity, founded upon general confidence, has arisen, and is advancing, under a relaxation of the law of debtor and creditor which English creditors would describe to be a premium on dishonesty. The greater leniency of the Americans towards their debtors, has in the mean time worked so well, that Captain Marryat recommends the experiment to our adoption. Whatever may be the nature either of the facts, or of the generalizations in reserve, the fact that, from one end of the Union to the other, 'America exists at present upon credit,' is conclusive proof that the credit is deserved. In other words, its people—a people made up of buyers and sellers more than any other community on the globe—are, in the main, an honest people.

In the chapter on Law, the Americans are described as making it their first object, after a law has passed, to find out how they can evade it, more especially if it is a law for the better regulation of society. The evidence of this is confined to stories, showing how nine-pins and billiards have been played, and spirituous liquors have been sold; how uncertificated steam-boats have set sail, and unmuzzled dogs have run about—all contrary to law. Is Captain Marryat so innocent, that he has yet to learn the ordinary course of sumptuary laws? Is he ignorant of the degree of success or failure which has attended the legislation of his own country, on such subjects as gambling, poaching, gin and whisky, stage-coaches, emigration vessels, or even on the muzzling up of dogs in hot weather—although the mayor shall have sent the crier round the town, and placarded his municipal will and pleasure upon every wall? In addition to insubordination to the law, the Americans are charged with a corrupt administration of it. 'There is no country in the world where 'there is so much perjury as in the United States, if I am to 'believe the Americans themselves.' 'Politics, private animosi-'ties, bribery, all have their influence to defeat the ends of jus-'tice, and it argues strongly against the moral standard of a

'nation, that such should be the case; but that it is so, is un-'doubted.' A question of this kind is, unfortunately, every where a question only of degree. These practices, one should think, cannot go very far; or the Americans (who are described as fond of going to law, from liking the excitement) would soon tire of it; at least the *bonâ fide* party would decline the risk. We here again ask, whether Captain Marryat knows what is meant in the English law by the change of *venue* in a trial?—whether he has never heard that interests and passions, both local and personal, most prejudicial to justice, exist at home, beyond the borders of Welsh counties?—or whether he can tell how much short of certainty, all the country over, has long been the chance of an honest verdict in either tithe, or game, or revenue cases—with a jury put into the box upon the spot, from the farm-yard or the street? What would he say, if Committees of Congress were stained with a hundredth part of the criminal suspicions under which the Election Committees of the House of Commons labour? Yet the moral standard of the English nation is not on this account considered much the lower. The degree to which courts of justice in the United States are swayed by corrupt biasses, cannot turn on the correctness or incorrectness of one or two anecdotes. The only two which Captain Marryat retails, he is not fortunate in; at least in his way of putting them. That a jury should have been bullied into the acquittal of a murderer, in consequence of an Irish party threatening to vote on the other side if their countryman was convicted, involves a strange coincidence of accidents and villany. The Irishmen must have been gifted with more than Irish assurance, before they could have openly ventured upon the threat; while the jury must have consisted of a dozen political partisans, no less singular for their violence than their credulity, before they would commit themselves to a betrayal of their immediate duty, upon no better security than expectations derived from such a threat. The other story relates to bribery. One most notorious 'case of bribery *I can vouch for, as I am acquainted with the two* '*parties;* one of them purchased the snuff-box, in which the other 'inclosed the notes, and presented them to the jurymen.' What does Captain Marryat mean by vouching for it? Was he told by third persons that his acquaintance had committed this enormity? or did he hear it from the gentlemen themselves? Either way, the probability is a thousand to one of its being a hoax on his simplicity. We cannot understand, under what circumstances the information shall have come to him in such a manner, that its credibility is established by his having been acquainted with the parties.

The judges are accused of nothing worse than of a want of dignity, and a lenity to culprits. Captain Marryat has printed from the newspapers a satire of ten pages on 'his excellent 'friend,' the Recorder of New York's worse than familiar method of passing sentence. It is in the grossest style of police reporting. Where truth is the object, the repetition of buffoonery of this kind is exceedingly misplaced. The reader will never make 'allowances for the license of reporters.' He cannot be expected to do so; and, when he is for form's sake told to do so, it is known he will not. Besides, *particular* representations, although true in the particular instance, are not therefore justifiable. When they necessarily leave behind them a *general* impression, they may have all the effect and almost all the criminality of falsehood. Captain Marryat observes, that 'an unwillingness to 'take away life is a remarkable feature in America, and would 'be a commendable one, but for the length to which it is car-'ried.' 'Leniency towards crime' he calls 'the grand charac-'teristic of their legislation.' This may be accounted for in different ways. His explanation of it is too peculiar, not to argue a foregone conclusion. He *much suspects* that 'it proceeds 'from the national vanity being unwilling to admit that such 'things can take place among a very moral people.' In the choice between punished and unpunished crime, it would be an odd turn for national vanity to prefer the last. Yet that is the alternative. The entry of a murder in the criminal calendar of the United States, would be more creditable as well as satisfactory, than its appearance in the form of a triumphant assassination in Georgia; or of an unexplained item in the coroner's inquest of New York—although New York, for this purpose, ought to be considered not more a part of America, than what our runagates and outlaws make it—a part of 'the Alsatia of Europe.'

Before reading Captain Marryat's chapter upon Religion, we should have declined accepting him as either witness or judge upon the subject any where, but more especially in America. After reading it, we still decline. He may think that he is anxious 'to do justice to the really religious portion of the inhabitants;' but he is too much of a high churchman to be able to do justice to a nation of Dissenters. Our objection, however, lies deeper and broader than even this. Religion in America, like many other things, has a gravity, an earnestness, or (if Captain Marryat prefers the expression) an atmosphere of excitement round about it, to which we readily imagine he found nothing in his nature to respond. The mocking tone which he has picked up in running over the world, about gold and godliness—a suspicion of every body and every thing that are unfortunate enough to

appear to him to be righteous overmuch—a detestation of the bigotry of the pilgrim fathers so intense, that he can find no other word but 'diabolical vices' for their mistaken virtues—are symptoms of an antipathy in nature, amounting to a positive disability, when the question is—what is the real religious condition of America at the present day? Captain Marryat compassionates Dr Reed's credulity in favour of American temperance societies. But he is infinitely more credulous in favour of himself; if he indeed conceives that there is a man in Christendom (desirous of knowing any thing of the moral and religious prospects of America) who would hesitate for a moment in his choice, between the evidence of Doctor Reed and Doctor Matthison on one side, and of Captain Marryat on the other. Religion, especially in its outward demonstrations, communicates more immediately with the imagination and the feelings than with the reason. Without doubt, therefore, in America, as every where else, the women will be more religious than the men. This, too, will be the case there more than elsewhere, in proportion to the truth of the assertion that religion there 'is all 'excitement;' and that 'every sect has so far fallen into Catho-'licism, that religion is become more an appeal to the senses than 'to the judgment.' But to affirm that religion in America has passed from the men to the women, and from the whites to the blacks, is a monstrous exaggeration, scarcely less extravagant than the cause assigned for it. There is an absurdity, it seems, in supposing 'that a man who has been in such ardent pursuit 'of wealth, as is the American for six days in the week, can recall 'his attention to serious points upon the seventh.' We submit that there can be no absurdity in supposing what agrees with the experience of mankind. An ardent pursuit of wealth and deep religious feelings go very well together: witness the Dutch Calvinists, and our own Methodists and Quakers. Captain Marryat describes 'Massachusets and the smaller eastern 'states as the stronghold of religion and morality.' Are the Yankees less fond of money than their countrymen in the south? That 'a torrent of atheism and infidelity universally exists,' is easily said. But what is the report of Doctors Reed and Matthison? Has Captain Marryat endeavoured to compare in this respect America with Europe? How can the statement that religion in America is left to women only, be reconciled with his admissions, that where twenty houses are got together, one of them will be a church—that public opinion runs so powerfully in favour of public worship, that the majority of men who attend on it, attend from fear of their neighbours—that the American clergy are equal, if not superior, to any in the world—nevertheless, that the

spiritual demands of their congregations are generally beyond what the zeal and ability even of such a ministry can overtake? For a person who will not prophesy, he tears the veil from the religious future of America with a forwardness almost as presumptuous. Its Protestant church is to fall, from divisions hastened by the voluntary system. On the other hand, two-thirds of the Union, that is, all to the west of the Alleghany mountains, he has *no doubt* will eventually be Catholic. In this event, the Catholic hierarchy may check the spirit of democracy, 'and reduce to 'better order the present chaotic state of society.' This is put as merely a possibility. What must be Captain Marryat's notions concerning the Roman faith, when, thinking as he thinks of the demoralizing nature of democracy, he nevertheless professes to regard this ecclesiastical and political euthanasia as 'one of the 'dark clouds which overhang the western hemisphere!'

Some knowledge, together with a certain power of comparing and of reasoning, are required to understand the value of a fact. The House of Representatives refused a grant of public money to the family of Fulton, the father of Steam Navigation in America, and to Whittney, the inventor of a Gin for clearing the seeds from cotton. With Captain Marryat's leave, the principle that a legislature should attend only to the interests of the majority, (meaning thereby all, or the nearest number to all, that the case in question can be made to cover,) cannot be a wrong principle. Error, where error is, must lie in the narrow application of it. But before votes of this description can 'show the world how 'little gratitude is to be found in a democracy,' the world will enquire what takes place in countries living under more favoured institutions. If Captain Marryat has yet to learn the English history of Watt's patent, let him read it in the recent Memoir of that illustrious man by M. Arago, and notice particularly what is said of Burke. Are the writings of men of genius public blessings? Let him turn to the recent debates on Copyright. In these respects, democracy does not stand alone. If the present state of Washington's family, and of his tomb at Mount Vernon, is a greater scandal than any other instance of similar neglect, it is only because no other nation ever owed as much to one man as America owes to Washington. With regard to duels—a small portion of the duels and other sanguinary outrages, in parts of the United States, is to be attributed to the licentiousness of the periodical press, and of the feebleness of the laws in protecting character. Captain Marryat says, 'the majority of editors in 'America are constantly practising with the pistol:' and that Americans 'do not go out, as we do, to satisfy honour, but 'with the determination to kill.' Conduct so brutal, it is diffi-

cult to reconcile with the general good-nature, and with the unwillingness to take away life, attributed in other places to the American people. Be this as it may, Captain Marryat cannot be acquainted with the former state of European duelling, or a ferocious license in it would not have been described as one of the penalties of democracy. When he has compared the statistics of this truly barbarian usage, as it once prevailed in France for instance, with the extent to which it is at present carried in America, we shall be ready to hear him again upon the subject.

The following are among the most noticeable fruits, displayed in the present volumes, of Captain Marryat's skill in tracing, observing, and discriminating facts. They are specimens of the discretion necessary to individuals in regard to the phenomena out of which a particular hypothesis is to be derived and proved.

Speculation.—'One of the most singular affections of the human mind is a proneness to excessive speculation; and it may here be noticed, that the disease (for such it may be termed) is peculiarly English and American.' What have been the opportunities of other nations? Law, on the occasion of his famous Mississippi scheme, gave the French an opportunity; and neither Englishman nor American ever manifested a more kindly predisposition to this peculiar disease. Writing upon America, he might have bethought him of the French and Mississippi Law.

Ourselves and more active Ancestors.—'There is almost as much difference, at the present time, between the English and Americans, as there has long been between the English and the Dutch. All their energy is of English origin; and, were England expanded into America, the same results would be produced. To a certain degree the English were, in former times, what the Americans are now: but, since we have become so crowded that there is hardly room for the population, our activity has been proportionally cramped and subdued.' For proof of the superior energy of ancient England over modern, we are, we suppose, to consult the history of English agriculture, manufactures, commerce, emigration, arms, arts, and literature! One should have thought that a population, in proportion as it became crowded, would find both the necessity and the means for making more exertion. But, if the history of England really shows that we have lost our activity from want of room to stir in, in that case all *a priori* expectations of course must go for nothing.

Half-breeds.—'It is *remarkable*, in the case of the red Indian, that the females generally improve, and the males degenerate, from the admixture of blood.' The more white blood the better, being admitted to be the rule in the case of the women,

a vulgar observer would have been startled with the perverse anomaly in nature which should make it otherwise in the men. Supposing that white blood introduces at first a comparative incapacity for labour, (as is said to happen in the first cross of the white and negro,) this will not explain the alleged distinction between the sexes in the present instance; for the severest reproach of one Indian woman to another is, 'You let your husband carry burdens!'

Climate the cause of American Excitement.—'I *unhesitatingly* 'pronounce it to be bad, being injurious in the two important 'points of healthy vigour in the body, and healthy action of the 'mind: enervating the one and tending to demoralize the other. 'I consider that the excitement, so general throughout the Union, 'and forming so remarkable a feature in the character, is occa- 'sioned much more by climate than by any other cause.' 'Ex- 'citement is the *caviare* of their existence.' What does all this mean? It sounds like a great discovery, in which the fact is as new to us and as curious as the cause. We know that they are in a hurry to be rich. We know that they have a local political importance to acquire and keep up. We know that they have a good deal of the energy, which, as we are told above, their English ancestors possessed some hundred years ago. But something more mysterious would seem to be implied in the discovery of a demoralizing excitement caused by climate; and especially by climate extending over such a range as the length and breadth of the United States.

Society.—'There are some pleasant people in this town, (De- 'troit,) and the society is quite equal to that of the eastern cities,' '(Cincinnati.) In 1803, deer-skin was a legal tender. At present 'its society is as good as any in the Union.' ('Fort Snelling) 'many hundred miles from civilisation, on the Upper Mississippi. 'The society was the most agreeable that I became acquainted 'with in America.' At Fort Snelling, Captain Marryat saw some of the Sioux Indians. His conclusion on parting with his friends of both colours, red and white, is, 'that taking the two 'varieties in the mass, the Indians must be acknowledged the 'most perfect gentlemen in America, particularly in their deport- ment.' This comes of writing history philosophically. A traveller, before he has been three weeks in a country, makes up his mind to decline all invitations. Nevertheless, when he sits down to dress up his book for the reading public, he can compare the society of the different cities, and settle their precedence in agreeableness, with as free and easy an air as if he had lived among them all his days. In the same fashion we are told—'The Ca- 'tholic priests who instruct, are, to *my knowledge*, the best educated

'men in the States.' Knowledge, thus acquired, is inspiration; for it can be nothing else.

Butchers.—Speaking of a convict in the Philadelphia Penitentiary who had been bred up a butcher, he inserts a parenthesis. '*I have observed* that where the use of the knife is habitual, the 'flinching which men naturally feel at the idea of driving it into 'a fellow-creature is overcome; and a man who is accustomed 'to dissect the still palpitating carcasses of animals, has very little 'compunction in resorting to the knife in the event of collision 'with his own race.' When an observer states, '*I have observed*,' the query occurs—how often? Out of how many experiences of butchers stabbing their fellow-creatures has Captain Marryat framed his rule? But his reasoning upon the supposed association with a knife, applies almost equally to soldiers and surgeons. Does Captain Marryat believe that the Criminal Returns of any country would confirm an *observation* so injurious to occupations of the first necessity?

Horse-stealers.—Captain Marryat passed near Utica a horse without its master; the saddle-flaps being chalked, '*Let him go.*' 'This was a very primitive proceeding; but I am not sure that 'it could be ventured upon in Yorkshire, or in Virginia either, 'where they know a good horse, and are particularly careful of 'it. *It is a fact*, that wherever they breed horses, they invari-'ably learn to steal them.' More must be meant by this communication than the news that crime, and the materials for it, will, in ordinary circumstances, bear a proportion to each other. With regard to the connexion between breeding and stealing, we again demur, and pray in aid the Criminal Returns for Yorkshire. The two or three Returns which we happen to have at hand, are in contradiction with the fact.

For the use of Horse-drivers and Humane Societies.—'As we 'passed one of the branches of the Ottawa, one of the ammunition-'waggons falling through the ice, the horses were immediately 'all but choked by the drivers—a precaution which was novel to 'me, and a singular method of saving their lives: but such was 'the case; the *air within them, rarified by heat, inflated their 'bodies like balloons, and they floated high on the water* (!) In this 'state they were easily disengaged from their traces, and hauled 'out upon the ice; the cords, which had nearly strangled them, 'were then removed, and in a few minutes they recovered suffi-'ciently to be led to the shore.' Of this experiment, it will be remarked, Captain Marryat was an eyewitness.

Female Tact.—At Albany he had the good fortune to prompt a whole girls' boarding-school through their French lessons, in a public examination. 'Now, what amused me was the little bit

'of *human nature*—the *tact* displayed by the sex, which appears 'to be innate, and which never deserts them. Had I prompted 'a boy, he would most likely have turned round towards me, and 'thus revealed what I was about; but not one of the whole class 'was guilty of such indiscretion.' The young ladies only smiled their gratitude, as they went away. That women are born Tories for the most part, we believe; that by their influence and that of the lawyers, America is, and will be, in one sense, aristocratical, we can understand. But that girls are born more expert and hardened hypocrites than boys, is 'a little bit of human 'nature' which we were not prepared for. We wait until the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of our acquaintance have compared notes.

Providential Arrangements.—Some parts of the Western States must be supposed to be too unwholesome for Providence to attempt to counteract the evil, since they are left to their fate and to the average fecundity. On the other hand, '*Strange to say*, it would 'appear to be a provision of Providence that a remarkable fecundity 'on the part of the women, in the more healthy portion of the Wes- 'tern states, should meet the annual expenditure of life. Three 'children at a birth are more common here than twins are in Eng- 'land; and they, generally speaking, are all reared up. There 'have been many instances of even four.' This is very like the discovery made at one time by travellers of more philosophical renown than Captain Marryat, of an excess of female births in Mahommedan countries, to meet the demands which polygamy levies upon the sex.

Forgery and Bigamy are selected as instances of the principle on which the scale of crime and punishment is arranged in criminal law. After properly observing that crimes increase in magnitude as they affect the welfare of the community, Captain Marryat adds, that forgery and bigamy are not such heavy crimes as many others subject to the same penalty. By this the reader will understand, at first, that they do not injure society in the same degree. But we must tread cautiously; for the author, unluckily, means directly the reverse. The illustrations which immediately follow, must remove all doubt concerning the merit of his chapter upon law. 'A man may have his pocket '*picked* of L.1000, but this is not a capital offence, as it is only 'the individual who suffers (?); but if a man *forges* a bill for L.5, 'he is (or rather was) sentenced by our laws to be hanged. Biga- 'my may be adduced as another instance; *the heinousness of the* '*offence is not in having more than one wife, but in the prospect of* '*the children of the first marriage being left to be supported by the* '*community. Formerly that also was pronounced a capital offence.*'

Here is a teacher of the nations! Not a line written without deliberation and examination!

Captain Marryat's information is not in a state to hold a stout battle against any communications from third persons, however extraordinary. He has a weak point, besides, in not having the heart to reject any thing which came in the shape of a good story. His means of information, too, being so confined, he had to make the most of what he got. Under these circumstances, it was not for him, we must say, to reprove Dr Reed for crediting the marvels related to him of Temperance Societies; or to giggle at the hoaxes played off upon Miss Martineau, unless, when his turn came, he meant to be wonderfully upon his guard. But no such thing. Whether it is the re-appearance of Pontoppidon's sea-serpent to hundreds of respectable people; or 'an 'ascertained fact,' that the bears to the east and west of the Mississippi migrate every autumn in opposite directions; or the taking in earnest a mock dispute of newspaper drollers, on the true reading, in the Kentucky dialect, of *absquatiated* or *absquatalized*;—in all these cases, and many others, he appears to have been as much ashamed of the scepticism of research, as the clown was in the Winter's Tale, when he hung back from suspecting Autolycus of carrying about lies. Captain Marryat, 'after minute enquiry,' discovered the causes of the frequent fires at New York. The cause which he last mentions is, 'con-'flagrations of houses *not* insured, effected by agents employed 'by *the fire insurance companies*, as a punishment to some, and a 'warning to others who have neglected to take out policies.' The audacity of this experiment upon a stranger's credulity, was proved to be a point beyond what Captain Marryat even could stand. Half awaking, on this occasion, to the suspicion that he had been drugged with lies, he concludes with the gravity of Mathews in his 'at homes,'—'I *cannot vouch* for the truth of 'the last, although I feel bound to mention it.'

Were there no other way of explaining a conversation concerning Miss Martineau, which passed between Captain Marryat and Mr Clay, we should infinitely prefer believing that the statesman of Kentucky had condescended to amuse himself, like his obscurer countrymen, with hoaxing the Captain, than that angry feelings towards Miss Martineau, for speaking of the 'homely' Clay, had provoked him to trespass upon the truth. But we are morally certain that there must be some mistake somewhere. This supposition is so natural, that we feel no deeper explanation need be resorted to, in answer to the imputation that Miss Martineau visited the southern states under false colours. At the period in question, such an affectation upon her part would

have been downright insanity. After what had passed at Boston, it was too late to disclaim being 'a regular abolitionist.' She could not have done it if she would; and she would not have done it if she could. Captain Marryat treats all his predecessors with little ceremony: Miss Martineau with least of all. The fact that she appears to have been 'what the Kentuckians call '*playing 'possum,*' is a fact which we feel certain we can as unequivocally and unconditionally deny, as any body can deny any thing at which he was not present. Miss Martineau's writings must stand or fall upon their own merits. But we are bound to testify, on our own knowledge, to her character. From its very defects, as much as its merits, it is absolutely impossible that, on this occasion, she can have concealed one iota of her opinions, beyond what was absolutely necessary for her personal safety; or what was due in common courtesy to the persons in whose company she might be. Wherever the blame of the misconception concerning her professions about slavery may lie—with herself or with Mr Clay—we can in neither case understand how this can be called 'another instance of the mischief which the con-'duct of Miss Martineau has entailed upon all those English who 'may happen to visit America.' At this rate, however, what will be the American inheritance which Captain Marryat will have left for those who follow *him?*

Captain Marryat's speculations upon slavery are very slight. Resolutions, in opposition to the Abolition Society, were passed last year in Congress, by a majority of one hundred and eight to six. This, by the way, is all, it appears, that could be done in a country which is described as society-mad by the Abolition Society, which is by far the most powerful society of all. The Negro in the United States, we are therefore told, must wait for emancipation, (unless, in the mean time, he helps himself to it,) until a white population shall have filled the labour market with white labour in the South-Eastern states; and until the fall of cotton, in consequence of the cheaper supply from other places, especially from Texas, shall have convinced the reckless West, that the product of its slave labour is no longer worth the cost. There is a prospect (it is said, but we can hardly think it) of the first of these blessed events occurring within the next twenty or thirty years. The period for the second appears to us as remote as the consummation of the notion that, one day or other, the maple-tree sugar of the north may supersede the cane sugar of the tropics. Alas for humanity, upon this fatal question, whichever way we look!

By far the most interesting as well as useful chapter in the book, in our opinion, is the chapter upon the American Marine.

So great is the advantage of being acquainted with the subject upon which one has to write. The American navy employs about 85,000 seamen; of these, 30,000 are Englishmen. It is the English portion of her navy to which alone America has had to trust for the manning of her ships of war in past hostilities; and it is to the same that she would have to trust at present, were hostilities to be renewed to-morrow. Therefore, in a naval war with America, whichever flag may triumph, (the red cross or the stars,) it is, in the strictest sense of the words, one natural-born Englishman who beats another. Captain Marryat should know, and he assures us, that 'there is no character so devoid 'of principle as the British sailor and soldier; if they can get 'higher wages, they never consider the justice of the cause, or 'whom they fight for.' In the last campaign, our soldiers, when in America, went over by picquets. Better pay is at the bottom of all desertions from our national service. With regard to the navy, not a year ought to be lost by the Trinity House, the Admiralty, and the Legislature, in attending to Captain Marryat's judicious suggestions. The duties upon tonnage should be so altered, as to remove the encouragement to bad ship-building. Faster and more frequent voyages would give better freights; better freights could afford higher wages. The rate of sailors' pensions ought also to be revised, with the same view. Our suspended negotiations concerning the Right of Search, for the purpose of recovering our subjects from out of American ships; and also our whole practice of impressment, are part of the same considerations. Few questions are more important than the taking away all possible grounds of dissatisfaction between the two countries. For peace between England and America is the interest not only of England and America, but of mankind.

We are afraid Captain Marryat will not think that we are entitled to ask a favour of him. But, as his own fame is as much concerned in it as our personal gratification, we venture, in conclusion, to suggest to him the desirableness of his returning to his ancient track of original and humorous composition. There he must always amuse. But we much question, on considering the lighter parts of the present volumes, whether he could ever write a good book of ordinary travels. The only descriptions of scenery which he has introduced, are of waterfalls: they are poor and tawdry. His descriptions of manners, which in one sense are so much better, are in another worse. Besides being intemperate and capricious, they frequently too much resemble the trifling of a schoolboy, who cannot help running away from his business, to laugh over an idle story, or play with a tricksy

word as a kitten with its tail. A grave and philosophical subject, we are sure, he could never fathom. It is a pity that he should not rest content with the goodly heritage that nature has assigned to him. His lot was marked out by the original diversity of human talents; and its boundary has since been still more strongly drawn by the division of intellectual labour which that diversity creates. It lies in a pleasant land. Smollett has made a sorry figure by continuing the History of England. Hume would probably have made no better, had he yielded to the temptation of continuing Roderick Random. In case the reflection is any comfort to him, let Captain Marryat picture to himself M. de Tocqueville engaged upon a second part of 'Peter Simple.' M. de Tocqueville's mistake in adventuring upon a sea-novel, would, in all likelihood, be as great as that of Captain Marryat in philosophizing upon the democracy of America. Greater, in our opinion, it cannot be.

ART. VI.—1. *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England.* Sixth Edition. 1839.

2. *Speech of* HENRY MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE, K. G., *in the House of Lords, on the subject of Education.* Fifth Edition. 1839.

3. *Thoughts on Education.* By SARAH AUSTIN. 1839.

4. *Substance of* LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S *Speech in the House of Commons, June 28th* 1839, *on the Government Plan for Promoting National Education.* Fifth Edition. London: 1839.

5. *A Letter on National Education to the* DUKE of BEDFORD *from* LORD BROUGHAM. Edinburgh: 1839.

IN the spring of 1835, the principles of the British constitution were brought to a very severe practical test. The Administration of Lord Melbourne had been unexpectedly dismissed by the act of the Sovereign, without any indication of the loss of the support or confidence of the House of Commons. A new Government was formed, at the head of which, after a short but inevitable delay, the ablest and most cautious of Conservative statesmen was naturally and justly placed. A general election followed. The new Parliament was assembled, and on successive divisions the Ministry were left in continued minorities. The question then to be tried was, whether a Government so circumstanced could continue to administer its functions; or whether the

bills drawn at St James's and Windsor Castle did not require the endorsement of the Commons to give them credit in the market, and to preserve them in circulation. This important question was decided in the affirmative; and the political firm which was unable to obtain this important collateral security stopped payment, and appeared in the list of bankrupts in the Gazette.

It was a short time before this event took place, that a shrewd and active partisan of Sir Robert Peel's government observed—'We are beaten, and fairly beaten. One only chance remains; 'we must appeal to the clergy and the people, and we must raise 'the CHURCH CRY;—this may avail us yet, but, if this last expe-'dient should fail, we are lost as a party for ever.'

We do not deny that this resolution was founded on a correct, though an unprincipled and selfish, view of the state of parties and of public feeling. The Tories or Conservatives—by whichever name they rejoice to be called (and they ever, like other offenders, appear under an *alias*,)—the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel—could not hope to move the people of England by an appeal to their love and veneration for schedule A; Old Sarum and Gatton were not names to conjure with; they were not names that would call into being one popular spirit. The motto of 'the Holy Al-'liance for ever!' though inscribed on as many election banners as it was impressed upon Tory hearts, would not command the vote even of a Liverpool freemen. A candidate's pledge to re-enact the Test and Corporation Acts, would have been rejected at the Hustings; and even the hopes of a repeal of the Act for Catholic Emancipation, would have been thought by the many as an injustice too monstrous to be attempted; and by the Bishop of Exeter himself as a blessing too great to be attained. But the love of the great majority of the people of England for the Established Church, was relied upon as a sufficient *vis motrix*—if the people of England could once be persuaded that their Church was in danger, and that it was their duty to rush forward to the rescue.

We admit, that those who recommended this line of policy were wise in their generation. They staked every thing upon this single remaining card. But they did so to the imminent risk and detriment of that Church which they affected to love, and which they would fain have persuaded the public it was their desire to protect. Like many other belligerents, they planted their standard in holy ground; they made the fabric of the Church their headquarters; they selected it as the key of their position; they raised their batteries in front of the temple; they melted the lead of the roof for the purpose of casting bullets; they rang as the tocsin of war those chimes which ought to have sum-

moned peaceful congregations to prayer and to praise; they despoiled the very altars of their plate and ornaments, in order to fill the military chest—to defray the hire of adventurers and of mercenaries, who were regardless of creed or of doctrine. To them it was a matter of indifference whether the sanctuary were violated, provided the battle were won. To avail ourselves of an illustration of Gibbon—they valued the other world chiefly as affording them a platform on which they could place their engines; and they moved this.

From the session of 1835 to the present time, the Tory party have acted steadily upon this principle. It has been the object of all their parliamentary supporters to represent every measure as a Church Question. The church cry has been raised not only by Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Inglis, whose consistent principles on such subjects entitle them to confidence, as far as it can be won by sincerity and zeal; but by all the other adherents of the party, from Lord Lyndhurst to Colonel Sibthorp. The ancient maxim of the Church, *ubi tres ibi ecclesia*, was by them interpreted, that two or three should not be gathered together without a discussion of the church controversy. The necessary course of party politics has tended to the same end. The settlement of Irish tithes, the measures for the relief of Dissenters, the question of church rates, could not be debated without necessarily involving the interests of the Establishment. The bills for ecclesiastical reform, though recommended by the Bishops of Canterbury and York, were viewed with great suspicion and alarm. But the Church fever was not confined within these legitimate limits. Canadian politics were not allowed to be discussed without the introduction of the Clergy Reserves as a prominent subject; though that question had been decided, not by Lord Melbourne, but by the Earl of Ripon. The provision for the Roman Catholic clergy in Australia, was represented as being an Avatar of Maynooth at the antipodes; though this was the decision of Lord Aberdeen, and not of Lord Glenelg. A clause in a Prison Bill, providing religious instruction for Dissenters, was designated as subversive of all establishments; though supported by Lord Stanley, one of the most orthodox Conservative leaders. Going still further, the modification of the Usury Laws was objected to by Lord Ashburton in reference to religious scruples; and, to complete the cycle of absurdity, towards the close of the session, the London and Blackwall railway bill was opposed by the Bishop of London as dangerous to ecclesiastical interests! In short, during the last five sessions, we have found within both Houses of Parliament—

'Church first, Church last, Church midst, Church without end.'

The effect of this has been equally dangerous to religion and to politics. The tendency, if not the consequence, of this selection of the patrimony of the Church for a field of contest, has been 'to 'degrade religion and to pervert polities.' It has cast false and delusive lights upon every subject, and has deprived Parliament of much of its powers—of its free agency, and of its ability to pronounce an unbiased opinion. It would be almost as easy for the pedestrians in the Strand and Holborn to keep their sobriety of pace when a cry of 'mad dog' is raised, as it is for a certain number of her Majesty's lieges to retain their calm reason, when told from authority that the Church is in danger. If an alarm of fire were raised in Lincoln's Inn or the Temple, by the rattling wheels of the engines, and the zeal and rivalry of the ministers of the Sun, the Globe, the Atlas, and the Phœnix, the sable inhabitants of those seats of learning would not quit their unfinished conveyances and wills, their abstracts of title, their drafts of settlements, their bills, answers, declarations, and pleas, in more zealous or eager crowds, than we have seen assembled at Exeter Hall, and at parish vestries, to extinguish those imaginary flames, in which they were taught to believe that all that was valuable and characteristic in the reformed churches was about to be consumed.

This turmoil, and all its evils, were fearfully augmented by some collateral causes. The great achievement of Roman Catholic emancipation, and more especially the principles on which it had been carried, had created alarm and distrust. Those orthodox Tories who considered that they had been betrayed by their leaders, were resolved to resist to the death any concession to their political opponents. The unreasonable demands of the Dissenters, who, in many cases, were unsatisfied with an admission to a full equality of civil privileges, and who declared war against all establishments as inconsistent with the rights of conscience, had exasperated many, and had raised up a spirit of alarm and resistance among all churchmen. The equality granted to the Roman Catholics by the Duke of Wellington's Act of 1829, their consequent capacity for civil office, their appointments as sheriffs, justices of the peace, as well as to other offices of trust, made many persons consider that their numbers were greatly increased, and their powers dangerously augmented. These unwise reasoners never stopped to examine whether power, guaranteed by law, and exercised within the limits of the constitution, was not in itself a safety; whilst power created by exclusion, and fostered by discontent, must not be always pregnant with danger. The first resembles the guiding and salutary flame confined within Sir Humphry Davy's lamp;

the other is the flaring torch, which cannot be introduced into the mine without risk of explosion.

The position in which many of the leaders of the Church were placed, tended also to increase this general exasperation, disquietude, and alarm. The abolition of ancient sees, the suppression of prebendal stalls, the application of sinecure benefices to other, and as we conceive to much better, uses, had alarmed many of the clergy; and had exposed the prelates who acted on the Ecclesiastical Commission to much indignant reproach and many acrimonious revilings. They were told, in no measured terms, that they had forfeited the confidence of their clergy. The members of various chapters reminded their diocesans of the oaths which they had taken, to preserve inviolate the privileges of the cathedrals; with more of energy than of charity and respect, these ancient oaths were contrasted with the measures recommended by the Primate of England and his colleagues. It could not but have been felt by these very moderate and timid ecclesiastical reformers, that more than ordinary prudence was required on their part, to preserve, or rather to regain, their influence. Contenting themselves, therefore, with a mitigated and an apologetic defence of their own recommendations—

'Scared at the sound themselves had made,'—

it became the most convenient mode of warding off unjust attacks upon themselves, to oppose, with misapplied vehemence, every measure, however just, to which they had not been specially pledged. These parties, therefore, in place of mitigating violence, have tended to increase it; and, far from dispelling unfounded alarm, they have rather countenanced the general panic; to justify themselves for their assault upon ancient institutions—for the 'slashing hook' with which they had cut down the emoluments of deans and prebendaries, till Amen Corner, Paternoster Row, and Ave-Maria Lane, trembled to their very foundations—they placed their reverend persons in front of the gates of Newgate and of Giltspur Street Compter; and vowed that they would encounter the fires of Smithfield, or even surrender the best options at their disposal, rather than allow one dissenting chaplain to bestow heterodox consolation upon a Baptist felon, or a Roman Catholic pickpocket in custody of the Sheriff of London. We doubt whether this policy will succeed; and there is much less of shrewdness to be found in the occupants of the stalls of our cathedrals than we imagine those reverend persons to possess, if they can be reconciled to a loss of profit or of patronage, by any assurance that the licensed minister of the tabernacle or the conventicle is for ever excluded from the county gaol or the borough house of correction.

If political consequences only were involved in these strange exaggerations and misapplications of principle, our sorrow and dismay at such occurrences would have been less than they are at this moment. There is no risk of the free people of this country being permanently deprived of their civil rights and privileges, by means of any delusion like that which we describe and deplore. It may succeed for a time, and to a certain extent. But, fortunately, it has its limits. Within those limits, however, it produces grievous calamities. It cramps and fetters the just influence of the Church itself. It diverts the clergy from their primary and more sacred duties. *Corruptio optimi pessima est.* It makes the faith of a Church, however mild, tolerant, and comprehensive, appear ungracious and repulsive. It substitutes a sectarian for a catholic spirit; and those who seek to act as our guides, bring us back not the ripening clusters, or the milk and honey, but gall and wormwood, as the tribute of that promised land into which they invite us to enter.

This mischievous spirit retards all improvement: it interposes formidable if not fatal obstacles to the progress of salutary and necessary reform. It acted in the days of the Popish Plot, in the time of Sacheverell. It re-appeared amongst the fires of 1780, and the mobs of Birmingham. It destroyed the Government of 1806, under the appropriate guidance of his most constitutional Majesty the King of Hanover; but if we were called upon to select the most striking illustration of the mischief it has produced, we should at once refer to the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, during the late Session, on the subject of the Education of the People.

If there is one subject on which, more than on another, we should have expected and desired that all benevolent persons—'quei 'buoni che sono attivi,'*—would unite and co-operate, it would be the question of Education. To all parties the instruction of the young is gain. To those who may be disposed to consider the wealth of a nation as the surest measure of its wellbeing, we should present the comparison, or rather the contrast, of the intelligent well-informed artisan or manufacturer, with the idle and dissolute workman—the fit agent and instigator in strikes and combinations. We should contrast the depositor in the Savings' Bank with the customer of the gin-shop. We should ask the lovers of peace and order, whether Oastler, Stephens, and Feargus O'Connor, are more likely to find apt disciples among the well-instructed or among the ignorant; and whether

* Dante.

the schoolmaster be not as essential a protector of life and property as the constable and the policeman. Does the high Conservative think, that it is among the neglected and depraved classes that he will discover the friends of the monarchy, and those who are obedient to authority? Can the advocate for popular rights dream of extending political franchises, except to classes who can justly appreciate and rightly discharge their public duties? And of the clergy of all persuasions we should fearlessly ask—how can you hope that your labour in the ministry will produce its glorious harvest, yielding one hundred, and one thousand fold, into your bosoms, if to the spiritual instruction which you deliver on the Sabbath you are not enabled to superadd the example and the counsel derived from written works of religion and morality; the perusal of which will extend the sphere of your usefulness, will open the minds of your flocks to your renewed exhortations, and will enable you to exercise a just and salutary influence, when your voice can no longer be heard, and where your eye cannot penetrate? All this will probably be admitted, because the time is gone by when the work of education could safely be opposed by the claimants to exclusive orthodoxy; but when men of various parties and conflicting opinions are called upon to unite in the accomplishment of this great work of Christian love and worldly wisdom, it has unfortunately been proved, that the biases and animosities which have distracted them in their other pursuits, interfere also with the question of education—'dash their maturest counsels,' and divert them from the performance of their most imperative duties. Is there, then, no one sacred spot upon which contending factions will consent to lay down their arms; and to devote themselves to that most acceptable service to their Creator, which is to be found in improving the moral condition of their fellow-men? Party violence, disappointed ambition, and, above all, religious animosity, have left us no Elis in the land. We are led astray, but not by a light from heaven. The lamp burns blue.

Alas! for the specimens of poor human nature, as exhibited during the late session! Acting on the principles above pointed out, the Tory party judged rightly, that the proposition for the education of the people might advantageously be converted into a Church Question; and being convinced that it was only by the agitation of Church questions, and the active propagation of a most unfounded alarm, that party objects could be compassed, every engine was at once set in motion to counteract the intention of the Government;—to prevent, not only now but for ever, the establishment of a National System of Education, really deserving that name; and to array the various classes and denomi-

nations of Christians in fierce and unmitigated hostility the one against the other. To effect this purpose no efforts were spared; when all facts which were capable of being tortured into unfair inferences had been exhausted, invention was resorted to, and delusive statements, justly characterised by Lord Morpeth as 'mendacious,' were circulated; and this has brought forth not only a rich harvest of petitions, but has generated strife and contention and hatred, where brotherly love and benevolence ought alone to have existed; and hostile bands are drawn up composed of fellow-countrymen, who should, and who might, have been all combined in one righteous work.

Chi sono essi? Alle belle contrade
Qual ne venne straniero a far guerra?
* * * * *
D'una terra son tutti—un linguaggio
Parlean tutti; fratelli li dice
Lo straniero: il commune lignaggio
A ognun d'essi del volto traspar—
Questa terra fù a tutti nudrice—
Ahi—sventura—sventura.— *

In our party strifes, the cause of education has for a time been sacrificed; but we cannot but hope that calm reflection, and a juster appreciation of duty, may hereafter mitigate, if it cannot altogether remove the mischief, which the low and vulgar interests of party have so cruelly and wickedly produced. But to achieve this result, the truth should be told fearlessly and loudly; calumny should not be allowed to go without its punishment, nor falsehood to circulate without an immediate and a direct contradiction; and the dupes who have listened to the smooth and oily eloquence which endeavours to mislead them, should be undeceived, and encouraged to expel from their homes and places of counsel the modern 'Tartuffe,' even though he should wear a Mitre.

It is in aid of this good cause that the pamphlet entitled 'Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education,' has been written; and that the late excellent speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne on that subject, has been reprinted. We rejoice that the name of that nobleman should appear at the head of that Committee of Council, to which the distribution of the Parliamentary grants for education are proposed to be confided hereafter. The country has owed him much for his unflinching support of constitutional reform, and for his promotion of literature and the arts; but, giving to this great subject of education the authority of his char-

* Manzoni; *Il Carmagnola.*

acter and the aid of his abilities, he has conferred a still greater boon upon mankind. May he, and his assistants in this good work, succeed in their attempt!—they must do so, if their efforts are directed by prudence and moderation, and the measures which they adopt and recommend are such as to refute the calumnies by which they are assailed, and the apprehensions which have been so absurdly raised.

The above-mentioned pamphlet is extremely valuable. It is written in a good spirit, and conveys much useful information, of an argumentative as well as of a statistical character. For those details we refer our readers to its pages, which will amply repay the perusal. We confess, however, that for practical purposes, we should have advised the author to omit many of his references to the systems of foreign countries. John Bull is an excellent animal in his way; but he is dogged, opinionated, and prejudiced. If you tell him what Prussia has done, his first impulse is to reject, not to adopt, the example of his continental ally. He loves the ancient Anglican *mumpsimus;* he leaves foreign affairs contentedly in the hands of Lord Palmerston; and he has no notion of substituting Victor Cousin, or his more attractive and interesting commentator and translator Mrs Austin, for the orthodoxy of the 'Vicar of Tything cum Boreham.' He would reject a Prussian system of Education as he would reject the cocked hat, leather breeches, and black boots of Frederick the Great; and, because a plan has been adopted and found useful abroad, John Bull argues that at home it must be at once impracticable and mischievous. He is swayed and governed by feelings the very opposite of those which influence our women of fashion. They would consider that the 'lamps 'burnt pale' even at a court ball, if they were persuaded that the lace which ornaments their persons was the work of the looms of Nottingham, and not of the cushions of Brussels. John Bull, on the contrary, has an antipathy to all foreign inventions. The importation of Polish wheat, and of Prussian schools, would be alike objects of alarm to the Lincolnshire cultivator of the heavy clays, and his agricultural associates. Call any system *un-English*, and it has but a poor chance of obtaining credit or currency. The author of this pamphlet should also have been aware, that he will be supposed to recommend for home adoption every thing which is historically described; and that the Government scheme, which he so ably defends, will be represented as including a compulsory system of instruction, carried on by the state—superseding the duties of parents and guardians,—and sending into exile the more legitimate dynasty of godfathers and godmothers. We recommend to him and to the Govern-

ment to guard themselves against this misrepresentation. Let them give an assurance that the *fueros* of the nursery and the schoolroom shall be religiously respected and maintained; and let them assure that branch of the agricultural classes who are interested in the growth of birch, that, whilst it is hoped that the severities of feudal instruction may be hereafter mitigated by the force of opinion, they do not propose any direct or arbitrary interference with their vested rights. The measure itself, it is believed, will provide an adequate and a just compensation.

When the history of our times comes hereafter to be written, it will appear scarcely credible to posterity how great has been the supineness and the neglect of the British Legislature with regard to Education. The foundation of schools in the earlier days of England, was considered to be a duty 'worthy kings.' At Eton, and under the magical roof of King's College chapel, 'Henry's pious shade' is still worshipped, with fond but excusable idolatry. Wolsey, William of Wickham, Henry the VIII. himself, his young and zealous successor, all considered the education of the young to be a work of piety and of patriotism. In Roman Catholic times, the establishment of schools was connected with the foundation of cathedrals; and even in the times of the Reformation this sacred duty was not overlooked or forgotten. Witness the foundation of the princely see of Durham, and those ancient statutes and charters, which enabled many of the godly who rejected the Irish Appropriation Clause as 'flat burglary,' to tolerate and justify in England the foundation of a new university, maintained at the expense of the chapters! Strange that a statute of Henry VIII. could find neither grace nor favour in their sight, whilst charters granted by the same monarch, *mero motu et speciali gratiâ*, are considered as binding and valid. The enforcement of the legislative will of the State was called spoliation; the fulfilment of the pleasure of an arbitrary monarch is lauded by bishops and archbishops as respectful piety. We presume that the same parties would prefer the orders of the Star-Chamber, or the decrees of the High Commission Court, to the judgments of Lord Denman or of Lord Cottenham.

It required a most singular union of separate causes to break up this deadly calm and torpor. It required the combined efforts of three individuals, most strongly contrasted in characters, in habits, and in stations, to move the waters, and to imbue them with a healing agency. George III., Henry Brougham, and Joseph Lancaster, all espoused the cause of Education. It required the combined exertions of the monarch, the philoso-

phical statesman and orator, and the Quaker, to rouse the people of this country from their apathy. The wish of the British King, that every child within his dominions might be enabled to read the Bible, was more enlarged and generous than the lower but somewhat analogous aspirations of Henry IV. of France. The distinction between the prayers of the two monarchs, is somewhat characteristic of the character of the two nations. The French king desired for his subjects the blessing of a good meal; the British monarch wished to procure for his free people a good and religious education. When the establishment of general schools was recommended by Joseph Lancaster, we are old enough to remember the scorn by which it was received in some quarters—the distrust and suspicions manifested in others. The offer of a serpent for a fish, or a stone for bread, was not considered more cruel, than the substitution of a school for the house of correction, and the Bible for the stocks, was thought to be speculative and Utopian. But the truth has at length prevailed; and, thanks to free discussion, to Parliamentary enquiries, and to the advancing necessities of mankind, the class on whom might safely be conferred M. Jouy's distinction of the *chevaliers de l'éteignoir*, are awed into silence, if they are not forced into conviction. Still, nothing practical was done by the Legislature till the year 1833, when, for the first time, a vote was proposed to the House of Commons for the encouragement of Popular Education. The Government of Lord Grey are entitled to the immortal honour of having taken the first step; and the name of Lord Spenser, who recommended the vote, should on this, as on many other grounds, be for ever looked up to in our land with reverence and with affection.

It has been objected, that the vote was wholly inadequate, being for the moderate sum of L.20,000. We approve of that moderation. A new experiment was about to be tried. Caution and discretion were indispensable to ensure its success. Had the vote been lavishly made, it might have been imprudently administered. If the result of this Government effort had been to supersede, and not to stimulate individual and combined benevolence, the last state of our instruction would have been worse than the first. This evil was anticipated, and effectually guarded against by the Treasury Minute of 1833. These annual votes were contrived to be made without opposition, for six successive sessions. The funds provided by Parliament were administered by the Treasury, and were also extended to North Britain. A sum of L.150,000 has been so voted and expended, in aid of a further sum of L.293,236, raised from private sources; and school-houses, capable of containing 262,987 scholars, have been provided.

Thus far, it is admitted on all hands, the mechanism of the system has worked well; and it has worked the better, because it has worked noiselessly, without exciting observation or creating opposition.

These Parliamentary funds were administered by the Treasury through the agency of two societies, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The schools of both profess to be open to all persons without distinction. In both, the sacred Scriptures are read as an essential part of the system; but the prelates and clergy of the Established Church are the principal directors and governors of the National Society: the catechism is taught, and attendance at church is recommended, if not enforced. However slight this distinction, its effect is to give to the National Schools a sectarian character, and to commit their direction expressly to the established clergy. On the contrary, the British and Foreign School Society enjoys the full confidence of the Dissenters; whilst it throws no obstacle in the way of the education of the children of Churchmen. The National Society is thus to a certain extent exclusive; the British and Foreign Schools are comprehensive.

Under the Treasury Minutes, two essential principles were, however, left unprovided for. No inspection of the schools was enforced; no reports were made to Parliament of the practical working of the system; neither were any steps taken to ascertain the qualifications of the teachers, or the mode in which their duties were discharged. The statistics of the schools were alone considered—the size of the school-room, the cost of the building, and the number of the scholars; but the quality of the education given, the moral improvement produced, were matters of which the Board of Treasury could scarcely take cognisance, consistently with the discharge of its multifarious duties. The inflexible rule of giving aid in a definite proportion, too, as compared with the local subscriptions, was considered by a Select Committee to act unjustly towards some of the poorest but most populous districts, where it became difficult to provide the requisite amount of local contributions.

Some of the friends of the British and Foreign School Society objected to the proceedings of the Treasury, because the Parliamentary grant was not apportioned equally between the two societies. But their complaint was evidently unjust, as, had their principle been adopted, a greater amount of public aid would have been necessary for the education of a smaller number of children; and an unjust inequality would have been at once produced. So long as the distribution of the public fund is made to depend on the number of children, and the amount of private

subscription, so long the schools connected with the Established Church—the most numerous as well as the most wealthy of the various Christian professions in England—must, in justice, receive the larger portion of the annual vote.

In order to give full effect to the intentions of Parliament, it was proposed by Lord John Russell that the distribution of this vote should be transferred from the Treasury to a Committee of Privy Council; consisting of Lord Lansdowne, President of the Council, Lord Duncannon, Lord Privy Seal, Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Home Department, Mr Spring Rice, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr Labouchere, Master of the Mint. It was further proposed, that this Committee should appoint Inspectors to report upon the condition of all schools to be hereafter aided by the public; and that a Model School should be established under their direction, for the education and training of Masters, which should be open to all persons whatever. In this Model School, it was proposed that the sacred Scriptures should be read; but that Roman Catholics, if they desired it, should be allowed to read their translation. It was also proposed, agreeably to the unanimous recommendation of a Committee of the House of Commons, that the principle of one fixed rate of local contribution should not be enforced where grounds of special exception could be shown; and, further, that aid might be given to schools which were unconnected with either of the societies already adverted to.

We have been thus particular in describing the plan of the Government, because it has been misconceived by some friends, as well as misrepresented by the enemy. We feel confident that hereafter, however it may be censured for not going sufficiently far, it will not be condemned as being too bold a measure. No sooner was the proposition made to Parliament, than the Tories and their ecclesiastical friends rang out the alarm-bell—fired all the beacons —sent the burning cross through the land—and summoned all their orthodox retainers to the strife of tongues. Like vicious horses, however level was the road, and however even the fences, they started at a straw, and collected together the straws to start at. We recollect the case of a very amiable but somewhat fanciful lady, who having quitted, for a rural residence, a house where she had been disturbed by the band of the Foot Guards, declared that her sleep was still disturbed by the unbearable chirping of the sparrows. If we could believe in Tory sincerity, we should be compelled to believe that, in respect to this plan of education, their reasons were as weak as the nerves of our fair invalid were excitable.

That part of the plan which was the most objected to, was the

permission offered to Roman Catholics to use the Douay version of the Scriptures. We should like to know, among those who have raised this objection, how many there are who have critically compared the two versions. We have done so; and undoubtedly, from various reasons, critical and doctrinal, we prefer and abide by the version of the Protestant Church. But it is right to mention, that the Bishop of Norwich stated in the House of Lords, in a speech characterised by vigour and courage, 'that the Douay version is a translation from the Vulgate, 'which the University of Oxford, in 1679, pronounced to be the 'best translation of the Scriptures; and this above sixty years 'after the publication of our own Bible. The Rhemish Testa-'ment was also reprinted by the same University, and distributed 'largely among French emigrants after the Revolution.' The Douay version was also admitted into the Irish schools in Kildare Street, established by Sir Robert Peel, and patronised by those pillars of orthodoxy, Mr Sergeant Jackson, Mr Shaw, and Mr Lefroy. Away, then, with this absurd and senseless cant, which deals with this version as if it was infected with the plague!—remove the hypocritical veil which is cast over the harsh features of intolerance—accuse the minority of Oxford, if you will, of want of Christian principle—reprove the Irish Orangemen as latitudinarians—or admit that the objection you now raise is false and deceptive! But it was added, if this concession be made to the Roman Catholics, a similar sacrifice must also be made to the Unitarians; and that their 'established version' must also be admitted into the model school. We should like to know, from these cavillers, to what version they allude; and where the established Unitarian translation is to be found. They are driven to a false statement, in order to support an untenable argument. Besides which, they are resolved to be more scrupulous for the Unitarians than the Unitarians are for themselves. Not satisfied with being *plus royalistes que le Roi*, they are also *plus Catholiques que le Pape;* and knowing, as they ought and must have known, that no Unitarian ever objected to the use, in schools, of the translation of the Established Church, they suggest a scruple which does not exist, to create a difficulty which could never arise practically.

That portion of the scheme, however, which contemplated the foundation of a model school, conducted under the authority of the Government, was postponed. We regret the necessity which led to this temporary abandonment of one of the most useful parts of the whole measure; and we trust that the time may not be far distant, when we may yet see such an establishment in active operation; and giving light and vitality to many places of educa-

tion which are now but ill calculated to furnish an enlarged and practical system of instruction.

But did this sacrifice made to their opponents mitigate the hostility which had been proclaimed against the Government? By no means: the war was continued, and was waged in a spirit of reckless malignity unexampled in the annals of party conflict, or even in those of ecclesiastical controversy.

Let it be first distinctly stated what the Government plan did not propose to do.

It did not confine its system to mere secular instruction; on the contrary, it bound up, inseparably, religious instruction with the whole course of study. It did not exclude the use of the holy Scriptures; on the contrary, the Bible was required to be read in every school. It did not supersede the existing voluntary societies; on the contrary, it continued them as before, as the agents and ministers for distributing the bounty of Parliament. It did not limit their spheres of usefulness; on the contrary, it made them more efficient, by granting to each a sum of L.5000 towards the foundation of creditable and useful model schools.

It did not deprive the clergy of any denomination of their right and authority of giving spiritual instruction to the younger members of their congregations. On the contrary, it laid the foundation for such special instruction, by communicating scriptural knowledge during the hours appropriated generally to education.

How, then, and why, should this scheme have been opposed? Simply because it was recommended by a Whig Ministry, and because it was convenient for party purposes to raise the cry—that not only the Church but the Christian faith was endangered. But this real motive could not be avowed. The flag of the Carlton Club was raised, it is true; but the leaders of the party well knew that a more specious pretence than that of party hostility was necessary to give them a chance of success. Let us examine the arguments urged against Lord John Russell's motion; and, in order to treat the subject with perfect fairness, we shall not advert to any secondary authorities, but we shall refer chiefly to the objections raised by Lord Stanley and the more leading Conservatives in the House of Commons.

These objections may be classed under two heads: (1.) The Constitution of the Committee; and (2.) The functions with which it was intrusted. A few words upon each.

1. Our readers will have seen, that previously to the present year, the distribution of the Parliamentary vote had been intrusted to the Board of Treasury. The Lords of the Treasury include, as is well known, the first Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and four junior lords, all being political persons,

and necessarily partisans; all holding offices during pleasure, and consequently removable with every change of the Government. Since the year 1829, Roman Catholics had been eligible to seats at the Board; as, previously to that time, Protestant Dissenters had also been. During the last four or five years, a Roman Catholic Member of Parliament has been a Lord of the Treasury; and as such has had cognisance of every Minute sanctioning school grants, and directing the appropriation of every shilling voted by Parliament for such purposes. We have already stated that this system was not complained of; on the contrary, it has been one of the many wonders of the late debates, that, now that they have abdicated their functions, though not till then, the Whig Board of Treasury has been lauded to the skies by the Tories, for their impartiality and wisdom. The warmth of this eulogium, as well as the quarter from which it came, must have been alike matter of surprise. This adulation in some degree resembled a laudatory inscription put up to the memory of a deceased parent by a most headstrong and undutiful boy. It might be suggested that this favourable judgment, if seriously pronounced, might in justice and in generosity have been somewhat sooner made known to the world. But it was considered to be 'private and confidential,' and therefore could not be divulged in or out of Parliament. Lord Stanley is now pleased to inform us, that the former administration of the Parliamentary vote 'had the unanimous assent of the House of Commons, 'the almost unanimous assent of the people of this country, and 'the entire approbation of the great body of the community.' Yet this system, so lauded, involved the principle of distributing a vote of public money, under the authority of a political body, selected by the Government, and removable at the pleasure of the Crown. Now, when it is proposed to substitute for the Board of Treasury a Committee of the Privy Council, the change is objected to, because it is said that the Lords of the Council are political—are partisans—are liable to be removed—and are not necessarily members of the Established Church. Every one of these objections applies with equal force to the system which the Tories praise, and to that which they condemn; with the single exception, that whereas in the Committee of Council there might have been found, but there is not, a member who was unconnected with the Church, there was actually in the Board of Treasury an individual Lord, whose activity and intelligence were not more notorious than his zeal as a sincere member of the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding this, the Treasury are declared worthy of all confidence; whilst Lord Ashley terms the Privy Council 'a hydra, a monstrous ano-

'maly, and a hideous chimera.' How Lords Lansdowne, Duncannon, or John Russell, are to appropriate these classical epithets among themselves we know not; but, in the absence of better materials, we recommend the subject to the pencil of that admirable and good-natured artist H.B., who might invent an excellent design, of which the subject should be the Hercules Ashley subduing the Whig monsters—whether hydras or 'chimeras 'dire'—who have intruded into the Council Chamber.

But it seems the great objection to these Privy Councillors is, that they were not responsible. Not responsible! Why, in what school have these Tory statesmen completed their political education? We almost suspect that they must have studied at the central school of the National Society. What public officer is responsible, if a Minister and a Privy Councillor is not? Have these declaimers never heard of an impeachment? Have they never read of a motion made to strike a statesman's name from the roll of Privy Councillors? Did not the Tories, by the very terms of Lord Stanley's motion, give a practical proof that responsibility existed, and that too at the very time when responsibility was denied? But here again, we ask, in what degree was the Treasury responsible, in which the Privy Council is not equally so? On this second, as well as on the first point, the disingenuousness and bad faith of the Tory party is made equally manifest.

It will be replied, that the two cases are entirely different;—that there was no undefined discretion vested in the Treasury, whilst there is a dangerous latitude of power conferred upon the Privy Council: the first was a constitutional authority acting within limits; the other is a despotism which produces that *misera servitus ubi jus vagum atque incognitum.* Now, this is a distinction quite as false as those to which we have already adverted. The Treasury Minute regulating the conditions under which these grants were to be made, was passed on the 30th August 1833, not only subsequent to the vote of money, but after the prorogation of Parliament. All that had been previously stated or arranged was, that the two societies were to be made instrumental in the appropriation of the grant. It was open to the Board of Treasury to have stipulated for a right of inspection—to have insisted on the qualification of teachers—to have varied the proportions in which public aid was to be granted. Not only was it open to the Treasury to do so; but they have done so from time to time; and that without being taxed with bad faith, or without seeking or requiring any new Parliamentary sanction. But that which they have not done, is to make a special case of exemption from the general rule at the

request of a political friend: this was done for a Liverpool school patronised by Lord Sandon: this was done by the Treasury Board in Spring 1835; and yet it is Lord Melbourne's government, and not that of Sir Robert Peel, which is taxed with a decree to distribute their vote for schools to 'further their own 'political objects, and for the support of their own political 'friends!' We do not ask whether this accusation evinces much generosity or even justice. We do ask whether it shows common honesty; and whether, under the circumstances, it shows a very sound discretion?

But further, it should be recollected, that, even if it could be argued that the vote for English Education was restrained or confined by the declaration of Lord Spenser in 1833, or the intervention of the two societies; the vote for model schools, and for Scotch education, were entirely unfettered. In our northern part of the empire the two societies exercise no control, and the Treasury pursued a more absolute discretion than what is now granted to the Privy Council; yet no member of Parliament objected to those votes when made; and no member of the community, however opposed to the Government, has impugned the manner in which these moneys have been distributed. From Dr Chalmers to Mr Gillon, from Mr Wallace to Mr Colquhoun, full justice has been done to the mode in which the functions of the Treasury have been administered. We advert to this fact with equal pleasure and national pride; because we cannot help thinking that the calm good sense displayed by Scotland, contrasts most favourably with the gullibility of our southern neighbours, who have endeavoured to make the sacred cause of the education of the people the selfish cry of a disappointed party, who would recover their ascendency by any means, or by any sacrifice.

Danger was, it seems, apprehended from future variation, by the Council, of its own regulations. Were the Minutes of the Treasury, then, like the decrees of the Medes and Persians, which could not be reversed? On the contrary, is it not notorious, that these proceedings may be rescinded or varied with a facility and a dispatch which is well suited to their title and designation. At the Treasury, in as short a time as the necessary words can be spoken and recorded, an official act is perfected; whereas the rescinding or the passing of an order in council is a more serious and technical proceeding; and one which necessarily receives much more of consideration, and obtains more of publicity.

It is further objected, that no one ecclesiastical authority is named on the Committee of Council. True; but not only was

there no such person named under the former system, but it was impossible that there should; unless some divine of the new school consider it expedient that a Bishop should be included in the next Treasury patent, in order that he may instruct the financial conscience how to prepare warrants after the most orthodox fashion, and suggest under what decrees of councils the issue of exchequer bills should take place: the true faith might then come in aid of public credit, and the doctrine of justification might be applied in the redemption of deficiency bills.

We hope that we have conclusively disposed of this part of the subject; and that we have proved, not only that the arguments which have been urged in Parliament are inconclusive, but that they have been advanced in a spirit of insincerity, and with a total disregard of all consistency and candour.

This, however, is not all. Another and a most precious argument has been relied on. We are told that, even if the plan of the Government were in its essentials unobjectionable, the mode in which it has been carried has superseded the privileges of the House of Lords;—is an usurpation of authority on the part of the Commons;—is therefore without precedent, and therefore without justification. This is designated to be an unconstitutional mode of giving to resolutions of the House of Commons the authority of law: it has been compared with the evil practice of *tacking* irrelevant matter to bills of supply. This supposed usurpation of power, this tyranny imputed to the House of Commons, may not have frightened the 'isle from its propriety,' but it has nearly frightened some weak and credulous persons out of their wits. The accusation is in itself absurd; but, coming from the quarter it has done, it affords an additional proof of the *animus* which has influenced these proceedings. We shall not trouble our readers with the innumerable cases to which we might refer, if it were necessary. We shall confine ourselves to those only which are immediately in point. Sir Robert Peel and the present Lord Fitzgerald, justly considering that the old establishment of education in Ireland was unsuited to modern times, proposed, very much to their credit, a new and a more liberal system. How did they effect their object? Did they bring in a bill—did they feel it necessary to take the House of Lords into their counsels? No such thing. They naturally and properly proposed a vote in supply, and the proposition came before the House of Peers in the Appropriation Act only. At a later period, Lord Glenelg, as Irish secretary, but acting under the orthodox Lord Sidmouth, and the constitutional Lord Liverpool, ventured a step further. He recommended to Parliament, that a certain sum for education should be placed at the absolute and uncon-

trollable disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant. Was this done by a legislative measure? On the contrary, Mr Grant followed the example of his predecessors. In the year 1829, Mr Goulburn acquiesced in a much stronger measure. By a clause in the Appropriation Act it was provided, that all the Irish education grants might be issued, suspended, or granted upon condition, at the absolute will and discretion of the Lord-Lieutenant. It may be asserted that each of these cases was unopposed, and is therefore worthless as a precedent. Let us try, then, whether we cannot discover a case which was important—which was canvassed and vehemently opposed, and which is an authority not only *ad rem* but *in personam*. Lord Stanley himself, in the House of Commons, proposed, explained, and defended his scheme of Irish education, or rather that scheme which bears his name. It was opposed in debate—it was opposed on the hustings—it was opposed in sermons and in pamphlets. Lord Stanley was then the object of the same vituperation, of which he is now the ablest proficient; for with him the school of suffering has not been the school of candour, charity, or forbearance. His plan was said to involve a mutilation of the Scriptures—a desecration of the word of God—a propagation of Popery; and it was said to be the first step towards infidelity and atheism. It was evidently a great and important change—we think, a real and a substantial improvement. But what was Lord Stanley's course? Where were his constitutional scruples in 1831? Did he introduce a bill, and did he send it to the Lords, and as a suppliant entreat for the advice and assistance of the Primate of Ireland and of the Bishop of Exeter? On the contrary, he pursued the very course which he now condemns; and yet, with a knowledge of these facts, he now holds up his former friends and associates as having violated the principles of the constitution, whilst they have followed his example!

2. Having thus disposed of the first class of objections, as relating to the formation of the Committee of Council, we shall next apply ourselves to the second branch of the argument; namely, the objections urged against the functions with which that Committee is intrusted.

The Tories object to the powers taken by the Privy Council, of varying the proportion of public money allotted to particular schools. We have already shown that Sir Robert Peel's Board of Treasury exercised this power themselves; and exercised it, be it remembered, in the particular case of Liverpool, at the solicitation of a political supporter. The Privy Council, in claiming a right to making exceptions to the general rule, limit those exceptions to instances where, from the poverty or the populousness

of particular districts, a special case may be made out. Nor is this done until Mr Goulburn, in the House of Commons in 1838, had reproached the Treasury with their over-rigid adherence to their original regulations; nor until a similar recommendation had proceeded from a committee, of which Mr Gladstone and Mr Acland were members.

The Tories object to the grant of any assistance to schools not in connexion with the two established societies. Now we fully admit that it is for the general convenience, as far as practicable, to adhere to the former practice. But may not cases arise, (and we know that such exist,) in which private patrons, willing to expend their own money to found a school—ready, too, to adopt the general system of National or British and Foreign Societies—decline surrendering the management of their own charity to committees and governors in London. Are not such persons fairly entitled to some assistance? Do they not deserve to receive it full as much as others who draw largely upon charitable subscriptions, or upon funds collected by virtue of a king's letter? Is it wise altogether to exclude them from a share of this grant? Is it just to declare, that however well managed may be a school, and however generous may be its founders, it is to be altogether left without public aid, unless it adopts the rules and submits to the authority of one or other of the two societies?

But the real and practical objection which is felt is, to the power of inspection. This objection is in itself so unreasonable, and this part of the Conservative case is so very weak and indefensible, that, in order to produce even a colourable argument, the Opposition have been compelled to mis-state in the grossest manner the objects and intentions of the Government. Lord Stanley, however, finds himself compelled to make some important concessions on this subject. 'It would be very difficult,' he observes, 'to contend against the principle, that where public aid is given, 'the public have a right to satisfy themselves, by their own in-'spection, that such public aid has been judiciously applied.' This concession appears to us to settle the whole question. For what is the public aid granted? Not for the mere erection of a school-house, but in order that within that building instruction may be given to the people. It would therefore be the height of absurdity to allow a Government inspector to examine into the state of the roof, the walls, and windows, and to forbid all enquiry into the system of instruction, which alone gives any value to those windows, walls, and roof. As well might the Lord Chancellor be permitted to exercise a power of enquiry into the wardrobe of a ward of his court, but forbidden to ask the question whether the party were living or dead. Parliament

sanctions these grants; taxes paid by the public supply the funds—shall it be said that no enquiry can be allowed on behalf of the public and of Parliament, in order to ascertain, 'by their own 'inspectors,' (to adopt Lord Stanley's words,) whether the system pursued is useful and efficient? It has been suggested that the reports of the societies should be taken as sufficient. But this is not the opinion of Lord Stanley; nor can such a report be considered as meeting the necessity of the case. *Quis custodes custodiet ipsos?* There is no branch of the public service in which a check is to be applied, in which the controlling or auditing power is not rendered independent of the individuals or public bodies on whose conduct he is to report. Would Lord Ashley be contented with reports upon cotton-mills prepared by a committee of manufacturers? We need not multiply examples, or waste arguments, to prove what is in itself an undeniable and self-evident truth.

It may here be observed, that this jealousy of an independent system of inspection is expressed by the National Society only. So far from resisting the closest inspection by officers acting on behalf of the public, the British and Foreign Society have solicited and courted the application of this test. Uncharitable observers might suspect that the National Society sought concealment, because they feared the light. This we do not believe; it is the miserable spirit of suspicion and distrust which influences them; it is the vague apprehension that some evil is intended; it is, in short, one of the consequences of the odious Church Cry which makes them cling to their own system of independent management, rather than submit to any enquiry or examination of an extrinsic and independent character.

It is said, however, that it is not so much to the inspection and the report that the resistance is made, as to the power proposed to be given to the inspectors. These officers, it is suggested, may intermeddle in the internal arrangements of the school; they may seek to vary the system of religious instruction; they may compel the founders to abandon the fundamental rules of the societies to which they belong. Nothing of the kind was intended; nothing of the kind could be done. The opponents of the system know it full well. But in the same spirit in which Mr Oastler or Mr Stephens excites the local prejudices of the parish vestries, against the new Boards of Guardians or the Poor-Law Commissioners;—in the same spirit in which the owners of ill-managed factories are encouraged to resist or elude the examination of the inspectors—the friends and advocates of the National Schools are incited to believe that the inspection of a public officer is intended to work evil to their establishments.

Vainly have these parties been told that no interference whatever is to be allowed in their system of religious instruction; in vain are they assured that the fundamental rules of the two societies will be respected; vainly is it repeated that no power is sought for to compel the adoption of any novelties in the shape of improvement, but only to make such suggestions respecting the literary instruction of the children, as experience and knowledge shall have justified: the contradiction, however authoritative, is given in vain; it is disbelieved or it is forgotten, and the following day the misrepresentation is repeated:—

'The creature's at his dirty work again.'

It is true, that a proposition for granting gratuities to teachers is contemplated. We confess that we consider the policy of this part of the plan to be somewhat questionable, and should much prefer leaving the teachers dependent for their rewards upon funds locally provided. But these rewards form no necessary part of the system of inspection, and they may be discarded, and yet the system of inspection may still be rigidly and effectually enforced.

Without inspection, it is in vain to hope that any system of instruction can be made, or can permanently continue, efficient. We beg not to be misunderstood. It is not so much for the purpose of correcting absolute malversation that we seek to enforce inspection; as for the purpose of stimulating improvement and a generous emulation. We believe that an overwhelming majority of the managers, directors, and teachers of these schools, are earnestly disposed to execute their benevolent duties. But they do not always know how to set about the work. Let intelligent men be called upon to inspect and to report—let a well-managed school be held up to emulation—let its system of instruction be described—its rules and regulations made known—there will be found sufficient zeal and charity in this land to induce others to follow the same useful example. *Cursores vitai* will be found to transmit the light; and the deep shadows which rest upon our land will soon be dispelled.

We have not as yet alluded to that question which is of the most importance, and that which is in reality the pivot upon which the whole dispute turns. It is the claim set up most injudiciously on the part of some imprudent members of the Church, involving as it does principles of exclusion and of intolerance; a claim which has been avowed with somewhat of an imprudent frankness. Let the people of England be on their guard against the principles which some amiable but mistaken fanatics are unfortunately prepared to adopt, and to apply, to the question of

general education. Principles have been advanced in the late debates, not only inconsistent with a liberal and enlightened system of education; but which would be inconsistent with all religious toleration, and indeed inconsistent with all civil liberty. We therefore entreat our readers to examine and to beware. Danger of no ordinary kind is impending.

The principle contended for was well and simply stated by Lord John Russell to be this—*that the Church, and the Church alone, should direct the education of the country.* When this proposition was first stated, on the 12th February last, Sir Robert Peel seemed to consider that the apprehensions felt by Lord John Russell were altogether imaginary. Sir Robert observed—'The noble lord appears to labour under an ap-'prehension that there are persons who intend to propose that 'the Established Church shall have some power over the educa-'tion of the people, and that the people, though dissenting from 'the Church, shall be compelled to receive instruction in its 'doctrines.' When we read these words, we could not help feeling some astonishment. We asked ourselves, where the very able statesman on whose opinion we ventured to pass judgment, could have resided during the recess. We wondered what books he could have read, and with whom he could have associated; and we entertained some hopes that the scenery and attractions of our mountains had induced him once more to mount his 'faithful steed,' and to penetrate into regions which Oxford Tracts could not reach, and where the eloquent publication of Mr Gladstone could not circulate. When he continued his speech, and assured the House and the country, that 'for 'himself, he should offer the most strenuous opposition in his 'power to any plan that will violate the perfect liberty of educa-'tion,' we thought that our first impression was erroneous, and that he had another, a deeper, and a more practical meaning. To answer a friend's argument is always a difficult and a painful task —to disclaim his principles as dangerous or impracticable, may give offence. But to beat your enemy before he takes the field, and to declare your opposition to a motion before it is made, marks consummate skill in a parliamentary tactician. By so doing, the position of the armies is reversed. The party who first takes the field obtains possession of the strongest posts. He occupies the castle of Hougomont or the lines of Torres Vedras, and it is dangerous to attack, and difficult to dislodge him. Sir Robert Peel has taken this course.

Now, we are prepared to prove that there is a very large party eager to do, and who in fact have proposed, that which Sir Robert Peel considered both unwise and unjust; that party, for the most

part, consisting of his own political associates. To their principles it is therefore consolatory to us, and will be so to the people of England, to know, that the abilities and experience of Sir Robert Peel will be strenuously opposed.

We shall proceed to make out our case; and we shall endeavour to reduce our argument to its simplest form, and to disengage it from any collateral question which may distract attention from the principles upon which it is founded. But it may first be necessary to define what we understand by Sir Robert Peel's doctrine of a perfect liberty of education.

We do not apprehend that any intention exists in any quarter to render education absolutely penal; but we contend, that it is equally subversive of liberty if a benefit is withheld, as if a positive penalty is imposed. Death is equally produced by denying food as it is by the axe or the gibbet. The deprivation of a good is not only a punishment, but is often the severest of all punishments.

The first position laid down by the school to which we allude, may best be stated in the words used by Mr Gladstone in the debate of the 20th June:—'I feel myself obliged to hold,' observed this able and accomplished speaker, 'that the State has a 'conscience.' From this proposition follows the duty of investigating and discovering the truth—discouraging, so far as is practicable, all that is false, and avoiding as a crime the propagation of error. Next follows the application of this dogma to the question of education. We shall endeavour to state the case of our opponents fairly.

'No education deserves that name which is not founded upon 'pure and Christian doctrine. This doctrine must form an 'essential and indispensable part of all school instruction. It is 'impossible to give this instruction in any general form, com-'prehending the tenets common to the various sects of professing 'Christians. Such an attempt at generalized instruction would 'lead to latitudinarianism, to unbelief, and finally to atheism. 'Neither would it be justifiable to communicate separate systems 'of religious knowledge in the same school, according to the 'various professions of the scholars; that practice would lead to 'indifference, to confusion, and to scepticism. Still less would 'it be justifiable to establish separate schools for the different 'sects, giving to each their separate and distinctive religious in-'struction. That religion which is true can alone be taught. The 'conscience of the State commands that the true religion should 'also be the religion established by law; therefore, as no edu-'cation should be encouraged which is not connected with reli-'gion, so no religion should be taught but that which is true; as

'that religion which is established according to the conscience 'of the State is the only true religion, therefore it is inconsistent 'with principle that the State should encourage, or aid in any 'way whatsoever, any schools or establishments for education 'in which the religion of the Established Church is not exclusively 'taught.'

Such is the necessary and inevitable deduction from the very startling principles which are now boldly laid down, and strenuously advocated. To the Dissenter, these principles proclaim an exclusion from all schools to which the public has granted any aid, unless he shall accept his scholastic instruction upon the condition of receiving religious instruction also, and according to the tenets of a church to which he cannot conscientiously conform. We should venture to ask Sir Robert Peel, and we should fearlessly ask the public, whether this principle, and the conclusion to which it leads, are not wholly inconsistent with 'a perfect liberty 'of education?' and whether it does not assume 'that the Esta-'blished Church should have some power over the education of 'the people?' To both of these propositions we have already shown that Sir Robert Peel has already, by a prudent foresight, declared his uncompromising opposition.

But the consequences of this new principle go much further. It would follow, that if the faith of the Established Church is to be taught, and that faith only, the ministers of the Church must also be the guardians and directors of all popular education encouraged or aided by the State. It is the prayer of 242 petitions, signed by 26,603 persons, that Parliament should not sanction any system of education which is not founded on the principles of the Established Church. These petitioners are most assuredly good logicians, however we may doubt their wisdom or their liberality. They reason correctly on their own principles; but are we to be told in the year 1839, and in free and Protestant England, that the education of the people is to be placed under the exclusive control and direction of the clergy? And is this to be urged on the authority of scraps of Norman French from the Year Book of the reign of Henry IV., or by inapplicable citations from the *dicta* of Chief-Justice Holt? Because it has been said some four centuries back, that *La doctrine et information des enfans est chose espirituelle*, are we to re-introduce unjust exclusions, in comparison of which the Test and Corporation Acts are models of liberality and justice? Because Chief-Justice Holt stated, that, in a very different state of the law, the schoolmaster was under the jurisdiction of the ordinary, are we to inform our dissenting fellow-subjects, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, that for their intellectual and moral im-

provement the state feels no interest, and will make no effort? And this declaration is to be made on the authority of one who has been, and who may again aspire to be, a minister of that sovereign who has declared it to be her 'wish that *all* the youth 'of this kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the 'rights of conscience should be respected.'

That the general education of the people should be brought under the control of the clergy of any country, we should consider to be a grievous calamity. That the clergy should have the fullest means of directing the religious instruction of their flocks, we hold to be essential to the best interests of mankind. It is because we wish to preserve for the clergy their full power and influence in the church and pulpit, that we are not disposed to give them exclusive dominion in the school. But, without venturing upon topics which are only collateral to the main question, we may be allowed to say, that at a moment when we rejoice to think that the increased thirst for religious knowledge, and an earnest devotional spirit, render the number of the clergy inadequate to the duties they have to perform, is it wise or expedient to withdraw them from their more peculiar and sacred functions, and to rest upon them obligations which may be as effectually fulfilled by others? Let the clergy superintend their peculiar schools, if they will; let them found and support from private funds schools specially appropriated for the Established Church, and the extension of its faith and articles: with this freedom of action let no man interfere, and let not any Dissenter presume to complain. As well might the Archbishop of Canterbury point to Coward College, or Oscott, as grievances, as the Dissenters object to the collections made in cathedrals and churches, and the schools supported by private charity, however exclusive may be their rules, and restricted the basis on which they rest.

Schools which are built, or supported out of the general taxation of the country, are, however, in a very different position. Where all contribute, all should be permitted to benefit. Nor does this distinction admit any principle inconsistent with the foundation of a Church Establishment. The property of the Church is not a tax, and cannot be reasonably confounded with taxation. Yet, even in respect to schools supported from taxation, we consider that the fullest power of administering religious instruction to the members of the Church should be afforded. The right of the clergy in this respect should be effectually guarded and maintained; but they should not be allowed to vex the conscience of a young Dissenter with the doctrines of pædobaptism; or enforce the truths of the apostolic succession upon an unfledged

and unbreeched Presbyterian. Still less are they to have a control over the course of literary and scientific pursuit. If geology, for instance, could only be taught according to the pleasure of many of our clergy, we are inclined to apprehend that Sedgwick and Buckland—excellent Churchmen though they be—would run the hazard of being rejected as heterodox. An *Index expurgatorius* would soon be published at the Clarendon press. Neither Milton nor Locke would be safe. A theological test would be applied in every case; and some modern Galileo, if he were not confined to the inquisition, would at least be exiled from the school. Our consolation would, however, be at the present as in more ancient times, that in spite of these theological fetters, the patriot and the philosopher might still rely upon that spirit of progress which God has given as the instrument of all good, and might with confidence exclaim, *Eppur si muove!*

We feel some disgust and shame at the degree of excitement, and at the extravagant misrepresentations which this subject has this session produced; even within the walls of the Legislature itself. Five mortal nights were consumed in the House of Commons in discussing this question, on which all men of understanding ought to have been agreed. We earnestly hope that the Bude-light will affect more than the physical organs of vision. Columns of the 'Times' and 'Morning Chronicle' have been filled with the irrelevant matters discussed. 'Mirrors of Parliament' have appeared, conveying but few reflections; and if reason could have brought an action for libel as well as Mr Stockdale, Hansard would have had to complain of a new breach of privilege. Sir Robert Peel, indeed, with his accustomed dexterity, escaped many of the shoals and quicksands into which his friends were led by reckless impetuosity—by violent party spirit, or by sincere but wild fanaticism. 'I mean to confine myself to the 'merits of the question, rather than to consider whether the opin-'ions advanced by my honourable friend (Mr Gladstone) are 'sound or not.' But still, looking back at this protracted contest, we should very much wish that Dr Southey could be tempted to immortalize it in the same spirit in which he has illustrated the Battle of Blenheim. If it were not for the latent party purposes which were the real cause of this debate, we might in seriousness say,

> 'Now tell us all about the war,
> And what they kill'd each other for.'

In these wars of words, as in other wars, what is glory and profit to some of those who are engaged, becomes death and ruin to thousands whose permanent interests are trifled with, or

sacrificed. What would we not give to feel confident that either we, or others better qualified for such a duty, could recall the angry disputants from low and miserable party views, to the enduring and all-important duties which it behoves Parliament to perform! In no other case whatever do we believe that so much good may be done, and so much evil prevented. The population of England is not what it was. The increased numbers are not more seriously to be considered than the increased activity and restlessness. The *besoin d'agir* pervades all classes: and, like children in a nursery, if not employed usefully, employed they will be, and probably employed for mischief. The dense masses accumulated in the manufacturing districts—the vicissitudes to which they are exposed from the variations of demand for produce—the privations to which they are subject, (aggravated by a most dangerous system of corn laws,)—the ignorance in which too many of them are left by the culpable neglect of the state—the power which is consequently given to unprincipled speculators, mistaken enthusiasts, or insane fanatics—will produce (if their consequences be not averted) calamities of the most frightful kind. The imminence of this peril is daily and hourly augmenting; and let not the public imagine that they can afford either to lose time or to misapply energy. On the contrary, the efforts of all the wise and the good of all parties should be applied, without delay, in furtherance of the great cause of religion and moral education. It appears, from a table subjoined to the pamphlet now before us, that, in the towns of Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, and York, the proportion of the children of the working classes for whom adequate school accommodation is provided, does not exceed 21,957, out of a total number of 80,050.

'The rapid progress of our physical civilisation has occasioned the growth of masses of manufacturing population, the instruction and moral and religious elevation of which have hitherto been neglected by the state. These communities exhibit alarming features: labouring classes, unmatched in the energy and hardihood with which they pursue their daily toil, yet thriftless, incapable of husbanding their means, or resisting sensual gratifications. The wife commits her infant to a hireling, and leaves her domestic duties to work in the manufactory. Parents lead their children to the same scene of continual exertion. Domestic virtue and household piety have little opportunity to thrive in a population alternating between protracted labour and repose, or too frequent sensual gratification. When all the animal powers are thus called constantly into action, adversity is met with fierce discontent, or with fierce outbreaks of passionate disquiet.'—(*Recent Measures*, p. 17.) 'We cannot contemplate with unconcern,' observes the same excellent writer, 'the vast physical power which is now moved by men so igno-

rant and so unprincipled as the Chartist leaders, without expecting such internal convulsions as may deserve the name of civil war; we think it highly probable that persons and property will, in certain parts of the country, be so exposed to violence as materially to affect the prosperity of our manufactures and commerce, to shake the mutual confidence of mercantile men, and to diminish the stability of our political and social institutions.'—(P. 44.)

To doubt these solemn warnings is to doubt the powers of the *avalanche* in the Alps, because we know the snow to lie innocuously on Newmarket heath.

Nor ought these fearful results to create surprise. The author whom we have quoted refers most properly to the observation of Dr Adam Smith, to prove that what we now see and deplore was anticipated by that great philosopher. This is one of the numerous instances in which experience gives its sanction to the theories of wisdom; and in which the inestimable value of the recommendation of those who carefully and cautiously deduce from existing facts their future consequences, are proved to all those who aspire to the name of statesmen. 'In the progress of 'the division of labour,' says Dr Smith,* 'the employment of 'the far greater part of those who live by labour comes to be 'confined to very few operations. But the understandings of the 'greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary 'employment. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations has no occasion to exert his understanding. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of exertion, 'and generally becomes stupid and ignorant. The torpor of his 'mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing 'part in rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous 'or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming a just judgment concerning many of the duties of private life. Of the 'great interests of his country he is incapable of judging. 'The uniformity of his stationary life corrupts the courage of 'his mind, and corrupts even the activity of his body. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems to be acquired at the 'expense of his intellectual, social, and mental virtues. But in 'every improved or civilized society this is the state into which 'the labouring poor (that is the great mass of the people) must 'necessarily fall, UNLESS GOVERNMENT TAKES SOME PAINS TO 'PREVENT IT.'

We entreat the attention of our rulers, of our legislators, and of all our fellow-countrymen, to these last words. Adam Smith

* B. v. c. 1, *Wealth of Nations.*

has here recapitulated the awful calamities to which the progress of manufacturing industry is incident, '*unless Government takes 'some pains to prevent it.*' But when her Majesty's Ministers have endeavoured to discharge this their sacred duty, how have their propositions been met? The present session has exhibited that which Dr Smith, with all his prescience, never could have anticipated. That a government should undertake this task he considers hypothetical; but what he never contemplated as possible was, that those exertions, when made, should have been, as far as was possible, neutralized and rendered inoperative, by the combined movements of a great party calling themselves the friends of the throne and altar.

We have hitherto urged the performance of these duties, on the ground of the social interests of mankind; and of the imminent dangers to that social system which it behoves legislators to avert. But we confess, that there are still higher and more ennobling motives which ought to lead us to the same conclusions. Is there no delight felt in the performance of the very highest class of duties which God has prescribed to mankind? We hear every day of the triumphs of mechanical invention—of the progress of agricultural improvement—of fens drained, of heaths improved, of mountains enclosed and cultivated. The names of those useful and excellent men under whose auspices this progress has been made are had in honour. Holkham, Woburn, and Althorp, are places to which much of our industry may trace its present development. In manufactures, also, we pay a just tribute to Watt, to Arkwright, and to Peel. But what are their exertions, and how insignificant their services, compared to those of the labourers in a better vineyard, who remedy the barrenness of the mind—who cultivate the rich harvests of the understanding—and promote the accumulation of that intellectual wealth which forms the capital of our moral nature? It is through their agency that the reason is prepared to receive and to appreciate the higher impulses of religious obligations. It is thus that our fellow-men, in their social capacities, are made better subjects; and that under the divine blessing they become better Christians also. Are not these high obligations and duties—are not these eternal interests such as to justify, or rather to demand, some slight sacrifice of party zeal, and of personal ambition? If the cause of morality and of religion has been promoted, is not that somewhat of a consolation for the loss of a political triumph? To procure the consent and agreement of Parliament in the performance of this greatest of all national duties, is a triumph to which the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo are secondary and

inferior. Will not our politicians be tempted by the hope of earning this glory?

But if the Conservative party have willed it otherwise; if their 'compact-alliance' can only be preserved by converting all questions into Church Questions; if they prefer a strong division at night to the consciousness of a good action which will outlive the morning;—then it behoves the honest and intelligent people of England to exert their own powers for the advancement of their eternal interests. While rendering to the Church the things which belong to the Church, let them resist, like freemen, the encroaching usurpation which seeks to place the clergy of the Establishment in possession of the exclusive right of conducting education. Let the people of England consider that, on this question, their moral, their civil, and their religious freedom depends. No cajolery to the Wesleyans—no hypocritical compliments to the Dissenters—should close their eyes to the consequences of introducing into our schools an ecclesiastical tyranny of the worst description. Should this attempt succeed, our civil and religious rights will both be placed in peril; and therefore our resistance to these claims becomes a sacred duty.

If the state of parties does not admit of the introduction of a good system of National Education, we call upon the people of England to provide it at any cost and sacrifice for themselves. We address them in the words of an eloquent writer: 'You 'cannot without guilt and disgrace stop where you are. The 'past and the present call on you to advance. Your nature is 'too great to be crushed; you were not created what you are, 'merely to toil, eat, drink, and sleep, like inferior animals. No 'power in society, no hardship in your condition, can keep you 'down in knowledge, power, virtue, or influence, but by your 'own consent. Do not be lulled to sleep by the flatteries you 'hear. You have many great deficiencies to be remedied; and 'the remedy lies not in the ballot-box, not in the exercise of 'your political powers, but in the faithful education of your-'selves and of your children.'*

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* Dr Channing *on Self-Culture.*

ART. VII.—*The Practical Works of Richard Baxter, with a Preface, giving some Account of the Author, and of this Edition of his Practical Works; and an Essay on his Genius, Works, and Times.* 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.

THIS publication reminds us of an oversight in omitting to notice the collection of the works of Richard Baxter, edited in the year 1830, by Mr Orme. It was, in legal phrase, a demand for judgment, in the appeal of the great Nonconformist to the ultimate tribunal of posterity, from the censures of his own age, on himself and his writings. We think that the decision was substantially right, and that, on the whole, it must be affirmed. Right it was, beyond all doubt, in so far as it assigned to him an elevated rank amongst those, who, taking the spiritual improvement of mankind for their province, have found there at once the motive and the reward for labours beneath which, unless sustained by that holy impulse, the utmost powers of our frail nature must have prematurely fainted.

About the time when the high-born guests of Whitehall were celebrating the nuptial revels of Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, and the visiters of low degree were defraying the cost by the purchase of titles and monopolies, there was living at the pleasant village of Eaton Constantine, between the Wrekin Hill and the Severn, a substantial yeoman, incurious alike about the politics of the empire and the wants of the exchequer. Yet was he not without his vexations. On the green before his door, a Maypole, hung with garlands, allured the retiring congregation to dance out the Sunday afternoon to the sound of fife and tabret, while he, intent on the study of the sacred volume, was greeted with no better names than Puritan, Precisian, and Hypocrite. If he bent his steps to the parish church, venerable as it was, and picturesque, in contempt of all styles and orders of architecture, his case was not much mended. The aged and purblind incumbent executed his weekly task with the aid of strange associates. One of them laid aside the flail, and another the thimble, to mount the reading desk. To these succeeded 'the 'excellentest stage player in all the country, and a good gamester, 'and a good fellow." This worthy having received Holy Orders, forged the like for a neighbour's son, who, on the strength of that title, officiated in the pulpit and at the altar. Next in this goodly list came an attorney's clerk, who had 'tippled himself into so great poverty,' that he had no other way to live but by assuming the pastoral care of the flock at Eaton Constantine.

Time out of mind, the curate had been ex-officio the depositary of the secular, as well as of the sacred literature of the parish; and to these learned persons our yeoman was therefore fain to commit the education of his only son and namesake, Richard Baxter.

Such, from his tenth to his sixteenth year, were the teachers of the most voluminous theological writer in the English language. Of that period of his life, the only incidents which can now be ascertained are, that his love of apples was inordinate, and that, on the subject of robbing orchards, he held, in practice at least, the doctrines handed down amongst schoolboys by an unbroken tradition. Almost as barren is the only extant record of the three remaining years of his pupilage. They were spent at the endowed school at Wroxeter, which he quitted at the age of nineteen, destitute of all mathematical and physical science—ignorant of Hebrew—a mere smatterer in Greek, and possessed of as much Latin as enabled him in after life to use it with reckless facility. Yet, a mind so prolific, and which yielded such early fruits, could not advance to manhood without much well-directed culture. The Bible which lay on his father's table, formed the whole of the good man's library, and would have been ill exchanged for the treasures of the Vatican. He had been no stranger to the cares, nor indeed to the disorders of life; and, as his strength declined, it was his delight to inculcate on his inquisitive boy the lessons which inspired wisdom teaches most persuasively, when illustrated by dear-bought experience, and enforced by parental love. For the mental infirmities of the son, no better discipline could have been found. A pyrrhonist of nature's making, his threescore years and ten might have been exhausted in a fruitless struggle to adjudicate between antagonist theories, if his mind had not thus been subjugated to the supreme authority of Holy Writ, by an influence coeval with the first dawn of reason, and associated indissolubly with his earliest and most enduring affections. It is neither the wise nor the good by whom the patrimony of opinion is most lightly regarded. Such is the condition of our existence, that beyond the precincts of abstract science, we must take much for granted, if we would make any advance in knowledge, or live to any useful end. Our hereditary prepossessions must not only precede our acquired judgments, but must conduct us to them. To begin by questioning every thing, is to end by answering nothing; and a premature revolt from human authority is but an incipient rebellion against conscience, reason, and truth. Launched into the ocean of speculative enquiry, without the anchorage of parental instruction and filial reverence, Baxter would have been drawn by

his constitutional tendencies into that sceptical philosophy, through the long annals of which no single name is to be found to which the gratitude of mankind has been yielded, or is justly due. He had much in common with the most eminent doctors of that school—the animal frame, characterised by sluggish appetites, languid passions, and great nervous energy; the intellectual nature distinguished by subtlety to seize distinctions more than by wit to detect analogies; by the power to dive, instead of the faculty to soar; by skill to analyze subjective truths, rather than by ability to combine them with each other and with objective realities. But what was wanting in his sensitive, and deficient in his intellectual structure, was balanced and corrected by the spiritual elevation of his mind. If not enamoured of the beautiful, nor conversant with the ideal, nor able to grasp the comprehensive and the abstract, he enjoyed that clear mental vision which attends on moral purity—the rectitude of judgment which rewards the subjection of the will to the reason—the loftiness of thought awakened by habitual communion with the source of light—and the earnest stability of purpose inseparable from the predominance of the social above the selfish affections. Scepticism and devotion were the conflicting elements of his internal life; but the radiance from above gradually dispersed the vapours from beneath, and through half a century of pain, and strife, and agitation, he enjoyed that settled tranquillity which no efforts merely intellectual can attain, nor any speculative doubts destroy,—the peace, of which it is said, that it passes understanding.

Baxter was born in 1615, and consequently attained his early manhood amidst events ominous of approaching revolutions. Deep and latent as are the ultimate causes of the continued existence of Episcopacy in England, nothing can be less recondite than the human agency employed in working out that result. Nursed by the Tudors, adopted by the Stuarts, and wedded in her youth to a powerful aristocracy, the Anglican Church retains the indelible stamp of these early alliances. To the great, the learned, and the worldly wise, it has for three centuries afforded a resting-place and a refuge. But a long interval had elapsed before the national temples and hierarchy were consecrated to the nobler end of enlightening the ignorant, and administering comfort to the poor. Rich beyond all Protestant rivalry in sacred literature, the Church of England, from the days of Parker to those of Laud, had scarcely produced any one considerable work of popular instruction. The pastoral care which Burnett depicted, in the reign of William and Mary, was at that time a vision which, though since nobly fulfilled, no past experi-

ence had realized. Till a much later time, the alphabet was among the mysteries which the English church concealed from her catechumens. There is no parallel in the annals of any other Protestant State, of so wonderful a concentration, and so imperfect a diffusion of learning and genius, of piety and zeal. The reigns of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, were unmolested by cares so rude as those of evangelizing the artisans and peasantry. Jewel and Bull, Hall and Donne, Hooker and Taylor, lived and wrote for their peers, and for future ages, but not for the commonalty of their own. Yet was not Christianity bereft in England of her distinctive and glorious privilege. It was still the religion of the poor. Amidst persecution, contempt, and penury, the Puritans had toiled and suffered, and had, not rarely, died in their service. Thus in every city, and almost in every village, they who had eyes to see, and ears to hear, might, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, perceive the harbingers of the coming tempest. Thoughtful and resolute men had transferred the allegiance of the heart from their legitimate, to their chosen leaders; while, unconscious of their danger, the ruling were straining the bonds of authority, in exact proportion to the decrease of their number and their strength. It was when the future pastors of New England were training men to a generous contempt of all sublunary interest for conscience sake, that Laud, not content to be terrible to the founders of Connecticut and New England, braved an enmity far more to be dreaded than theirs. With a view to the ends to which his life was devoted, his truth and courage would have been well exchanged for the wily and time-serving genius of Williams. Supported by Heylin, Cosins, Montague, and many others, who adopted or exaggerated his own opinions, he precipitated the temporary overthrow of a Church, in harmony with the character, and strong in the affections of the people; upheld by a long line of illustrious names; connected with the whole aristocracy of the realm; and enthusiastically defended by the Sovereign.

Baxter's theological studies were commenced during these tumults, and were insensibly biassed by them. The ecclesiastical polity had reconciled him to Episcopal ordination; but as he read, and listened, and observed, his attachment to the established ritual and discipline progressively declined. He began by rejecting the practice of indiscriminate communion. He was dissatisfied with the compulsory subscription to articles, and the baptismal cross. 'Deeper thoughts on the point of 'Episcopacy' were suggested to him by the *et cetera* oath; and these reflections soon rendered him an irreconcilable adversary to the 'English Diocesan frame.' He distributed the sacred ele-

ments to those who would not kneel to receive them, and religiously abjured the surplice. Thus ripe for spiritual censures, and prepared to endure them, he was rescued from the danger he had braved by the demon of civil strife. The Scots in the north, and the Parliament in the south, summoned Charles and Laud to more serious cares than those of enforcing conformity, and left Baxter free to enlarge and to propagate his discoveries.

With liberty of speech and action, his mind was visited by a corresponding audacity of thought. Was there indeed a future life?—Was the soul of man immortal?—Were the Scriptures true?—were the questions which now assaulted and perplexed him. They came not as vexing and importunate suggestions, but 'under pretence of sober reason,' and all the resources of his understanding were summoned to resist the tempter. Self-deception was abhorrent from his nature. He feared the face of no speculative difficulty. Dark as were the shapes which crossed his path, they must be closely questioned; and gloomy as was the abyss to which they led, it was to be unhesitatingly explored. The result needs not to be stated. From a long and painful conflict he emerged victorious, but not without bearing to the grave some scars to mark the severity of the struggle. No man was ever blessed with more profound convictions; but so vast and elaborate was the basis of argumentation on which they rested, that to re-examine the texture, and ascertain the coherence of the materials of which it was wrought, formed the still recurring labour of his whole future life.

While the recluse is engulfed in the vortices of metaphysics, the victims of passion are still urged forward in their wild career of guilt and misery. From the transcendental labyrinths through which Baxter was winding his solitary and painful way, the war recalled him to the stern realities of life. In the immediate vicinity of the earlier military operations, Coventry had become a city of refuge to him, and to a large body of his clerical brethren. They believed, in the simplicity of their hearts, that Essex, Waller, and Cromwell, were fighting the battles of Charles, and that their real object was to rescue the King from the thraldom of the Malignants, and the Church from the tyranny of the Prelatists. 'We kept,' says Baxter, speaking of himself and his associates, 'to our old principles, and thought 'all others had done so too, except a very few inconsiderable per-'sons. We were unfeignedly for King and Parliament. We 'believed that the war was only to save the Parliament and 'kingdom from the Papists and delinquents, and to remove the 'dividers, that the King might again return to his Parliament, 'and that no changes might be made in religion, but by the

'laws which had his free consent. We took the true happiness 'of King and people, Church and State, to be our end, and so 'we understood the covenant, engaging both against Papists 'and schismatics; and when the Court News-Book told the 'world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our armies, we thought 'it had been a mere lie, because it was not so with us.'

Ontology and scholastic divinity have their charms, and never did man confess them more than Richard Baxter. But the pulse must beat languidly indeed, when the superior fascination of the 'tented field' is not acknowledged; nor should it derogate from the reverence which attends his name, to admit that he felt and indulged this universal excitement. Slipping away from Durandus, Bradwardine, Suarez, and Ariminensis, he visited Edgehill and Naseby while the Parliamentary armies still occupied the ground on which they had fought. He found the conquerors armed *cap-a-pie* for spiritual, as well as carnal combats; and to convert the troops from their theological errors, was the duty which, he was assured, had been committed to him by Providence. Becoming accordingly chaplain to Whalley's regiment, he witnessed in that capacity many a skirmish, and was present at the sieges of Bristol, Sherborne, and Worcester. Rupert and Goring proved less stubborn antagonists than the seekers and levellers of the Lieutenant-General's camp; and Baxter was 'still employed 'in preaching, conferring, and disputing against their confounding 'errors.' The soldiers discoursed as earnestly, and even published pamphlets as copiously as himself. After many an affair of posts, the hostile parties at length engaged in a pitched battle at Amersham in Buckinghamshire. 'When the public talking-day 'came,' says Baxter, 'I took the reading pew, and Pitchford's 'cornet and troopers took the gallery. There did the leader of 'the Chesham men begin, and afterwards Pitchford's soldiers set 'in; and I alone disputed against them from morning until al-'most night.' Too old a campaigner to retire from the field in the presence of his enemy, 'he staid it out till they first rose and 'went away.' The honours of the day were, however, disputed. In the strange book published by Edwards, under his appropriate title of 'Gangræna,' the fortunes of the field were chronicled; and there, as we are informed by Baxter himself, may be read 'the abundance of nonsense uttered on the occasion.'

Cromwell regarded these polemics with ill-disguised aversion, and probably with secret contempt. He had given Baxter but a cold welcome to the army. 'He would not dispute with me 'at all,' is a fact related by the good man with evident surprise; 'but he would in good discourse very fluently pour out himself 'in the extolling of free grace, which was savoury to those that

'had right principles, though he had some misunderstanding 'of free grace himself. He was a man of excellent natural parts 'for affection and oratory, but not well seen in the principles of 'his religion; of a sanguine complexion, naturally of such a 'vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity as another man hath when he 'hath drunken a cup too much; but naturally, also, so far from 'humble thoughts of himself, that it was his ruin.' The Protector had surrendered his powerful mind to the religious fashions of his times, and never found the leisure or the inclination for deep enquiry into a subject on which it was enough for his purposes to excel in fluent and savoury discourse. Among those purposes, to obtain the approbation of his own conscience was not the least sincere. His devotion was ardent, and his piety genuine. But the alliance between habits of criminal self-indulgence, and a certain kind of theopathy, is but too ordinary a phenomenon. That at each step of his progress, Cromwell should have been deceived and sustained by some sophistry, is the less wonderful, since even now, in retracing his course, it is difficult to ascertain the point at which he first quitted the straight path of duty, or to discover what escape was at length open to him from the web in which he had become involved. There have been many worse, and few greater men. Yet to vindicate his name from the condemnation which rests upon it, would be to confound the distinctions of good and evil as he did, without the apology of being tempted as he was.

Baxter was too profound a moralist to be dazzled by the triumph of bad men, however specious their virtues; or to affect any complacency towards a bad cause, though indebted to it for the only period of serenity which it ever was his lot to enjoy. He had ministered to the forces of the Parliamentary general, but abhorred the regicide and usurper. In his zeal for the ancient constitution, he had meditated a scheme for detaching his own regiment, and ultimately all the generals of the army, from their leader. They were first to be undermined by a course of logic, and then blown up by the eloquence of the preacher. This profound device in the science of theological engineering would have been counterworked by the Lieutenant-General, had he detected it, by methods somewhat less subtle, but certainly not less effective. A fortunate illness defeated the formidable conspiracy, and restored the projector to his pastoral duties and to peace. Even then, his voice was publicly raised against 'the treason, rebellion, 'perfidiousness, and hypocrisy' of Cromwell, who probably never heard, and certainly never heeded, the denunciations of his former chaplain.

Baxter enjoyed the esteem which he would not repay. He

was once invited by the Protector to preach at court. Sermons in those days were very serious things—point-blank shots at the bosoms of the auditory; and Cromwell was not a man to escape or to fear the heaviest pulpit ordnance which could be brought to bear on him. From the many vulnerable points of attack, the preacher selected the crying sin of encouraging sectaries. Not satisfied with the errors of his own days, the great Captain had anticipated those of a later age, and had asserted in their utmost extent the dangerous principles of religious liberty. This latitudinarian doctrine may have been suggested by motives merely selfish; and Baxter, at least, could acknowledge no deeper wisdom in which such an innovation could have had its birth. St Paul was, therefore, made to testify 'against the sin committed 'by politicians, in maintaining divisions for their own ends, that 'they might fish in troubled waters.' He who now occupied the throne of the Stuarts claimed one prerogative to which even they had never aspired. It was that of controverting the argumentation of the pulpit. His zeal for the conversion of his monitor appears to have been exceedingly ardent. Having summoned him to his presence, 'he began by a long tedious speech to me,' (the narrative is Baxter's,) 'of God's providence in the change of the 'government, and how God had owned it, and what great things 'had been done at home and abroad, in the peace with Spain, 'and Holland, &c. When he had wearied us all with speaking 'thus slowly for about an hour, I told him it was too great a 'condescension to acquaint me so fully with all these matters 'which were above me; but I told him that we took our ancient 'monarchy to be a blessing, and not an evil, to the land; and 'humbly craved his patience that I might ask him how England 'had ever forfeited that blessing, and unto whom that forfeiture 'was made. Upon that question he was awakened into some 'passion, and then told me that it was no forfeiture, but God had 'changed it as pleased him; and then he let fly at the Parliament which thwarted him, and especially by name at four or 'five of those members who were my chief acquaintances, whom 'I presumed to defend against his passion, and thus four or five 'hours were spent.'

During this singular dialogue, Lambert fell asleep, an indecorum which, in the court of an hereditary monarch, would have been fatal to the prospects of the transgressor. But the drowsiness of his old comrade was more tolerable to Cromwell than the pertinacity of his former chaplain, against whom he a second time directed the artillery of his logic. On this occasion almost all the Privy Council were present; liberty of conscience being the thesis, Baxter the respondent, and Cromwell assuming to

himself the double office of opponent and moderator. 'After 'another slow, tedious speech of his, I told him,' says the autobiographer, 'a little of my judgment, and when two of his com-'pany had spun out a great deal more of the time in such like 'tedious, but more ignorant speeches, I told him, that if he would 'be at the labour to read it, I could tell him more of my mind 'in writing two sheets than in that way of speaking many days. 'He received the paper afterwards, but I scarcely believe that he 'ever read it. I saw that what he learnt must be from himself, 'being more disposed to speak many hours than hear one, 'and little heeding what another said when he had spoken him-'self.'

Whatever may have been the faults, or whatever the motives of the Protector, there can be no doubt that under his sway England witnessed a diffusion, till then unknown, of the purest influence of genuine religious principles. The popular historians of that period, from various motives, have disguised or misrepresented the fact; and they who derive their views on this subject from Clarendon or from Hudibras, mistake a caricature for a genuine portrait. To this result, no single man contributed more largely than Baxter himself, by his writings and his pastoral labours. His residence at Kidderminster during the whole of the Protectorate was the sabbath of his life; the interval in which his mind enjoyed the only repose of which it was capable, in labours of love, prompted by a willing heart, and unimpeded by a contentious world.

Good Protestants hold, that the Supreme Head of the Church reserves to himself alone to mediate and to reign, as his incommunicable attributes; and that to teach and to minister are the only offices he has delegated to the pastors of his flock. Wisdom to scale the heights of contemplation, love to explore the depths of wretchedness—a science and a servitude inseparably combined; —the one investigating the relations between man and his Creator, the other busied in the cares of a self-denying philanthropy—such, at least in theory, are the endowments of that sacred institution, which, first established by the fishermen of Galilee, has been ever since maintained throughout the Christian commonwealth. A priesthood, of which all the members should be animated with this spirit, may be expected when angels shall resume their visits to our earth, and not till then. Human agency, even when employed to distribute the best gifts of Providence to man, must still bear the impress of human guilt and frailty. But if there be one object in this fallen world, to which the eye, jaded by its pageantries and its gloom, continually turns with renovated hope, it is to an alliance, such as that which bound together Richard

Baxter and the people among whom he dwelt. He, a poor man, rich beyond the dreams of avarice in mental resources, consecrating alike his poverty and his wealth to their service; ever present to guide, to sooth, to encourage, and, when necessary, to rebuke; shrinking from no aspect of misery, however repulsive, nor from the most lothsome forms of guilt which he might hope to reclaim;—the instructor, at once, and the physician, the almoner and the friend, of his congregation. They, repaying his labours of love with untutored reverence; awed by his reproofs, and rejoicing in his smile; taught by him to discharge the most abject duties, and to endure the most pressing evils of life, as a daily tribute to their Divine benefactor; incurious of the novelties of their controversial age, but meekly thronging the altar from which he dispensed the symbols of their mystical union with each other and their common Head; and, at the close of their obscure, monotonous, but tranquil course, listening to the same parental voice, then subdued to the gentlest tones of sympathy, and telling of bright hopes and of a glorious reward. Little was there in common between Kidderminster and the 'sweet smiling' Auburn. Still less alike were the 'village preacher,' who 'ran his 'godly race,' after the fancy of Oliver Goldsmith, and the 'pain-'ful preacher,' whose emaciated form, gaunt visage, and Geneva bands, attested the severity of his studies, and testified against prelatic ascendency. Deeper yet the contrast between the delicate hues and fine touches of the portrait drawn from airy imagination, and Baxter's catalogue of his weekly catechisings, fasts, and conferences: of his Wednesday meetings and Thursday disputations; and of the thirty helps by which he was enabled to quicken into spiritual life the inert mass of a rude and vicious population. But, truth against fiction, all the world over, in the rivalry for genuine pathos and real sublimity. Ever new and charming, after ten thousand repetitions, the plaintive, playful, melodious poetry bears a comparison to the homely tale of the curate of Kidderminster, like that of the tapestried lists of a tournament with the well-fought field of Roncesvalles. Too prolix for quotation, and perhaps too sacred for our immediate purpose, it records one of those moral conquests which bear their testimony to the existence in the human heart of faculties which, even when most oppressed by ignorance, or benumbed by guilt, may yet be roused to their noblest exercise, and disciplined for their ultimate perfection.

Eventful tidings disturbed these apostolical labours, and but too soon proved how precarious was the tenure of that religious liberty which Baxter at once enjoyed and condemned. With the Protectorate it commenced and ended. The death

of Oliver, the abdication of Richard, the revival of the Long Parliament, the reappearance of the ejected members, the assembling of a new House of Commons under the auspices of Monk, and the restoration of the Stuarts, progressively endangered, and at length subverted the edifice of ecclesiastical freedom, which the same strong hand had founded and sustained. Yet the issue for a while seemed doubtful. The sectarians overrated their own strength, and the Episcopalians exaggerated their own weakness. Infallible and impeccable, the Church of Rome is a Tadmor in the wilderness, miraculously erect and beautiful in the midst of an otherwise universal ruin. The Church of England, liable to err, but always judging right, capable of misconduct, but never acting wrong, is a still more stupendous exception to the weakness and depravity which in all other human institutions signalizes our common nature. But for this well-established truth, a hardy scepticism might have ventured to arraign her as an habitual alarmist. If she is 'in danger' at this moment, she has been so from her cradle. Puritans and Presbyterians, Arminians and Calvinists, Independents and Methodists, had for three centuries threatened her existence, when at last the matricidal hands of the metropolitan of all England, and of the prelate of England's metropolis, were in our own days irreverently laid on her prebendal stalls. One, 'whose bosom's 'Lord sits lightly on his throne,' in the presence of all other forms of peril, has on this last fearful omen lost his accustomed fortitude; though even the impending overthrow of the church he adorns, finds his wit as brilliant, and his gaiety as indestructible as of yore. What wonder, then, if the canons expectant of St Paul's at the Court of Breda, surveyed from that Pisgah the fair land of promise with faint misgivings, that the sons of Anak, who occupied the strongholds, should continue to enjoy the milk and honey of their Palestine? Thousands of intrusive incumbents, on whose heads no episcopal hand had been laid, and whose purity no surplice had ever symbolized, possessed the parsonages and pulpits of either episcopal province. A population had grown up unbaptised with the sign of the cross, and instructed to repeat the longer and shorter catechisms of the Westminster Divines. Thirty thousand armed Covenanters yielded to Monk and his officers a dubious submission. Cudworth and Lightfoot at Cambridge, Wilkins and Wallis at Oxford, occupied and adorned the chairs of the ejected loyalists. The divine right of Episcopacy might yet be controverted by Baxter, Howe, and Owen; and Smectymnus might awaken from his repose in the persons of Marshall, Calamy, and Spurstow. Little marvel, that their eternal charter inspired a less exulting faith than

of old in the Bishops who had assembled at Breda; that Hyde and Southampton temporized; or that Charles, impatient of the Protestant heresy in all its forms, and of Christianity itself in all its precepts, lent his royal name to an experiment of which deceit was the basis, and persecution the result.

Liberty of conscience, and a concurrence in any Act of Parliament which, on mature deliberation, should be offered for securing it, were solemnly promised by the King, while yet uncertain of the temper of the Commons he was about to meet. Ten Presbyterian ministers were added to the list of royal chaplains; and, for once a martyr to the public good, Charles submitted himself to the penalty of assisting at four of their sermons. That with which Baxter greeted him, could not have been recited by the most rapid voice in less than two hours. It is a solemn contrast of the sensual and the spiritual life, without one courtly phrase to relieve his censure of the vices of the great. More soothing sounds were daily falling on the royal ear. The Surplice and the Book of Common Prayer had reappeared at the worship of the Lords and Commons. Heads and fellows of colleges enjoyed a restoration scarcely less triumphant than that of their sovereign. Long dormant statutes, arising from their slumbers, menaced the Nonconformists; and the truth was revealed to the delighted hierarchy, that the Church of England was still enthroned in the affections of the English people—the very type of their national character—the reflection of their calm good sense—of their reverence for hoar authority—of their fastidious distaste for whatever is scenic, impassioned, and self-assuming—of their deliberate preference for solid reason, even when somewhat dull, to mere rhetoric, however animated—of their love for those grave observances and ancient forms which conduct the mind to self-communion, and lay open to the heart its long accumulated treasure of hidden, though profound emotions. Happy if the confidence in her own strength excited by this discovery, had been blended either with the forgiveness and the love which the Gospel teaches; or with the toleration inculcated by human philosophy; or with the prudence which should be derived from a long course of suffering! Twenty-eight disgraceful years had then been blotted from the annals of the Anglican Church, and perhaps from the secular history of England.

The time was yet unripe for avowed retaliation, but wrongs and indignities such as those which the Episcopalians had suffered, were neither to be pardoned nor unavenged. Invited by the King to prepare a scheme of future church government, Baxter and his friends, taking Usher's 'Reduction of Episcopacy' as their basis, presented to Charles and the prelates a scheme of

ecclesiastical reform. 'As to Archbishop Usher's model of 'government,' replied the bishops, 'we decline it as not con- 'sistent with his other learned discourses on the original of Epis- 'copacy and of metropolitans, nor with the King's supremacy 'in causes ecclesiastical.' 'Had you read Gerson, Bucer, Par- 'ker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondel, &c.,' rejoined Baxter, 'you 'would have seen just reason given for our dissent from the 'ecclesiastical hierarchy as established in England. You would 'easily grant that dioceses are too great, if you had ever con- 'scionably tried the task which Dr Hammond describeth as the 'bishop's work, or had ever believed Ignatius' and others' ancient 'descriptions of a bishop's church.' Whither this war of words was tending, no bystander could doubt. To maintain the splendour and the powers of Episcopacy, to yield nothing, and yet to avoid the appearance of a direct breach of the royal word, was so glaringly the object of the Court, that wilful blindness only could fail to penetrate the transparent veil of 'The Declaration' framed by Clarendon with all the astuteness of his profession, and accepted by the Presbyterians with the eagerness of expiring hope. Baxter was not so deceived. In common with the other heads of his party, he judged the faith of Charles an inadequate security, and refused the proffered mitre of Hereford as an insidious bribe.

There were abundant reasons for this distrust. Thanks for his gracious purposes in favour of the Nonconformists had been presented to the head of the Church by the House of Commons, who immediately afterwards, at the instance of his Majesty's Secretary of State, rejected the very measure which had kindled their gratitude. Three months had scarcely passed since the declaration had issued, when an Order in Council proclaimed the illegality of all religious meetings held without the walls of the parochial churches. The Book of Common Prayer and the Statute Book were daily cementing their alliance, the one enlarged by a supplication for 'grace carefully and studiously to imitate the 'example of the blessed saint and martyr' who had now attained the honours of canonization; the other requiring the offices of all corporate and port towns 'to take the sacrament of 'the Lord's Supper;' and to swear 'that it is not lawful, upon 'any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King,' or against 'those commissioned by him.'

Amidst these Parliamentary thunders were opened the conferences of the Savoy, which were to reduce to a definite meaning the declarations of Breda and of Whitehall. It was the scene of Baxter's triumph and defeat—the triumph of his promptitude, subtlety, and boundless resource—the defeat of the last

hope he was permitted to indulge, of peace to himself or to the Church of which he was then the brightest ornament. The tactics of popular assemblies form a system of licensed deceit; and their conventional morality tolerates the avowal of the skill by which the antagonist party has been overreached, and even an open exultation in the success of such contrivances. To embarrass the Presbyterians by the course of the discussion, to invent plausible pretexts for delay, and to guide the controversy to an impotent, if not a ludicrous close, were the scarcely concealed objects of the Episcopalians. Opposed to these by the feebler party were the contrivances by which weakness usually seeks to evade the difficulties it cannot stem, and the captiousness which few can restrain when overborne by the superior force of numbers or of authority.

Whoever has seen a Parliament, may easily imagine a Synod. Baxter was the leader of an unpopular opposition,—the Charles Fox of the Savoy, of which Morley was the William Pitt, and Gunning the Henry Dundas. To review the Book of Common Prayer, and 'to advise and consult upon the 'same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall be 'raised against the same,' was the task assigned by Charles to twelve bishops, nine doctors of divinity, and twenty-one Presbyterian divines. Exalted by the acclamation of the whole Episcopalian party to the head of all human writings, not without some doubts whether it should not rather class with those of the sacred canon, the Book of Common Prayer was pronounced by the bishops, at the opening of the conferences, to be exempt from any errors which they could detect, and incapable of any improvements which they could suggest. They could not therefore advance to the encounter until their antagonists should have unrolled the long catalogue of their hostile criticisms and projected amendments. From such a challenge it was not in Baxter's nature to shrink, though warned by his associates of the motives by which it was dictated, and of the dangers to which it would lead. 'Bishop Sheldon,' says Burnet, 'saw well enough 'what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their 'demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry 'against them as a people that could never be satisfied.' In fourteen days Baxter had prepared a new liturgy. In a few more he had completed his objections to the former rubric, with an humble petition for peace and indulgence. Fast and thick flew over the field the missiles of theological theses before the closer conflict of oral debate. This was waged in high dialectic latitudes. Take the following example:—'That command' (we quote the Episcopalian *proponitur*) 'which enjoins only an act

'in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is 'enjoined, or any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* 'any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide 'against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a 'command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an 'act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an 'unjust penalty.' As an Indian listens to the war-cry of a hostile tribe, Baxter heard the announcement of this heretical doctrine, and plunged headlong into the fight. Pouring forth his boundless stores of metaphysical, moral, and scholastic speculation, he alternately plunged and soared beyond the reach of ordinary vision—distinguished and qualified, quoted and subtilized, till his voice was drowned 'in noise and confusion, and high reflections on his 'dark and cloudy imagination.' Bishop Sanderson, the Moderator, adjudged the palm of victory to his opponent. 'Baxter and 'Gunning' (the words are Burnet's) 'spent several days in lo-'gical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who looked upon 'them as a couple of fencers, engaged in a dispute that could not 'be brought to any end.' It had, however, reached the only end which the King and his advisers had ever contemplated. An apology had been made for the breach of the royal promise. Henceforth the Presbyterians might be denounced as men whom reason could not convince, and who were therefore justly given up to the coercion of penal laws. To cast on them a still deeper shade of contumacy, some few trifling changes were made in the Rubric by the Convocation. The Church was required to celebrate the martyrdom of the first Charles, and the restoration of the second,—that 'most religious and gracious King,' (the last an epithet with which in the same sentence the monarch was complimented and the Deity invoked;) and, as if still more certainly to exclude from her pale those who had sued in vain for entrance, Bel and the Dragon, and other worthies of the Apocrypha, were now called to take their stations in her weekly services.

Had Charles been permitted to follow the dictates of his own easy nature, or of his religious predilections, he would (though for precisely opposite reasons) have emulated the zeal of Cromwell for liberty of conscience. He would gladly have secured that freedom to his Roman Catholic subjects; and would still more gladly have relieved himself from the trouble of persecuting the Protestant Dissenters. But the time was still unripe for such hazardous experiments. At the dictation of Clarendon, he was made to assure his Parliament that he was 'as much 'in love with the Book of Common Prayer as they could wish, 'and had prejudices enough against those who did not love it.'

Within two years from his return, the depth and sincerity of this affection were attested by the imprisonment of more than four thousand Quakers, and by the promulgation of the Act of Uniformity. Among the two thousand clergymen whom this law excluded from the Church, Baxter was on every account the most conspicuous. He had refused the bishoprick of Hereford, and the united interest of Charles and Clarendon had been exerted in vain (so with most elaborate hypocrisy it was pretended) to recover for him a curacy at Kidderminster. He for ever quitted that scene of his apostolic labours; and, in the forty-seventh year of his age, bowed down with bodily infirmities, was driven from his home and his weeping congregation, to pass the remainder of his life in lothsome jails or precarious hiding-places; there to achieve, in penury and almost ceaseless pain, works without a parallel in the history of English theological literature, for their extent, or their prodigality of mental resources.

Solitude was not amongst the aggravations of his lot. Margaret Charlton was a lady of gentle birth, rich in the gifts of nature and of fortune. She dwelt in her mother's house at Kidderminster, where both parent and child found in Baxter their teacher and spiritual guide. 'In her youth, pride and ro-'mances, and company suitable thereto, did take her up.' But sickness came, and he ministered to her anxieties; and health returned, and he led the thanksgiving of the congregation; and there were mental conflicts in which he sustained her, and works of mercy in which he directed her, and notes were made of his sermons, and passages were transcribed from his consolatory letters, and gradually—but who needs to be told the result? Margaret was no ordinary woman. Her 'strangely vivid wit' is celebrated by the admirable John Howe; and her widowed husband, in 'The breviate of her life,' has drawn a portrait the original of which it would have been criminal not to love. Timid, gentle, and reserved, and nursed amidst all the luxuries of her age, her heart was the abode of affections so intense, and of a fortitude so enduring, that her meek spirit, impatient of one selfish wish, progressively acquired all the heroism of benevolence, and seemed at length incapable of one selfish fear. In prison, in sickness, in evil report, in every form of danger and fatigue, she was still with unabated cheerfulness at the side of him to whom she had pledged her conjugal faith;—prompting him to the discharge of every duty, calming the asperities of his temper, his associate in unnumbered acts of philanthropy, embellishing his humble home by the little arts with which a cultivated mind imparts its own gracefulness to the meanest dwell-

ing-place; and during the nineteen years of their union joining with him in one unbroken strain of filial affiance to the Divine mercy, and of a grateful adoration for the Divine goodness. Her tastes and habits had been moulded into a perfect conformity to his. He celebrates her Catholic charity to the opponents of their religious opinions, and her inflexible adherence to her own; her high esteem of the active and passive virtues of the Christian life, as contrasted with a barren orthodoxy; her noble disinterestedness, her skill in casuistry, her love of music, and her medicinal arts. Peace be to the verses which he poured out not to extol but to animate her devotion. If Margaret was wooed in strains over which Sacharissa would have slumbered, Baxter's uncouth rhymes have a charm which Waller's lyrics cannot boast —the charm of purity, and reverence, and truth. The Eloise of Abelard, and the Eloise of Rousseau, revealing but too accurately one of the dark chambers of the human heart, have poisoned the imagination, and rendered it difficult to conceive of such ties as those which first drew together the souls of the Nonconformist minister and his pupil;—he approaching his fiftieth and she scarcely past her twentieth year; he stricken with penury, disease, and persecution, and she in the enjoyment of affluence and of the world's alluring smiles. It was not in the reign of Charles the Second, that wit or will were wanting to ridicule, or to upbraid such espousals. Grave men sighed over the weakness of the venerable divine; and gay men disported themselves with so effective an incident in the tragi-comedy of life. Much had the great moralist written upon the benefits of clerical celibacy, for, 'when he said so, he 'thought that he should die a bachelor.' Something he wrote as follows, in defence of his altered opinions:—'The unsuitable-'ness of our age, and my former known purposes against mar-'riage and against the conveniency of ministers' marriage, who 'have no sort of necessity, made our marriage the matter of 'much talk;' but he most judiciously proceeds, 'the true open-'ing of her case and mine, and the many strange occurrences 'which brought it to pass, would take away the wonder of her 'friends and mine that knew us, and the notice of it would much 'conduce to the understanding of some other passages of our 'lives. Yet wise friends, by whom I am advised, think it 'better to omit such personal particularities at this time. Both 'in her case and in mine there was much extraordinary, which 'it doth not much concern the world to be acquainted with.' Under this apology, it veiled the fact that Margaret herself first felt, or first betrayed the truth, that a sublunary affection had blended itself with their devotional feelings; and that she encouraged him to claim that place in her heart which the holies-

of human beings has still left for mere human sympathy. It was an attachment hallowed on either side by all that can give dignity to the passions to which all are alike subject. To her it afforded the daily delight of supporting in his gigantic labours, and of soothing in his unremitted cares, a husband who repaid her tenderness with unceasing love and gratitude. To him it gave a friend whose presence was tranquillity, who tempered by her milder wisdom, and graced by her superior elegance, and exalted by her more confiding piety, whatever was austere, or rude, or distrustful in his rugged character. After all, it must be confessed that the story will not fall handsomely to any niche in the chronicles of romance; though, even in that light, Crabbe or Marmontel would have made something of it. Yet, unsupported by any powers of narrative, it is a tale which will never want its interest, so long as delight shall be felt of contemplating the submission of the sternest and most powerful minds to that kindly influence which cements and blesses, and which should ennoble human society.

Over the declining years of Baxter's life, friendship, as well as conjugal love, threw a glow of consolation which no man ever needed or ever valued more. His affectionate record of his associates has rescued some of their names from oblivion. Such is the case with 'good old Simon Ash, who went seasonably to 'heaven at the very time he was to be cast out of the church; 'who, having a good estate, and a very good wife, inclined to 'entertainments and liberality, kept a house much frequented by 'ministers, where, always cheerful, without profuse laughter or 'levity, and never troubled with doubtings,' he imparted to others the gaiety of his own heart, and died as he had lived, 'in 'great consolation and cheerful exercise of faith, molested with 'no fears or doubts, exceedingly glad of the company of his 'friends, and greatly encouraging all about him.' Such also was 'good Mr James Walton, commonly called the weeping 'prophet; of a most holy blameless life, and, though learned, 'greatly averse to controversy and dispute;' a man who had struggled successfully against constitutional melancholy, until, 'troubled with the sad case of the Church and the multitude of 'ministers cast out, and at his own unserviceableness, he con-'sumed to death.'

To the Democritus and Heraclitus of nonconformity, a far greater name succeeds in the catalogue of Baxter's friends. In the village of Acton, Sir Matthew Hale had found an occasional retreat from the cares of his judicial life; and devoted his leisure to science and theology, and to social intercourse with the ejected Nonconformist. In an age of civil strife, he had proposed to himself the example of Atticus, and, like that accomplished

person, endeavoured to avert the enmity of the contending parties by the fearless discharge of his duties to all, without ministering to the selfish ends of any. The frugal simplicity of his habits, his unaffected piety and studious pursuits, enabled him to keep this hazardous path with general esteem, though he was more indebted for safety to his unrivalled eminence as a lawyer and a judge. Though Cromwell and Ludlow rebelled against the Papal authority of Westminster Hall, their age lagged far behind them. In the overthrow of all other institutions, the courts in which Fortescue and Coke had explained or invented the immemorial customs of England, were still the objects of universal veneration; and the supremacy of the law secured to its sages the homage of the people. Never was it rendered more justly than to Hale. With the exception of Roger North, we remember no historian of that day who does not bear an unqualified testimony to his uprightness, to the surpassing compass of his professional learning, and the exquisite skill with which it was employed. That agreeable, though most prejudiced writer, refuses him not only this, but the still higher praise of spotless patriotism, and ridicules his pretensions as a philosopher and divine. Baxter, an incomparably better judge, thought far otherwise. In the learning in which he himself excelled all others, he assigned a high station to Hale; and has recorded that his 'conference, mostly about the immortality of the soul and other 'philosophical and foundation points, was so edifying, that his 'very questions and objections did help me to more light than 'other men's solutions.' Differing on those subjects which then agitated society, their minds, enlarged by nobler contemplations, rose far above the controversies of their age; and were united in efforts for their mutual improvement, and for advancing the interests of religion, truth, and virtue. It was a grave and severe, but an affectionate friendship; such as can subsist only between men who have lived in the habitual restraint of their lower faculties, and in the strenuous culture of those powers which they believe to be destined hereafter, and to be ripening now, for an indefinite expansion and an immortal existence.

From such intercourse Baxter was rudely called away. Not satisfied with the rigid uniformity of professed belief and external observances amongst the clergy of the Established Church, Parliament had denounced a scale of penalties, graduated from fine, to banishment to the plantations, against laics who should attend any other form of religious worship, even in private houses, where more than five strangers should be present. At Acton, a personage of no mean importance watched over the ecclesiastical discipline of the parish. 'Dr Ryves, rector of that church and of 'Hadley, dean of Windsor and of Wolverhampton, and chaplain

'in ordinary to the King,' could not patiently endure the irregularities of his learned neighbour. The Dean indeed officiated by deputy, and his curate was a raw and ignorant youth; and Baxter (an occasional conformist) was a regular attendant on all the sacred offices. But he refused the Oxford oath, and at his domestic worship there were sometimes found more than the statutable addition to the family circle. Such offences demanded expiation. He was committed to Clerkenwell gaol; and, when at length discharged from it, was compelled to seek a new and more hospitable residence. He had his revenge. It was to obtain, through the influence of one of his most zealous disciples, the charter which incorporates the Church of England Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—a return of good for evil for which his name might well displace those of some of the saints in the calendar.

While the plague was depopulating London, and the silenced clergymen were discharging the unenvied office of watching over the multitude appointed to death, the King and Clarendon, at a secure distance from the contagion, were employed in framing the statute which denounced the most rigid punishment against any nonconformist minister who should approach within five miles of any town in England, or of any parish in which he had formerly officiated. Totteridge, a hamlet, round which a circle of ten miles diameter could be drawn without including any of the residences thus proscribed to Baxter, became his next abode, but was not permitted to be a place of security or rest. His indefatigable pen had produced a paraphrase on the New Testament, where the keen scrutiny of his enemies detected libels, to be refuted only by the logic of the court and prison of the King's Bench. From the records of that court, Mr Orme has extracted the indictment, which sets forth, that 'Richardus Baxter, persona 'seditiosa et factiosa, pravæ mentis, impiæ, inquietæ, turbulent' 'disposition' et conversation';'—'falso, illicite, injuste, nequit', 'factiose, seditiose, et irreligiose, fecit, composuit, scripsit quen-'dam falsum, seditiosum, libellosum, factiosum, et irreligiosum 'librum.' The classical pleader proceeds in a vein of unconscious humour to justify these hard words by the use of the figure called, we believe, a '*scilicet*' by those who now inhabit the ancient abode of the Knights Templars. 'It is folly,' says the paraphrase, to 'doubt whether there be devils, while devils incarnate dwell amongst 'us here,' (clericos pred' hujus regni Angl' innuendo.) 'What else 'but devils could make ceremonious hypocrites,' (clericos pred' innuendo;) 'men that preach in Christ's name,' (seipsum R. B. et al' seditiosas et factiosas person' innuendo,) 'therefore, are not 'to be silenced if they do more harm than good. Dreadful then 'is the case of men,' (episcopos et ministros justitiæ infr' hujus

'regni Angl' innuendo,) 'that silence Christ's faithful mi-'nisters,' (seipsum R. B. et al' seditiosas et factiosas person' innuendo.)

Ansley and George Stevens were dull fellows, compared with the great originals from which they drew. L'Estrange himself might have taken a lesson in the art of defamation, from this innuendoing special pleader. But the absurdity was crowned by the conduct of the trial. Abhorrence, disgust, indignation, and all other feelings of the sterner kind, gave way to the irresistible sense of the ludicrous, in some parts o the judicial career of Jeffries; and 'to be grave exceeds all powers of face,' in reading the narrative of this proceeding, which was drawn up by one of the spectators. The judge entered the court with his face flaming, 'he snorted and squeaked, blew his nose and 'clenched his hands, and lifted up his eyes, mimicking their 'manner, and running on furiously, as he said they used to pray.' The ermined buffoon extorted a smile from the nonconformists themselves. Pollexfen, the leading counsel for the defence, gave into the humour, and attempted to gain attention for his argument by a jest. 'My Lord,' he said, 'some will think it a 'hard measure to stop these men's mouths, and not to let them 'speak through their noses.' 'Pollexfen,' said Jeffries, 'I 'know you well. You are the patron of the faction; this is an 'old rogue who has poisoned the world, with his Kidderminster 'doctrine. He encouraged all the women to bring their bodkins 'and thimbles, to carry on the war against their King, of ever 'blessed memory. An old schismatical knave—a hypocritical 'villain.' 'My Lord,' replied the counsel, 'Mr Baxter's loyal 'and peaceable spirit, King Charles would have rewarded with 'a bishopric, when he came in, if he would have conformed.' 'Aye,' said the judge, 'we know that; but what ailed the old 'blockhead, the unthankful villain, that he would not conform? 'Is he wiser or better than other men? He hath been, ever 'since, the spring of the faction. I am sure he hath poisoned the 'world with his linsey-woolsey doctrine, a conceited—stubborn, 'fanatical dog.' After one counsel, and another, had been overborne by the fury of Jeffries, Baxter himself took up the argument. 'My Lord,' he said, 'I have been so moderate with respect 'to the Church of England, that I have incurred the censure of 'many of the Dissenters on that account.' 'Baxter for 'Bishops,' exclaimed the judge, 'is a merry conceit indeed. Turn 'to it, turn to it!' On this one of the counsel turned to a passage in the libel, which stated, 'that great respect is due to 'those truly called bishops amongst us.' 'Ay,' said Jeffries, 'this is your Presbyterian cant, *truly* called to be bishops; that

'is of himself, and such rascals, called the bishops of Kidder-'minster, and other such places. The bishops set apart by such 'factious—snivelling Presbyterians as himself; a Kidderminster 'bishop he means, according to the saying of a late learned 'author, every parish shall maintain a tythe-pig metropolitan.' Baxter offering to speak again, Jeffries exploded in the following apostrophe. 'Richard! Richard! dost thou think here to 'poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow—an old 'knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every 'one as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of 'meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade 'forty years ago, it had been happy. I know thou hast a 'mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in 'corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty don, 'and a doctor of your party at your elbow; but I will crush you all. 'Come, what do you say for yourself, you old knave—come speak 'up, what doth he say? I am not afraid of him, or of all the snivel-'ling calves you have got about you,'—alluding to some persons who were in tears at this scene. 'Your Lordship need not,' said Baxter, 'for I'll not hurt you. But these things will surely 'be understood one day; what fools one sort of Protestants are 'made, to prosecute the other.' Then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he said, 'I am not concerned to answer such stuff, but 'am ready to produce my writings, in confutation of all this; and 'my life and conversation are known to many in this nation.'

The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and but for the resistance of the other judges, Jeffries would have added whipping through the city, to the sentence of imprisonment. It was to continue until the prisoner should have paid five hundred marks. Baxter was at that time in his 70th year. A childless widower, groaning under agonies of bodily pain, and reduced by former persecutions to sell all that he possessed; he entered the King's Bench prison in utter poverty, and remained there for nearly two years, hopeless of any other abode on earth. But the hope of a mansion of eternal peace and love raised him beyond the reach of human tyranny. He possessed his soul in patience. Wise and good men resorted to his prison, and brought back greetings to his distant friends, and maxims of piety and prudence. Happy in the review of a well-spent life, and still happier in the prospect of its early close, his spirit enjoyed a calm for which his enemies might have well exchanged their mitres and their thrones. His pen, the faithful companion of his troubles, as of his joys, still plied the Herculean tasks which habit had rendered not merely easy, but delightful to him; and what mattered the gloomy walls or the obscene riot of a gaol, while he

was free to wander from early dawn to nightfall over the sublime heights of devotion, or through the interminable, but to him not pathless wilderness of psychology? There pain and mortal sickness were unheeded, and his long-lost wife forgotten, or remembered only that he might rejoice in their approaching re-union. The altered policy in the Court restored him for a while to the questionable advantage of bodily freedom. 'At this time,' says the younger Calamy, 'he talked about another world like one 'that had been there, and was come as an express from thence to 'make a report concerning it.' But age, sickness, and persecution had done their work. His material frame gave way to the pressure of disease, though, in the language of one of his last associates, 'his soul abode rational, strong in faith and hope.' That his dying hours were agitated by the doubts which had clouded his earlier days, has been often but erroneously asserted. With manly truth, he rejected, as affectation, the wish for death to which some pretend. He assumed no stoical indifference to pain, and indulged in no unhallowed familiarity on those awful subjects which occupy the thoughts of him whose eye is closing on sublunary things, and is directed to an instant eternity. In profound lowliness, with a settled reliance on the Divine Mercy, repeating at frequent intervals the prayer of the Redeemer, on whom his hopes reposed, and breathing out benedictions on those who encircled his dying bed, he passed away from a life of almost unequalled toil and suffering, to a new condition of existence, where he doubted not to enjoy that perfect conformity of the human to the Divine will, to which, during his three-score years and ten, it had been his ceaseless labour to attain.

The record of the solitary, rather than of the social hours of a man of letters, must form the staple of his biography; yet he must be a strenuous reader, who should be able, from his own knowledge, to prepare such a record of the fruits of Richard Baxter's solitude. After a familiarity of many years with his writings, it must be avowed, that of the one hundred and sixty-eight volumes comprised in the catalogue of his printed works, there are some which we have never seen, and many with which we can boast but a very slight acquaintance. These, however, are such as (to borrow a phrase from Mr Hallam) have ceased to belong to men, and have become the property of moths. From the recesses of the library in Red Cross Street, they lower in the sullen majority of the folio age, over the pigmies of this duodecimo generation; the expressive, though neglected monuments of occurrences, which can never lose their place, or their interest, in the history of theological literature.

The English Reformation produced no Luther, Calvin, Zuin-

gle, or Knox—no man who imparted to the national mind the impress of his own character, or the heritage of his religious creed. Our Reformers, Cranmer scarcely excepted, were statesmen rather than divines. Neither he, nor those more properly called the martyrs of the Church of England, ever attempted the stirring appeals to mankind at large, which awakened the echoes of the presses and the pulpits of Germany, Switzerland, and France. From the papal to the royal supremacy—from the legatine to the archiepiscopal power—from the Roman missal to the Anglican liturgy, the transition was easy, and, in many respects, not very perceptible. An ambidexter controversialist, the English Church warred at once with the errors of Rome and of Geneva; until relenting towards her first antagonist, she turned the whole power of her arms against her domestic and more dreaded enemy. To the resources of piety, genius, and learning, were added less legitimate weapons; and the Puritans underwent confiscation, imprisonment, exile, compulsory silence; every thing, in short, except conviction. When the civil wars unloosed their tongues and gave freedom to their pens, they found themselves without any established standard of religious belief; every question debatable; and every teacher conscience-bound to take his share in the debate. Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Seekers, Familists, Behmenists, and Quakers, were agreed only in cementing a firm alliance against their common enemies, the Prelatists and Papists. Those foes subdued, they turned against each other, some contending for supremacy, and some for toleration, but all for what they severally regarded or professed to regard as truth. Nor were theirs the polemics of the schools or the cloister. The war of religious opinion was accompanied by the roar of Cromwell's artillery—by the fall of ancient dynasties, and the growth of a military, though forbearing despotism. It was an age of deep earnestness. Frivolous and luxurious men had for a while retreated to make way for impassioned and high-wrought spirits;—the interpreters at once of the ancient revelations and of the present judgments of heaven, the monitors of an ungodly world, and the comforters of those who bent beneath the weight of national and domestic calamities. Such were that memorable race of authors to whom is given collectively the name of the Puritan divines; and such, above all the rest, was Richard Baxter. Intellectual efforts of such severity as his, relieved by not so much as one passing smile; public services of such extent, interrupted by no one recorded relaxation; thoughts so sleeplessly intent on those awful subjects, in the presence of which all earthly interests are annihilated, might seem a weight too vast for human endurance; as assuredly it forms an example which few would

have the power, and fewer still the will, to imitate. His seventy-five years, unbroken by any transient glance at gaiety; his one hundred and sixty-eight volumes, where the fancy never disports herself; a mortal man absorbed in the solemn realities, and absolutely independent of all the illusions of life, appears like a fiction, and a dull one too. Yet it is an exact, and not an uninviting truth.

Never was the alliance of soul and body formed on terms of greater inequality than in Baxter's person. It was like the compact in the fable, where all the spoils and honours fall to the giant's share, while the poor dwarf puts up with all the danger and the blows. The mournful list of his chronic diseases renders almost miraculous the mental vigour which bore him through exertions resembling those of a disembodied spirit. But his ailments were such as, without affecting his nervous energy, gave repose to his animal appetites, and quenched the thirst for all the emoluments and honours of this sublunary state. Death, though delaying to strike, stood continually before him, ever quickening his attention to that awful presence, by approaching the victim under some new or varied aspect of disease. Under this influence he wrote, and spoke, and acted—a dying man, conversant with the living in all their pursuits, but taking no share in their worldly hopes and fugitive emotions. Every returning day was welcomed and improved, as though it were to be his last. Each sermon might be a farewell admonition to his auditory. The sheets which lay before him were rapidly filled with the first suggestions of his mind in the first words which offered; for to-morrow's sun might find him unable to complete the momentous task. All the graces and the negligences of composition were alike unheeded, for how labour as an artist when the voice of human applause might in a few short hours become inaudible! In Baxter, the characteristics of his age, and of his associates, were thus heightened by the peculiarities of his own physical and mental constitution. Their earnestness passed in him into a profound solemnity; their diligence into an unrelaxing intensity of employment; their disinterestedness into a fixed disdain of the objects for which other men contend. Even the episode of his marriage is in harmony with the rest. He renounced the property with which it would have encumbered him, and stipulated for the absolute command of his precarious and inestimable time. Had this singular concentration of thought and purpose befallen a man of quick sympathies, it would have overborne his spirits, if it had not impaired his reason. But Baxter was naturally stern. Had it overtaken a man of vivid imagination, it would have engendered a troop of fantastic and extravagant day-dreams. But to Baxter's natural vision all objects presented themselves with

a hard outline, colourless, and with no surrounding atmosphere. Had it been united to a cold and selfish heart, the result would have been a life of ascetic fanaticism. But his was an enlarged, though a calm philanthropy. His mind, though never averted from the remembrance of his own and of others' eternal doom, was still her own sovereign; diligently examining the foundations and determing the limits of belief; methodizing her opinions with painful accuracy, and expanding them into all their theoretical or practical results, as patiently as ever analyst explored the depths of the differential calculus. Still every thing was to the purpose. 'I have looked,' he says, 'over Hutton, Vives, Erasmus, Scaliger, Salmasius, Casaubon, and many other critical grammarians, and all Gruter's critical volumes. I have read almost all the physics and metaphysics I could hear of. I have wasted much of my time among loads of historians, chronologers, and antiquaries. I despise none of their learning—all truth is useful. Mathematics, which I have least of, I find a pretty and manlike sport; but if I have no other kind of knowledge than these, what were my understanding worth? What a dreaming dotard should I be? I have higher thoughts of the schoolmen than Erasmus and our other grammarians had. I much value the method and sobriety of Aquinas, the subtlety of Scotus and Ockam, the plainness of Durandus, the solidity of Ariminensis, the profundity of Bradwardine, the excellent acuteness of many of their followers; of Aureolus, Capreolus, Bannes, Alvarez, Zumel, &c.; of Mayro, Lychetus, Trombeta, Faber, Meurisse, Rada, &c.; of Ruiz, Pennattes, Saurez, Vasquez, &c.; of Hurtado, of Albertinus, of Lud à Dola, and many others. But how loth should I be to take such sauce for my food, and such recreations for my business. The jingling of too much and false philosophy among them often drowns the noise of Aaron's bells. I feel myself much better in Herbert's temple.'

Within the precincts of that temple, and to the melody of those bells, he accordingly proceeded to erect the vast monument of his theological works. Their basis was laid in a series of 'aphorisms on justification'—an attempt to fix the sense of the sacred volume on those topics which constitute the essential peculiarities of the Christian system. The assaults with which the aphorisms had been encountered were repelled by his 'Apology,' a large volume in quarto. The 'Apology' was, within a few months, reinforced by another quarto, entitled his 'Confession of Faith.' Between four and five hundred pages of 'Disputations' came to the succour of the 'Confession.' Then appeared four treatises on the 'Doctrine of Perseverance,' on 'Saving Faith,' on 'Justifying Righteousness,' and 'on Universal Redemption.' Next in

order is a folio of seven hundred pages, entitled 'Catholic Theology, 'plain, pure, peaceable,' unfolding and resolving all the controversies of the Schoolmen, the Papists, and the Protestants. This was eclipsed by a still more ponderous folio in Latin, entitled, 'Methodus Theologiæ Christianæ,' composed, to quote his own words, 'in my retirement at Totteridge, in a troublesome, smoky, 'suffocating room, in the midst of daily pains of sciatica, and 'many worse.' After laying down the nature of Deity, and of things in general, he discloses all the relations, eternal and historical, between God and man, with all the abstract truths, and all the moral obligations deducible from them;—detecting the universal presence of the Trinity, not in the Divine Being only, but in all things psychological and material which flow from the great fountain of life. With an 'End of Doctrinal Controversies,'—a title, he observes, not intended as a prognostic, but as didactical and corrective—terminated his efforts to close up the mighty questions which touch on man's highest hopes and interests. He had thrown upon them such an incredible multitude and variety of cross lights, as effectually to dazzle any intellectual vision less aquiline than his own.

His next enterprise was to win mankind to religious concord. A progeny of twelve books, most of them of considerable volume, attest his zeal in this arduous cause. Blessed, we are told, are the peacemakers; but the benediction is unaccompanied with the promise of tranquillity. He found, indeed, a patron in 'His 'Highness, Richard Lord Protector,' whose rule he acknowledged as lawful, though he had denied the authority of his father. Addressing that wise and amiable man, 'I observe,' he says, 'that the nation generally rejoice in your peaceable en-'trance upon the government. Many are persuaded that you 'have been strangely kept from participating in any of our late 'bloody contentions, that God might make you the healer of 'our breaches, and employ you in that temple work which 'David himself might not be honoured with, though it was in his 'mind, because he shed blood abundantly, and made great wars.' Stronger minds and less gentle hearts than that of Richard repelled with natural indignation counsels which rebuked all the contending parties. Amongst these was 'one Malpas, an old 'scandalous minister,' 'and Edward Bagshawe, a young man 'who had written formerly against monarchy, and afterwards 'against Bishop Morley, and being of a resolute Roman spirit, 'was sent first to the Tower, and then lay in a horrid dungeon;' and who wrote a book 'full of untruths, which the furious temerarious man did utter out of the rashness of his mind.' In his dungeon, poor Bagshawe died, and Baxter closes the debate with

tenderness and pathos. 'While we wrangle here in the dark, 'we are dying, and passing to the world that will decide all our 'controversies, and the safest passage thither is by peaceable holi-'ness.' Dr Owen, one of the foremost in the first rank of divines of his age, had borne much; but these exhortations to concord he could not bear; and he taught his monitor, that he who undertakes to reconcile enemies must be prepared for the loss of friends. It was on every account a desperate endeavour. Baxter was opposed to every sect, and belonged to none. He can be properly described only as a Baxterian—at once the founder and the single disciple of an eclectic school, within the portals of which he invited all men, but persuaded none, to take refuge from their mutual animosities.

Had Baxter been content merely to establish truth, and to decline the refutation of error, many might have listened to a voice so earnest, and to counsels so profound. But 'while he spoke to 'them of peace, he made him ready for battle.' Ten volumes, many of them full-grown quartos, vindicated his secession from the Church of England. Five other batteries, equally well served, were successively opened against the Antinomians, the Quakers, the Baptists, the Millennarians, and the Grotians. The last, of whom Dodwell was the leader, typified, in the reign of Charles, the divines who flourish at Oxford in the reign of Victoria. Long it were, and not very profitable, to record the events of these theological campaigns. They brought into the field Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Dodwell. The men of learning were aided by the men of wit. Under the *nom de guerre* of 'Tilenus Junior,' Womack, the Bishop of St David's, had incurred Baxter's censure for his 'abusive, virulent, accusations' of the Synod of Dort. To this attack appeared an answer, entitled 'The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers, in order 'to his intended settlement in the office of a public preacher in 'the commonwealth of Utopia.' Among the jurors empanelled for the trial of Tilenus, are 'Messrs Absolute,' 'Fatality,' 'Preterition,' 'Narrow Grace, *alias* Stint Grace,' 'Take o' 'Trust,' 'Know Little,' and 'Dubious,'—the last the established soubriquet for Richard Baxter. But neither smile nor sigh could be extorted from the veteran polemic; nor, in truth, had he much right to be angry. If not with equal pleasantry, he had with at least equal freedom, invented appellations for his opponents;—designating Dodwell, or his system, as 'Leviathan, 'absolute, destructive Prelacy, the son of Abaddon, Apollyon, 'and not of Jesus Christ.' Statesmen joined in the affray. Morice, Charles's first Secretary of State, contributed a treatise; and Lauderdale, who, with all his faults, was an accomplished scho-

lar, and, amidst all his inconsistencies, a stanch Presbyterian, accepted the dedication of one of Baxter's controversial pieces, and presented him with twenty guineas. The unvarying kindness to the persecuted nonconformist of one who was himself a relentless persecutor, is less strange than the fact, that the future courtier of Charles read, during his imprisonment at Windsor, the whole of Baxter's then published works, and, as their grateful author records, remembered them better than himself. While the pens of the wise, the witty, and the great, were thus employed against the universal antagonist, the Quakers assailed him with their tongues. Who could recognise, in the gentle and benevolent people who now bear that name, a trace of their ancestral character, of which Baxter has left the following singular record?—

'The Quakers in their shops, when I go along London Streets, 'say, alas! poor man, thou art yet in darkness. They have oft 'come to the congregation, when I had liberty to preach Christ's 'gospel, and cried out against me as a deceiver of the people. 'They have followed me home, crying out in the streets, "the 'day of the Lord is coming, and thou shalt perish as a deceiver." 'They have stood in the market-place, and under my window, 'year after year, crying to the people, "take heed of your 'priests, they deceive your souls;" and if any one wore a lace 'or neat clothing, they cried out to me, "these are the fruits 'of your ministry."'

Against the divorce of divinity and politics, Baxter vehemently protested, as the putting asunder of things which a sacred ordinance had joined together. He therefore published a large volume, entitled 'The Holy Commonwealth; a Plea for the 'cause of Monarchy, but as under God the Universal Monarch.' Far better to have roused against himself all the quills which had ever bristled on all the 'fretful porcupines' of theological strife. For, while vindicating the ancient government of England, he hazarded a distinct avowal of opinions, which, with their patrons, were to be proscribed with the return of the legitimate Sovereign. He taught that the laws of England are above the king; 'that Parliament was his highest court, where his personal will 'and word were not sufficient authority.' He vindicated the war against Charles, and explained the apostolical principle of obedience to the higher powers as extending to the senate as well as to the emperor. The royal power had been given 'for 'the common good, and no cause could warrant the king to 'make the commonwealth the party which he should exercise 'hostility against.' All this was published at the moment of the fall of Richard Cromwell. Amidst the multitude of answers which it provoked may be especially noticed those of Harrington,

the author of the 'Oceana,' and of Edward Pettit. 'The former,' says Baxter, 'seemed in a Bethlehem rage, for, by way of scorn, 'he printed half a sheet of foolish jests, in such words as idiots 'or drunkards use, railing at ministers as a pack of fools and 'knaves, and, by his gibberish derision, persuading men that we 'deserve no other answer than such scorn and nonsense as be-'seemeth fools. With most insolent pride, he carried it as nei-'ther I nor any ministers understood at all what policy was; but 'prated against we knew not what, and had presumed to speak 'against other men's art, which he was master of, and his know-'ledge, to such idiots as we, incomprehensible.' Pettit placed Baxter in hell, where Bradshawe acts as president, and Hobbes and Neville strive in vain for the crown which he awards to the nonconformist for pre-eminence of evil and mischief on earth. 'Let him come in,' exclaims the new Rhadamanthus, 'and be 'crowned with wreaths of serpents, and chaplets of adders. Let 'his triumphant chariot be a pulpit drawn on the wheels of 'cannon by a brace of wolves in sheep's clothing. Let the ancient 'fathers of the Church, whom out of ignorance he has villified; the 'reverend and learned prelates, whom out of pride and malice he 'has belied, abused, and persecuted; the most righteous King, 'whose murder he has justified—let them all be bound in chains 'to attend his infernal triumph to his "Saint's Everlasting Rest;" 'then make room, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, atheists, and 'politicians, for the greatest rebel on earth, and next to him 'that fell from heaven.' Nor was this all. The 'Holy Com-'monwealth' was amongst the books which the University of Oxford sentenced to the flames which had been less innocently kindled at the same place, in a former generation, against the persons of men who had dared to proclaim unwelcome truths. Morley, and many others, branded it as treason; and the King was taught to regard the author as one of the most inveterate enemies of the royal authority. South joined in the universal clamour; and Baxter, in his autobiography, records, that when that great wit and author had been called to preach before the King, and a vast congregation drawn together by his high celebrity, he was compelled, after a quarter of an hour, to desist and to retire from the pulpit, exclaiming, 'the Lord be merciful 'to our infirmities!' The sermon, which should have been recited, was afterwards published, and it appeared that the passage at which South's presence of mind had failed him, was an invective against the 'Holy Commonwealth.' After enduring for ten years the storm which his book had provoked, Baxter took the very singular course of publishing a revocation, desiring the world to consider it as *non scriptum*;—maintaining the while the general

principles of his work, and 'protesting against the judgment of 'posterity, and all others that were not of the same time and 'place, as to the mental censure either of the book or revoca-'tion, as being ignorant of the true reasons of them both.' We, therefore, who, for the present, constitute the posterity, against whose rash judgment this protest was entered, should be wary in censuring what, it must be confessed, is not very intelligible, except, indeed, as it is not difficult to perceive, motives enough for retreating from an unprofitable strife, even though the retreat could not be very skilfully accomplished.

Two volumes of Ecclesiastical History, the first a quarto of five hundred pages, the second a less voluminous vindication of its predecessor, attest the extent of Baxter's labours in this department of theological literature, and the stupendous compass of his reading. The authorities he enumerates, and from a diligent study of which his work is drawn, would form a considerable library.

Such labours as those we have mentioned, might seem to have left no vacant space in a life otherwise so actively employed. But these books, and the vast mass of unpublished manuscripts, are not the most extensive, as they are incomparably the least valuable, of the produce of his solitary hours.

With the exception of Grotius, Baxter is the first of that long series of writers who have undertaken to establish the truth of Christianity, by a systematic exhibition of the evidence and the arguments in favour of the divine origin of our faith. All homage to their cause, for we devoutly believe it to be the cause of truth! Be it acknowledged that their labours could not have been declined, without yielding a temporary and dangerous triumph to sophistry and presumptuous ignorance. Admit (as indeed it is scarcely possible to exaggerate) their boundless superiority to their antagonists in learning, in good faith, in sagacity, in range and in depth of thought, and in whatever else was requisite in this momentous controversy;—concede, as for ourselves we delight to confess, that they have advanced their proofs to the utmost heights of probability which by such reasonings it is possible to scale;—with these concessions may not inconsistently be combined some distaste for these enquiries, and some doubt of their real value.

The sacred writers have none of the timidity of their modern apologists. They never sue for an assent to their doctrines, but authoritatively command the acceptance of them. They denounce unbelief as guilt, and insist on faith as a virtue of the highest order. In their Catholic invitations, the intellectual not less than the social distinctions of mankind are unheeded. Every student of their writings is aware of these facts; but the solution

of them is less commonly observed. It is, we apprehend, that the Apostolic authors assume the existence in all men of a spiritual discernment, enabling the mind, when unclouded by appetite or passion, to recognise and distinguish the Divine voice, whether uttered from within by the intimations of conscience, or speaking from without in the language of inspired oracles. They presuppose that vigour of understanding may consist with feebleness of reason; and that the power of discriminating between religious truths and error does not chiefly depend on the culture, or on the exercise of the mere argumentative faculty. The especial patrimony of the poor and the illiterate—the Gospel—has been the stay of countless millions who never framed a syllogism. Of the great multitudes whom no man can number, who before and since the birth of Grotius have lived in the peace, and died in the consolations of our faith, how incomparably few are they whose conviction have been derived from the study of works like his! Of the numbers who have addicted themselves to such studies, how small is the proportion of those who have brought to the task either learning, or leisure, or industry sufficient to enable them to form an independent judgment on the questions in debate! Called to the exercise of a judicial function for which he is but ill prepared—addressed by pleadings on an issue where his prepossessions are all but unalterable, bidden to examine evidences which he has most rarely the skill, the learning, or the leisure to verify, and pressed by arguments, sometimes overstrained, and sometimes fallacious—he who lays the foundations of his faith in such 'evidences,' will but too commonly end either in yielding a credulous, and therefore an infirm assent, or by reposing in a self-sufficient and far more hazardous incredulity.

For these reasons, we attach less value to the long series of Baxter's works in support of the foundations of the Christian faith, than to the rest of his books which have floated in safety down the tide of time to the present day. Yet it would be difficult to select, from the same class of writings, any more eminently distinguished by the earnest love and the fearless pursuit of truth; or to name an enquirer into these subjects who possessed and exercised to a greater extent the power of suspending his long-cherished opinions, and of closely interrogating every doubt by which they were obstructed.

In his solicitude to sustain the conclusions he had so laboriously formed, Baxter unhappily invoked the aid of arguments, which, however impressive in his own days, are answered in ours by a smile, if not by a sneer. The sneer, however, would be at once unmerited and unwise. When Hale was adjudging witches to death, and More preaching against their guilt, and Boyle investigating

the sources of their power, it is not surprising that Baxter availed himself of the evidence afforded by witchcraft and apparitions in proof of the existence of a world of spirits; and therefore in support of one of the fundamental tenets of revealed religion. Marvellous, however, it is, in running over his historical discourse on that subject, to find him giving so unhesitating an assent to the long list of extravagances and nursery tales which he has there brought together; unsupported as they almost all are by any proof that such facts occurred at all, or by any decorous pretext for referring them to preternatural agency. Simon Jones, a stout-hearted and able-bodied soldier, standing sentinel at Worcester, was driven away from his post by the appearance of something like a headless bear. A drunkard was warned against intemperance by the lifting up of his shoes by an invisible hand. One of the witches condemned by Hale threw a girl into fits. Mr Emlin, a by-stander, 'suddenly felt a force pull one of the hooks from his 'breeches, and, while he looked with wonder what was become of 'it, the tormented girl vomited it up out of her mouth.' At the house of Mr Beecham, there was a tobacco pipe which had the habit of 'moving itself from a shelf at one end of the room, to a 'shelf at the other end of the room.' When Mr Munn, the minister, went to witness the prodigy, the tobacco pipe remained stationary; but a great Bible made a spontaneous leap into his lap, and opened itself at a passage, on the hearing of which the evil spirit who had possessed the pipe was exorcised. 'This Mr 'Munn himself told me, when in the sickness year, 1665, I lived 'in Stockerson Hall. I have no reason to suspect the veracity 'of a sober man, a constant preacher, and a good scholar.' Baxter was credulous and incredulous for precisely the same reason. Possessing by long habit a mastery over his thoughts, such as few other men ever acquired, a single effort of the will was sufficient to exclude from his view whatever recollections he judged hostile to his immediate purpose. Every prejudice was at once banished when any debatable point was to be scrutinized; and, with equal facility, every reasonable doubt was exiled when his only object was to enforce or to illustrate a doctrine of the truth of which he was assured. The perfect submission of the will to the reason may belong to some higher state of being than ours. On mortal man that gift is not bestowed. In the best and the wisest, inclination will often grasp the reins by which she ought to be guided, and misdirect the judgment which she should obey. Happy they, who, like Baxter, have so disciplined the affections, as to disarm their temporary usurpation of all its more dangerous tendencies!

Controversies are ephemeral. Ethics, metaphysics, and poli-

tical philosophy are doomed to an early death, unless when born of genius and nurtured by intense and self-denying industry. Even the theologians of one age must, alas! too often disappear to make way for those of later times. But if there is an exception to the general decree which consigns man and his intellectual offspring to the same dull forgetfulness, it is in favour of such writings as those which fill the four folio volumes bearing the title of 'Baxter's Practical Works.' Their appearance in twenty-three smart octavos is nothing short of a profanation. Hew down the Pyramids into a range of streets, divide Niagara into a succession of water privileges, but let not the spirits of the mighty dead be thus evoked from their majestic shrines to animate the dwarfish structures of our bookselling generation. Deposit one of those grey folios on a resting-place equal to that venerable burden, then call up the patient and serious thoughts which its very aspect should inspire, and confess that, among the writings of uninspired men, there are none better fitted to awaken, to invigorate, to enlarge, or to console the mind, which can raise itself to such celestial colloquy. True, they abound in undistinguishable distinctions; the current of emotion, when flowing most freely, is but too often obstructed by metaphysical rocks and shallows, or diverted from its course into some dialectic winding; one while the argument is obscured by fervent expostulation; at another the passion is dried up by the analysis of the ten thousand springs of which it is compounded; here is a maze of subtleties to be unravelled, and there a crowd of the obscurely learned to be refuted; the unbroken solemnity may shed some gloom on the traveller's path, and the length of the way may now and then entice him to slumber. But where else can be found an exhibition, at once so vivid and so chaste, of the diseases of the human heart—a detection so fearfully exact, of the sophistries of which we are first the voluntary and then the unconscious victims—a light thrown with such intensity on the madness and the woe of every departure from the rules of virtue—a development of those rules so comprehensive and so elevated—counsels more shrewd or more persuasive—or a proclamation more consolatory of the resources provided by Christianity for escaping the dangers by which we are surrounded—of the eternal rewards she promises—or of the temporal blessings she imparts, as an earnest and a foretaste of them? *'Largior hic campis æther.'* Charles, and Laud, and Cromwell, are forgotten. We have no more to do with anti-pedobaptism or prelacy. L'Estrange and Morley disturb not this higher region; but man and his noblest pursuits—Deity, in the highest conceptions of his attributes which can be extracted from the

poor materials of human thought—the world we inhabit divested of the illusions which ensnare us—the world to which we look forward bright with the choicest colours of hope—the glorious witnesses, and the Divine Guide and Supporter of our conflict—throng, animate, and inform every crowded page. In this boundless repository, the intimations of inspired wisdom are pursued into all their bearings on the various conditions and exigencies of life, with a fertility which would inundate and overpower the most retentive mind, had it not been balanced by a method and a discrimination even painfully elaborate. Through the vast accumulation of topics, admonitions, and enquiries, the love of truth is universally conspicuous. To every precept is appended the limitations it seems to demand. No difficulty is evaded. Dogmatism is never permitted to usurp the province of argument. Each equivocal term is curiously defined, and each plausible doubt narrowly examined. Not content to explain the results he has reached, he exhibits the process by which they were excogitated, and lays open all the secrets of his mental laboratory. And a wondrous spectacle it is. Calling to his aid an extent of theological and scholastic lore sufficient to equip a whole college of divines, and moving beneath the load with unencumbered freedom, he expatiates and rejoices in all the intricacies of his way—now plunging into the deepest thickets of casuistic and psychological speculation—and then emerging from them to resume his chosen task of probing the conscience, by remonstrances from which there is no escape—or of quickening the sluggish feelings by strains of exalted devotion.

That expostulations and arguments of which almost all admit the justice, and the truth of which none can disprove, should fall so ineffectually on the ear, and so seldom reach the heart, is a phenomenon worthy of more than a passing notice, and meriting an enquiry of greater exactness than it usually receives, even from those who profess the art of healing our spiritual maladies. To resolve it 'into the corruption of human nature,' is but to change the formula in which the difficulty is proposed. To affirm that a corrupt nature always gives an undue preponderance to the present above the future, is untrue in fact; for some of our worst passions—avarice, for example, revenge, ambition, and the like—chiefly manifest their power in the utter disregard of immediate privations and sufferings, with a view to a supposed remote advantage. To represent the world as generally incredulous as to the reality of a retributive state, is to contradict universal experience, which shows how firmly that persuasion is incorporated with the language, habits, and thoughts of mankind; —manifesting itself most distinctly in those great exigencies of life,

when disguise is the least practicable. To refer to an external spiritual agency, determining the will to a wise or a foolish choice, is only to reproduce the original question in another form—what is that structure or mechanism of the human mind by means of which such influences operate to control or guide our volitions? The best we can throw out as an answer to the problem is, that the constitution of our frames, partly sensitive and partly rational, and, corresponding with this, the condition of our sublunary existence, pressed by animal as well as by spiritual wants, condemns us to a constant oscillation between the sensual and the divine, between the propensities which we share with the brute creation, and the aspirations which connect us with the author of our being. The rational soul contemplates means only in reference to their ends; whilst the sensuous nature reposes in means alone, and looks no further. Imagination, alternately the ally of each, most readily lends her powerful aid to the ignobler party. Her golden hues are more easily employed to exalt and refine the grossness of appetite, than to impart brilliancy and allurement to objects brought within the sphere of human vision by the exercise of faith and hope. Her draperies are adjusted with greater facility, to clothe the nakedness and to conceal the shame of those things with which she is most conversant; than to embellish the forms, and add grace to the proportions of things obscurely disclosed at few and transient intervals. It is with this formidable alliance of sense and imagination that religion has to contend. Her aim is to win over to her side that all-powerful mental faculty which usually takes part with her antagonist, and thus to shed over every step in life the colours borrowed from its ultimate as contrasted with its immediate tendency;—to teach us to regard the pleasures and the pains of our mortal state in the light in which we shall view them in our immortal existence; to make things hateful or lovely now, according as they impede or promote our welfare hereafter. He is a religious, or in the appropriate language of theology, a 'regenerate' man, who, trained to this discipline, habitually transfers to the means he employs the aversion or the dislike due to the end he contemplates; who discerns and lothes the poison in the otherwise tempting cup of unhallowed indulgence, and perceives and loves the medicinal balm in the otherwise bitter draught of hardy self-denial. Good Richard Baxter erected his four folio volumes as a dam with which to stay this confluent flood of sense and imagination, and to turn aside the waters into a more peaceful and salutary channel. When their force is correctly estimated, it is more reasonable to wonder that he and his fellow-labourers have succeeded so well, than that their success has been no greater.

On his style as an author, Baxter himself is the best critic. 'The commonness and the greatness of men's necessity,' he says, 'commanded me to do any thing that I could for their relief, and 'to bring forth some water to cast upon this fire, though I had not 'at hand a silver vessel to carry it in, nor thought it the most 'fit. The plainest words are the most profitable oratory in the 'weightiest matters. Fineness for ornament, and delicacy for 'delight; but they answer not necessity, though sometimes they 'may modestly attend that which answers it.' He wrote to give utterance to a full mind and a teeming spirit. Probably he never consumed forty minutes in as many years in the mere selection and adjustment of words. So to have employed his time, would in his judgment have been a sinful waste of that precious gift. 'I thought to have acquainted the world with nothing but 'what was the work of time and diligence, but my conscience 'soon told me that there was too much of pride and selfishness 'in this, and that humility and self-denial required me to lay 'by the affectation of that style, and spare that industry which 'tended but to advance my name with men, when it hin-'dered the main work and crossed my end.' Such is his own account; and, had he consulted Quinctilian, he could have found no better precept for writing well than that which his conscience gave him for writing usefully. First of all the requisites for excelling in the art of composition, as one of the greatest masters of that art in modern times, Sir Walter Scott, informs us, is 'to have 'something to say.' When there are thoughts that burn, there never will be wanting words that breathe. Baxter's language is plain and perspicuous when his object is merely to inform; copious and flowing when he exhorts; and when he yields to the current of his feelings, it becomes redundant and impassioned, and occasionally picturesque and graphic. There are innumerable passages of the most touching pathos and unconscious eloquence, but not a single sentence written for effect. His chief merit as an artist is, that he is perfectly artless; and that he employs a style of great compass and flexibility, in such a manner as to demonstrate that he never thought about it, and as to prevent the reader, so long at least as he is reading, from thinking about it either.

The canons of criticism, which the great Nonconformist drew from his conscience, are, however, sadly inapplicable to verse. Mr James Montgomery has given his high suffrage in favour of Baxter's poetical powers, and justifies his praise by a few passages selected from the rest with equal tenderness and discretion. It is impossible to subscribe to this heresy even in deference to such an authority; or to resist the suspicion that

the piety of the critic has played false with his judgment. Nothing short of an actual and plenary inspiration will enable any man who composes as rapidly as he writes, to give meet utterance to those ultimate secretions of the deepest thoughts and the purest feelings in which the essence of poetry consists. Baxter's verses, which however are not very numerous, would be decidedly improved by being shorn of their rhyme and rhythm, in which state they would look like very devout and judicious prose, as they really are.

Every man must and will have some relief from his more severe pursuits. His faithful pen attended Baxter in his pastime as in his studies; and produced an autobiography, which appeared after his death in a large folio volume. Calamy desired to throw these posthumous sheets into the editorial crucible, and to reproduce them in the form of a corrected and well-arranged abridgement. Mr Orme laments the obstinacy of the author's literary executor, which forbad the execution of this design. Few who know the book will agree with him. A strange chaos indeed it is. But Grainger has well said of the writer, that 'men 'of his size are not to be drawn in miniature.' Large as life, and finished to the most minute detail, his own portrait, from his own hand, exhibits to the curious in such things a delineation, of which they would not willingly spare a single stroke, and which would have lost all its force and freedom if reduced and varnished by any other limner, however practised, or however felicitous. There he stands, an intellectual giant as he was, playing with his quill as Hercules with the distaff, his very sport a labour, under which any one but himself would have staggered. Towards the close of the first book occurs a passage, which, though often republished, and familiar to most students of English literature, must yet be noticed as the most impressive record in our own language, if not in any tongue, of the gradual ripening of a powerful mind under the culture of incessant study, wide experience, and anxious self-observation. Mental anatomy, conducted by a hand at once so delicate and so firm, and comparisons, so exquisitely just, between the impressions and impulses of youth and the tranquil conclusions of old age, bring his career of strife and trouble to a close of unexpected and welcome serenity. In the full maturity of such knowledge as is to be acquired on earth, of the mysteries of our mortal and of our immortal existence, the old man returns at last for repose to the elementary truths, the simple lessons, and the confiding affections of his childhood; and writes an unintended commentary, of unrivalled force and beauty, on the inspired declaration, that to become as little children is the

indispensable, though arduous condition of attaining to true heavenly wisdom.

To substitute for this self-portraiture, any other analysis of Baxter's intellectual and moral character would indeed be a vain attempt. If there be any defect or error of which he was unconscious, and which he therefore has not avowed, it was the combination of an undue reliance on his own powers of investigating truth, with an undue distrust in the result of his enquiries. He proposed to himself, and executed, the task of exploring the whole circle of the moral sciences, logic, ethics, divinity, politics, and metaphysics, and this toil he accomplished amidst public employments of ceaseless importunity, and bodily pains almost unintermitted. Intemperance never assumed a more venial form; but that this insatiate thirst for knowledge was indulged to a faulty excess, no reader of his life, or of his works, can doubt. In one of his most remarkable treatises 'On Falsely Pretended Knowledge,' the dangerous result of indulging this omnivorous appetite is peculiarly remarkable. Probabilities, the only objects of such studies, will at length become evanescent, or scarcely perceptible, when he who holds the scales refuses to adjust the balance, until satisfied that he has laden each with every suggestion and every argument which can be derived from every author who has preceded him in the same enquiries. Yet more hopeless is the search for truth, when this adjustment, once made, is again to be verified as often as any new speculations are discovered; and when the very faculty of human understanding, and the laws of reasoning, are themselves to be questioned and examined anew as frequently as doubts can be raised of their adaptation to their appointed ends. Busied with this immense apparatus, and applying it to this boundless field of enquiry, Baxter would have been bewildered by his own efforts, and lost in the mazes of an universal scepticism, but for the ardent piety which possessed his soul, and the ever recurring expectation of approaching death, which dissipated his ontological dreams, and roused him to the active duties, and the instant realities of life. Even as it is, he has left behind him much, which, in direct opposition to his own purposes, might cherish the belief that human existence was some strange chimera, and human knowledge an illusion, did it not fortunately happen that he is tedious in proportion as he is mystical. Had he possessed and employed the wit and gaiety of Boyle, there are some of his writings to which a place must have been assigned in the *Index Expurgatorius* of Protestantism.

Amongst his contemporaries, Baxter appears to have been the object of general reverence, and of as general unpopularity. His temper was austere and irritable, his address ungracious and un-

couth. While cordially admitting the merits of each rival sect, he concurred with none, but was the common censor and opponent of all. His own opinions on church government coincided with the later judgment, or, as it should be rather said, with the concessions of Archbishop Usher. They adjusted the whole of that interminable dispute to their mutual satisfaction at a conference which did not last above half an hour; for each of them was too devoutly intent on the great objects of Christianity to differ with each other very widely as to mere ritual observances. The contentions by which our forefathers were agitated on these subjects, have now happily subsided into a speculative and comparatively uninteresting debate. They produced their best, and perhaps their only desirable result, in diffusing through the Church, and amongst the people of England, an indestructible conviction of the folly of attempting to coerce the human mind into a servitude to any system or profession of belief; or of endeavouring to produce amongst men any real uniformity of opinion on subjects beyond the cognisance of the bodily senses, and of daily observation. They have taught us all to acknowledge in practice, though some may yet deny in theory, that as long as men are permitted to avow the truth, the inherent diversities of their understandings, and of their circumstances, must impel them to the acknowledgment of corresponding variations of judgment, on all questions which touch the mysteries of the present or of the future life. If no man laboured more, or with less success, to induce mankind to think alike on these topics, no one ever exerted himself more zealously, or more effectually, than did Richard Baxter, both by his life and his writings, to divert the world from those petty disputes which falsely assume the garb of religious zeal, to those eternal and momentous truths, in the knowledge, the love, and the practice of which, the essence of religion consists.

One word respecting the edition of his works, to which we referred in the outset. For the reason already mentioned, we have stuck to our long-revered folios, without reading so much as a page of their diminutive representatives, and can therefore report nothing about them. But after diligently and repeatedly reading the two introductory volumes by Mr Orme, we rejoice in the opportunity of bearing testimony to the merits of a learned, modest, and laborious writer, who is now, however, beyond the reach of human praise or censure. He has done every thing for Baxter's memory which could be accomplished by a skilful abridgement of his autobiography, and a careful analysis of the theological library of which he was the author; aided by an acquaintance with the theological literature of the seventeenth century,

such as no man but himself has exhibited, and which it may safely be conjectured no other man possesses. Had Mr Orme been a member of the Established Church, and had he chosen a topic more in harmony with the studies of that learned body, his literary abilities would have been far more correctly estimated, and more widely celebrated. We fear that they who dissent from her communion, and who are therefore excluded from her universities and her literary circles, are not to expect for their writings the same toleration which is so firmly secured for their persons and their ministry. Let them not, however, be dejected. Let them take for examples those whom they have selected as teachers; and learning from Richard Baxter to live and to write, they will either achieve his celebrity, or will be content, as he was, to labour without any other recompense than the tranquillity of his own conscience, the love of the people among whom he dwelt, and the approbation of the Master to whom every hour of his life, and every page of his books were alike devoted.

ART. VIII.—*A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language; with a Preface on the Origin and Connexion of the Germanic Tongues, a Map of Languages, and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By Rev. T. BOSWORTH, LL. D. 8vo. London: 1838.

THIS work will be highly acceptable to Anglo-Saxon scholars; nor are these the only persons to whom it is likely to prove of value. There are, or at all events soon will be many, by no means ambitious of achieving the fame of profound Anglo-Saxon scholarship, to whose library a Saxon and English Lexicon of moderate size and reasonable price will be a welcome addition. As this may appear a somewhat paradoxical opinion, we crave leave to offer our reasons in support of it, before we proceed to estimate the merits of Dr Bosworth's Dictionary, as compared with any previous work of a similar kind.

Profound Anglo-Saxon scholarship, has ever been, and in all probability ever will be, a very rare commodity in the market of letters. Indeed, a profound knowledge of *any* dead language will always be a rarity, if it can reward our industry only by a literature so scanty and so rude as that of the Anglo-Saxons; and it may therefore seem, at first sight, as unreasonable to expect any considerable patronage for a work like the present, as for a Dictionary of some dialect of Kamschatka or Madagascar.

Still, if we mistake not, the day is not far distant when it will be considered disgraceful to a well-bred Englishman—utterly disgraceful to a man who makes the slightest pretensions to scholarship—to be ignorant, as multitudes (otherwise well informed) now are of the history and structure of the English tongue; and above all, of the precise relations of modern English to that ancient dialect of the great Teutonic family, which has ever been, and still is, incomparably the most important element in its composition.*

Now, a competent knowledge of these subjects, though something very different from extensive Anglo-Saxon scholarship, and though attained with comparatively little trouble, must necesarily involve some attention to the ancient language. Of the extent to which the Anglo-Saxon modifies the structure and grammatical peculiarities of modern English, and in which it contributes to its vocabulary, those who have paid no attention to the subject are little aware. Nor, indeed, has the subject ever been treated with the fulness it deserves. We shall make no apology, therefore, for the following attempt to determine with some approach to precision, the proportions in which the different elements of our language are mingled; and especially the degree in which the Anglo-Saxon predominates over the rest.

We must premise, that when we speak of English words derived from Anglo-Saxon or Latin, or any other language, we mean *immediately* derived. We make this remark because there are many words derived, historically speaking, from the Anglo-Saxon, which, from their strong resemblance to words of the same meaning in the Latin, might be supposed to have had a classical origin. We are far enough from denying—what the researches of modern philology have clearly proved—that there is a close connexion amongst all those languages out of which our own has been formed; that is, between the classical and Teutonic: nay, that the still subsisting resemblances amongst languages far more dissimilar than these, justify us in believing that they all had a common origin. If this be the case, it is by no means surprising that there should often be a strong resemblance between words, where there has been no derivation of the one from the other. Two branches of a tree may be perfectly independent of one another, though both must ultimately come from a common root; and there are other ties of consanguinity besides that be-

* We are glad to perceive that the University of London includes amongst the subjects of the Matriculation Examination,—'The grammatical structure and peculiarities of the English Language.'

tween parent and child. Where there is a strong family likeness between two individuals, we may infer connexion of some kind; but if they are of the same age, no one suspects them to be father and son. This seems to us a sufficient account of those resemblances between Latin and the Teutonic languages, which induced Mr Gilchrist to form his extravagant hypothesis as to the immediate derivation of the latter languages from the Latin. The resemblances in question are far too limited and partial to justify such a supposition; while they are just as extensive as might be expected on the supposition that all languages had a common origin. Horne Tooke has committed an error of precisely the same kind, in deducing many of our particles immediately from nouns and verbs in the Anglo-Saxon; that is, he has assumed resemblance in form and meaning, as a sufficient ground for inferring derivation. He has too often conducted his reasoning as though the Anglo-Saxon were an underived language, instead of regarding it (like every other which now exists, or of which history affords us any trace), as formed of the materials of a yet older language, wrought into a new form and assuming a new development. Thus, for example, he deduces the preposition *from*, from the Anglo-Saxon noun '*frum*,' 'beginning.' Assuming that his account of the meaning of the preposition is correct, which we think very likely, it is surely improbable that the one word was derived immediately from the other; since we find the word *fram* a preposition (as nearly as possible like our word) in the Anglo-Saxon throughout the whole period of its history. As far as we know, it is as old as *frum*. Does it not seem, therefore, probable, that both words have come down to us from a remoter age, and a more ancient dialect—from a root of a similar meaning to that of both words? They may very probably have had the same pedigree—perhaps the same parentage—but can hardly be parent and offspring.

We refer, then, all such words to the Anglo-Saxon, as have been immediately derived from it, whatever their resemblance to Latin words; and all such words to the Latin as have been immediately derived from it, whatever their resemblance to Anglo-Saxon words, which became obsolete when that language was converted into English.

The bulk of the English language is derived from Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Greek, and French. Of these languages the Anglo-Saxon holds by far the most important place, whether we regard the mere number of its contributions—a most fallacious criterion in estimating the value of any element of a compound language—or, (which is a sounder one,) the *sorts* of words with which it has furnished us. It is very possible that, in a com-

pound language like ours, the element which is the least important in weight and bulk, may exert the most powerful influence;—tending more than any other, to determine its character and to impart to it its vigour—entering into all its most idiomatic constructions, forming a part of the most familiar and frequently recurring forms of speech, and serving to express all the most ordinary thoughts and feelings.

The English language consists of about thirty-eight thousand words. This includes, of course, not only radical words, but all derivatives, except the preterites and participles of verbs; to which must be added some few terms which, though set down in the dictionaries, are either obsolete or have never ceased to be considered foreign. Of these, about twenty-three thousand, or nearly five-eighths, are of Anglo-Saxon origin. The majority of the rest, in what proportions we cannot say, are Latin and Greek; Latin, however, has the larger share.

Assuming that this calculation is accurate, for which we will not vouch, or that it approximates to accuracy, which we are quite ready to affirm, it will be seen that the Anglo-Saxon, even if we look at the mere number of words it has contributed, is our principal source of strength. Nay, were we to found our calculations upon the passages which Sharon Turner has adduced from a series of our most popular writers, and in which he has discriminated, by italics, the words of Anglo-Saxon from those of foreign origin, we should infer a much greater preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon element. Mr Turner has not set down in figures the numbers of the two classes of words contained in any of these passages. Sir James Mackintosh analysed three or four of them. We shall now give an analysis of the whole. The passages in question are from the Bible, Shakspeare, Milton, Cowley, Thomson, Addison, Spenser, Locke, Pope, Young, Swift, Robertson, Hume, Gibbon and Johnson. In five verses out of Genesis, containing one hundred and thirty words, there are only five not Saxon. In as many verses out of the Gospel of St John, containing seventy-four words, there are only two not Saxon. Of the remaining passages, that from Shakspeare contains eighty-one words; of these, the words not Saxon, are thirteen; that from Milton, ninety; not Saxon, sixteen; that from Cowley, seventy-six; not Saxon, ten; that from Thomson seventy-eight; not Saxon, fourteen; that from Addison seventy-nine; not Saxon, fifteen; that from Spenser seventy-two; not Saxon, fourteen; that from Locke ninety-four; not Saxon, twenty; that from Pope eighty-four; not Saxon, twenty-eight; that from Young ninety-six; not Saxon, twenty-one; that from Swift eighty-seven; in which nine only are not Saxon; that from Ro-

bertson one hundred and fourteen; not Saxon, thirty-four; that from Hume one hundred and one; not Saxon, thirty-eight, that from Gibbon eighty; not Saxon, thirty-one; that from Johnson eighty-seven; not Saxon, twenty-one. In none of these passages is the number of foreign words greater than one-third; in many of them less than one-tenth. In all, there are fourteen hundred and ninety-two words, of which only two hundred and ninety-six are not Saxon. If we were to take this as a criterion, the Saxon would constitute about four-fifths of the language, instead of five-eighths—or about thirty-two fortieths, instead of twenty-five fortieths. But if we are considering the mere *number* of words derived from the Anglo-Saxon, as compared with those derived from other sources, without any reference whatever to the relative value of the words, the criterion is by no means a fair one. For there are of course many words—such as the articles, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, &c.—which must necessarily occur much oftener than others; and are, therefore, met with three or four times over in the same passage. It is true, indeed, that if, dismissing the question of numbers, we consider simply the position these words occupy in the language, and that if they are repeated frequently it is only because we cannot help it; then, though their being counted over two or three times, gives us an exaggerated estimate of the *number* of Anglo-Saxon words, that very exaggeration is far from adequately expressing the extent to which that portion of the language prevails.

Restricting ourselves, however, for the present to the mere question of *numbers*, any statement as to the degree in which the Anglo-Saxon predominates, grounded on a collation of passages cited from any number of writers, can be at best only an approximation to the truth; not only for the reasons already assigned, but from the great differences in the habits and education of authors, as well as from the very nature of the subjects treated. There are some topics, those, for example, more particularly connected with abstract science, in which comparatively little Anglo-Saxon can be employed, while there are others in which we could scarcely employ any thing else. The calculations in question, however, afford a fair criterion of the proportion in which the different elements of the language are found in the writings of our best authors; and perhaps it may be stated as a general truth, that in our most idiomatic writers, there is about one-tenth of the words *not* Anglo-Saxon; in our least, about one-third.

We are inclined to think that the statement we have given of the *number* of Anglo-Saxon words in the language is not very erroneous, from the following circumstances:—Mr Turner tells us that of the Anglo-Saxon, as written in the time of Alfred, about

a fifth has become obsolete. If we are to include in the portion retained, all derivatives, however altered in form or modified in meaning, we think this statement is quite correct.

Now, in Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Lexicon, there are from twenty-five thousand to twenty-eight thousand words, counting, of course, compound words as well as roots. Though this work may not contain all the words which a more careful collation of the MSS. still lying in our Public Libraries might be expected to disclose, it must contain nearly all. Supposing one-fifth of these obsolete, there would remain nearly the numbers already stated. So much for the question of numbers.

If we look not merely at the number of the words which the Anglo-Saxon has contributed to the English, but to the *kinds* of words, as well as to the share it has had in its formation and developement, we shall at once see that there is no comparison between the importance of this, and that of any other element.

In the first place, English grammar is almost exclusively occupied with what is of Anglo-Saxon origin. Our chief peculiarities of structure and of idiom, are essentially Anglo-Saxon; while almost all the *classes* of words, which it is the office of grammar to investigate, are derived from that language. And though these peculiarities of structure may occupy little space, and these words be very few compared with those to be found in Johnson's Dictionary, they enter most vitally into the constitution of the language, and bear a most important part in shaping and determining its character. Thus, what few inflections we have, are all Anglo-Saxon. The English genitive, the general modes of forming the plural of nouns, and the terminations by which we express the comparative and superlative of adjectives, *er* and *est;* the inflections of the pronouns; of the second and third persons, present and imperfect, of the verbs; of the preterites and participles of the verbs, whether regular or irregular, and the most frequent termination of our adverbs (*ly*) are all Anglo-Saxon. The nouns, too, derived from Latin and Greek, receive the Anglo-Saxon terminations of the genitive and the plural, while the preterites and participles of verbs derived from the same sources, take the Anglo-Saxon inflections. As to the parts of speech—those which occur most frequently and are individually of most importance, are almost wholly Saxon. Such are our articles and definitives generally: as *a, an, the, this, that, these, those, many, few, some, one, none;* the adjectives, whose comparatives and superlatives are irregularly formed, and which (for reasons on which it would be irrelevant to speculate here) are in every language amongst the most ancient, comprehensive in meaning, and extensively used; the separate words *more* and

most, by which we as often express the forms of comparison as by distinct terminations; all our pronouns, personal, possessive, relative, and interrogative; nearly every one of our so-called irregular verbs, including all the auxiliaries, *have*, *be*, *shall*, *will*, *may*, *can*, *must*, by which we express the force of the principal varieties of mood and tense; all the adverbs most frequently employed, and the prepositions and conjunctions almost without exception.

Secondly. The names of the greater part of the objects of sense, in other words, the terms which occur most frequently in discourse, or which recall the most vivid conceptions, are Anglo-Saxon. Thus, for example, the names of the most striking objects in visible nature, of the chief agencies at work there, and of the changes which pass over it, are Anglo-Saxon. This language has given names to the heavenly bodies, *sun*, *moon*, *stars*; to three out of the four elements, *earth*, *fire*, *water*; three out of the four seasons, *spring*, *summer*, *winter*; and indeed to all the natural divisions of time except one; as *day*, *night*, *morning*, *evening*, *twilight*, *noon*, *midday*, *midnight*, *sunrise*, *sunset*; some of which are amongst the most poetical terms we have. To the same language we are indebted for the names of *light*, *heat*, *cold*, *frost*, *rain*, *snow*, *hail*, *sleet*, *thunder*, *lightning*; as well as of almost all those objects which form the component parts of the beautiful in external scenery, as *sea* and *land*, *hill* and *dale*, *wood* and *stream*, &c. The same may be said of all those productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms which form the most frequent subjects of observation or discourse, or which are invested with the most pleasing and poetic associations; of the constituent parts or visible qualities of organized or unorganized beings, especially of the members of the human body, and of the larger animals. Anglo-Saxon has also furnished us with that numerous and always vivid class of words which denote the cries, postures, and motions of animated existence. These are amongst the most energetic that any language can supply; for the same reason that words expressive of individual objects are always stronger than general terms. It is a sound and universal maxim of rhetoric, that the more abstract the term is, the less vivid—the more special, the more vivid. Now, almost all the words which are expressive of these specialities of posture and bodily action are the purest Saxon; such as—*to sit*, *to stand*, *to lie*, *to run*, *to walk*, *to leap*, *to stagger*, *to slip*, *to slide*, *to stride*, *to glide*, *to yawn*, *to gape*, *to wink*, *to thrust*, *to fly*, *to swim*, *to creep*, *to crawl*, *to spring*, *to spurn*, &c. If all this be true, we need not be surprised at the fact, that in the descriptions of external nature, whether by prose writers or by poets, the most

energetic and graphic terms are almost universally Anglo-Saxon. It is as little matter of wonder, that in those simple narratives, in which genius and wisdom attempt the most difficult of all tasks —that of teaching philosophy without the forms of it, and of exhibiting general truths in facts and examples, leaving the inferences to be drawn by the instinctive sagacity of human nature —the terms are often almost without exception Anglo-Saxon. It is thus with the narratives of the Old Testament—the history of Joseph for instance—and with the parables of the New; perhaps the only compositions in the world which can be translated without losing much in the process, and which, into whatever language translated, at once assume a most idiomatic dress. The same remark holds good to a certain extent of 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' 'Gulliver's Travels,' and other works, in which the bulk of the words are pure Saxon.

Thirdly, It is from this language we derive the words which are expressive of the earliest and dearest connexions, and the strongest and most powerful feelings of our nature; and which are consequently invested with our oldest and most complicated associations. Their very sound is often a spell for the orator and the poet to 'conjure withal.' It is this language which has given us names for *father*, *mother*, *husband*, *wife*, *brother*, *sister*, *son*, *daughter*, *child*, *home*, *kindred*, *friends*. It is this which has furnished us with the greater part of those metonymies, and other figurative expressions, by which we represent to the imagination, and that in a single word, the reciprocal duties and enjoyments of hospitality, friendship, or love. Such are *hearth*, *roof*, *fireside*. The chief emotions, too, of which we are susceptible, are expressed in the same language, as *love*, *hope*, *fear*, *sorrow*, *shame*; and what is of more consequence to the orator and the poet, as well as in common life, the outward signs by which emotion is indicated are almost all Anglo-Saxon; such are *tear*, *smile*, *blush*, *to laugh*, *to weep*, *to sigh*, *to groan*. In short, the words generally expressive of the strongest emotions or their outward signs, as well as of almost all the objects and events calculated to call forth either, in all the most stirring scenes of human life from the cradle to the grave, are of Saxon origin. This class of words, therefore, both from the frequency with which they are used, and from the depth of meaning attached to them, must necessarily form one of the most important and energetic portions of the language.

Fourthly, The words which have been *earliest* used, and which are consequently invested with the strongest associations, are almost all of a similar origin. This, indeed, follows from what has been already said; for if the words descriptive of the most ordi-

nary objects of sense, and of the principal varieties and signs of emotion, are Anglo-Saxon, such, from the course of development which the human mind takes, must necessarily be the terms which first fall upon the ear of childhood. Still, the fact that they *are* the earliest gives them additional power over the mind —a power quite independent of the meaning they convey. They are the words which fell from the lips most dear to us, and carry back the mind to the home of childhood and to the sports of youth. That vocabulary was scanty; but every word, from the earliest moment to which memory can turn back, has been the established sign of whatever has been most familiar or most precious to us.

Fifthly, Most of those objects about which the practical reason of man is employed in common life, receive their names from the Anglo-Saxon. It is the language for the most part of business; of the counting-house, the shop, the market, the street, the farm; and however miserable the man who is fond of philosophy or abstract science might be, if he had no other vocabulary but this, we must recollect that language was made not for the few but the many, and that that portion of it which enables the bulk of a nation to express their wants and transact their affairs, must be considered of at least as much importance to general happiness as that which serves the purposes of philosophical science.

Sixthly, Nearly all our national proverbs, in which it is truly said so much of the practical wisdom of a nation resides, and which constitute the manual and *vade-mecum* of 'hobnailed' philosophy, are almost wholly Anglo-Saxon.

Seventhly, A very large proportion (and that always the strongest) of the language of invective, humour, satire, and colloquial pleasantry, is Anglo-Saxon. As to invective, the language of passion is always very ancient; for men were angry and out of temper long before they were philosophers, or even merchants. The vocabulary of abuse amongst most nations is not only very copious, but always singularly hearty and idiomatic. Almost all the terms and phrases by which we most energetically express anger, contempt, and indignation, are of Anglo-Saxon origin. Nearly all the obnoxious words and phrases which cause duels and sudden pugilistic contests, are from this language; and a very large proportion of the prosecutions for 'assault and bat-'tery' ought in all fairness to be charged on the inconvenient strength of the vernacular. The Latin, we apprehend, much to its credit, is very rarely implicated in these unpleasant broils; although it often has a sly way of insinuating the very same things without giving such deadly offence. Again; in giving expression to invective, we naturally seek the most energetic

terms we can employ. These, as already said, are those which are most special in their meaning, and the bulk of such words are Anglo-Saxon, particularly those which denote the outward modes of action, and the personal peculiarities, indicative of the qualities which serve either to excite or express our contempt and indignation. Once more; the passions often seek a more energetic expression in metaphors and other tropes; but then such figures are always sought (and necessarily, considering the purpose,) in mean and vulgar objects; and the majority of the terms which denote such objects are Anglo-Saxon. The dialect of the scullery and the kitchen alone furnish our newspaper writers with a large portion of their figurative vituperation; and it is hard to say what they would do without 'scum,' 'dregs,' 'offscouring,' 'filth,' and the thousand other varieties supplied from such sources. Similar observations apply to the language of satire and humour. The little weaknesses, the foibles, the petty vices, the meannesses, the ludicrous peculiarities of character, with which these are chiefly concerned, as well as the modes of speech, dress, action, habit, &c., by which such peculiarities are externally indicated, are for the most part Anglo-Saxon. Here, too, as in giving expression to invective, the speaker or writer is anxious, for the sake of energy, to secure the utmost speciality of terms; while the metaphors and other forms of figurative expression, to which he is prompted by the very same reasons, are necessarily drawn from the most familiar, ordinary, and often vulgar objects. As to the language of familiar dialogue and colloquial pleasantry, we know it is always in a high degree idiomatic, both in the terms and phrases employed, and in the construction; and this is a principal reason why the comic drama in every language (and we may say the same of satire) is so difcult to a foreigner.

Lastly, it may be stated as a general truth, that while our most abstract and general terms are derived from the Latin, those which denote the special varieties of objects, qualities, and modes of action, are derived from the Anglo-Saxon. Thus *move* and *motion* are very general terms, and of Latin origin; but all those terms for expressing nice varieties of bodily motion, enumerated some time since, as well as ten times the number which might be added to them, are Anglo-Saxon. *Sound* is perhaps Latin, though it may also be Anglo-Saxon; but *to buzz, to hum, to clash, to hiss, to rattle*, and innumerable others, are Anglo-Saxon. *Colour* is Latin; but *white, black, green, yellow, blue, red, brown*, are Anglo-Saxon. *Crime* is Latin; but *murder, theft, robbery—to lie, to steal*, are Anglo-Saxon; *member* and *organ*, as applied to the body, are Latin and Greek; but *ear, eye, hand,*

foot, lip, mouth, teeth, hair, finger, nostril, are Anglo-Saxon. *Animal* is Latin; but *man, cow, sheep, calf, cat,* are Anglo-Saxon. *Number* is immediately French, remotely Latin; but all our cardinal and ordinal numbers, as far as a *million*, are Anglo-Saxon; and that would have been so too, if it had ever entered the heads of our barbarous ancestors to form a conception of such a number.

We are far from saying that, under all these heads, there are not many exceptions to the rule. As to the last, for example, there are a great number of words of foreign origin which are most special in their meaning and use, and a great many of Anglo-Saxon origin which are very general. All we mean is, that amongst the aforesaid classes of words, we shall generally find that the greater number, and all that are most energetic or most frequently employed, are Anglo-Saxon.

If this be the case, it is no wonder that the orator and the poet should be recommended to cultivate assiduously the Anglo-Saxon portion of the language. This is generally recommended solely for the sake of perspicuity. 'The common people,' it is said, 'cannot understand a large portion of the words which are of classical 'origin.' And this no doubt is, to a certain extent, a good reason for the advice. But it is not the only or the chief reason: nor would it always be sound if the only one. The readers of poetry, for instance, would in general as well understand a very Latinistic as a very idiomatic diction. The chief reasons, therefore, are to be sought deeper. And if the preceding observations are correct, they at once disclose themselves. The great object of the orator and the poet is not merely to make their meaning understood, but felt;—to stimulate the imagination, and thence excite emotion. They therefore seek the most special terms they can find. Again, the terms which, *cæteris paribus*, most vividly recall the objects or feelings they represent, are those which have been earliest, longest, and most frequently used, which are consequently covered with the strongest associations; the sign and the thing signified having become so inseparably blended, that the one is never suggested without the other. By that same magic of association by which we diffuse over external objects, once perhaps wholly indifferent to us, that emotion of beauty which properly resides only in the mind, arbitrary sounds become capable, by a long-established and intimate connexion, (we had almost said identity,) with the thoughts they convey, of rousing the strongest and liveliest feeling. And thus it is, that of two synonymes derived respectively from Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, both equally well understood, the one shall impart the most vivid, and the other the most frigid conception of the meaning. It is for precisely th

same reasons that the feelings with which we read beautiful passages in foreign poets are so faint and languid, compared with those which are excited by parallel passages in Shakspeare or Milton: this at all events is the case unless the language be exceedingly familiar to us, and is invested moreover with certain adventitious sources of interest. We may perfectly understand the meaning of all the terms in both cases, but the degree of vividness in the impression is by no means the same. The difference is as that between the winter's and the summer's sun. The light of the former may be as clear and dazzling as that of the latter, but the genial warmth is gone.

That portion of the language which we have derived from Latin and Greek (more especially from the former), is very large; and fulfils purposes for which the Anglo-Saxon elements of the language, as they at present exist, would by no means suffice. The Anglo-Saxon, indeed, as it was spoken by our Saxon ancestors, was not only copious in relation to the wants of those who used it; but, like the modern German, possessed in its system of inflections and terminations, and the ease with which it formed new compounds from its then perfectly homogeneous elements, a power of expansion and self-development fully equal to all the demands of advancing knowledge and science. But when the Anglo-Saxon became English, partly from the great change in its grammatical structure and its consequent loss of inflections—partly from the admixture (though this was slight) of foreign words—this power was in a great degree lost.

How it is that a language, the mass of whose roots remain the same, should, under such circumstances, undergo a change of grammatical structure, has never been very satisfactorily investigated. It is generally found that a conquered nation, unless, like the British, extirpated or expelled from the country, succeed in fastening their language upon their victors. It is with nations as with *shrews*, it is more easy to fetter their hands than their tongues; and what Cæsar said of himself is true of all conquerors, that absolute as may be their power, they cannot make or unmake a single word. The grammatical structure, however, is always changed in this transition. Nor does this change seem unnatural. In the intercourse which must take place between the conquerors and the conquered, the former, both from indolence and contempt of their bondsmen, would learn as little as possible —that is, they would content themselves if they could make themselves *understood;* they would acquire the vocabulary and disregard the grammar. The complicated inflections and variable terminations—those refined expedients of a perfectly formed and homogeneous language, would be naturally neglected. Con-

venience would dictate the same course to the vanquished, in holding intercourse with their conquerors. As the object would be to be understood, however clumsily, those contrivances in which language is perfected, and which enable us to express ourselves with perspicuous brevity—with dispatch which sacrifices nothing of the meaning—would be abandoned. We may see this occasionally exemplified in our own experience. In attempting to convey our meaning in our own language to a foreigner who only knows some few of its words, but who is ignorant of its grammar, we content ourselves, for the most part, with uttering the names of objects and the principal modes of action, but drop, in a great measure, our inflections—abridge the use of our particles, and never venture at all on the more refined and elliptical constructions.

Supposing the changes such as we have described, the conquerors would possess that great power—of setting the fashion, and thus confirm and render permanent what convenience had dictated, and ignorance had for a time necessitated. The light and commodious vehicle fitted for rapid but easy motion, is found too delicately framed for such a rough road as this; and with its springs broken, and with two strong wheels put upon its stiff axles, it degenerates into a cart; or, if we may change the figure, while the trunk of the language remains the same, the twigs and frailer branches are torn away by the storm.

But whether this explanation be thought satisfactory or not, certain it is that a great change in the grammatical structure of the Saxon took place, and that this was nearly the whole change which did take place; for the infusion of foreign words was comparatively slight. The Anglo-Saxon lost its inflections and terminations, and, consequently, in a great degree its plastic power—its power of moulding its elements into new combinations. The tendency to drop the terminations has characterised the whole history of the English, and some have been lost within a comparatively recent period. Thus the distinguishing termination of the second person singular of the present and preterite of the verbs, though given in all grammars, is generally disused, together with the pronoun appropriated to it. In the same manner, certain Teutonic terminations of the adjectives, met with at no very distant date (as that in *en*), are now almost entirely disused. *Treen*, and *silvern*, and *cedaren*, would not now be employed at all; and, though we still have *golden*, and *brazen*, the tendency is here, in the greater number of instances, to dispense with the termination. Thus, no one would speak of a *brazen* nail, but of a *brass* nail, nor of a *golden* pin, but a *gold* pin. Indeed, as some have remarked, we are sadly destitute of

terminations appropriated to those adjectives which express the substance of which a thing is made; being generally obliged to turn the substantive itself, unchanged, into an adjective, often with a total sacrifice of euphony.

The consequence, as already said, of this change in the grammatical structure, was a want of facility in forming new compounds;—of moulding the elements of the language with the requisite ease into new forms. This inflexibility of course increased, when the study of the Latin actually introduced a large number of foreign words into the language; especially as the new ideas for which expression was demanded, already had terms appropriated to them, or something very like them; in the language in which those who had most occasion to express such ideas read and wrote, and almost thought. The greater part of those abstract and general terms which the extension of knowledge and the cultivation of science and philosophy rendered necessary, were naturally introduced from the Latin.

This, again, rendered the formation of new compounds both more difficult and less necessary;—more difficult, for the materials of the language were now extremely heterogeneous; less necessary, for foreign words served to denote what the new combinations or applications of old terms would have expressed. It is true, we have a considerable number of these compounds still—as *thunder-storm*, *thunder-cloud*, *kingdom*, *witchcraft*, *sword-bearer*, *earthquake*, *handicraft*; and, for the reason Sir James Mackintosh has assigned, they are amongst the most expressive in the language—the separate elements being significant as well as the whole word of which they form a part. These compounds are amongst the most ancient terms in the language; new compounds are generally inadmissible, except in poetry. Our words must be married by special license, and even then a divorce is very frequently demanded.

In prose, such new combinations, except very sparingly introduced and very felicitous, are not permitted; when very frequent, they always mark a vicious taste, and usually form one of the most striking peculiarities of what is called an inflated style.

Partly from want of inflections and variety of terminations—partly from long abandonment of the practice of forming new compounds, our words will not easily coalesce; they come together with a harsh sound—a grating of their unyielding, jagged edges, in strange contrast with that still and noiseless movement with which the elements of Greek compounds generally flow into one another—reminding one of the intermixture of two homogeneous fluids. In this respect our language is greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who have formed out of their vernacular

roots nearly the whole even of their scientific technicalities. We cannot now speak, as did our Saxon ancestors, of *læce-cræft* (*leech-craft*) for the art of medicine; nor of *scip-cræft* (*ship-craft*) for the art of navigation; nor of *eorth-tylth* (*earth-tillage*) for agriculture; nor of *eorth-wela* (*earth-wealth*) for fertility; nor of *hand-clath* (*hand-cloth*) for towel; nor of *boc-cræft* for literature; although the latter half of the word, in its modern acceptation, would well designate the spirit which too often presides over the mystery of bookmaking.

Whether we have lost or gained by this change in the language, has often been made a question. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the introduction of so large a portion of foreign derivatives has greatly enriched our synonymes; and added to the variety if not to the strength of expression. Whether this be considered sufficient compensation or not, it is quite certain that we cannot revert to the ancient system, except to a very limited extent; and for the most part only in those instances in which a number of similarly formed compounds have been handed down to us from Saxon times. Thus, as we have *sword-bearer*, *standard-bearer*, *tale-bearer*, we might readily tolerate new compounds of a like kind; but we know nothing that would be gained but ridicule if we were to substitute 'bone-knowledge' for 'osteology,' or 'shell-craft' for 'conchology,' or 'ship-skill' for the 'art of navigation.' Nor is the disposition voluntarily to innovate on the established laws of language, no matter how they came to be established, to be regarded any otherwise than as an indication of a very depraved taste. A philosophical mind will consider, that whatever deflection may have taken place in the original principles of a language—whatever modification of form it may have undergone, it is, at each period of its history, the product of a slow accumulation and countless multitude of associations, which can neither be hastily formed nor hastily dismissed; that these associations extend even to the modes of spelling and pronouncing, of inflecting and combining words; and that any thing which suddenly breaks in upon such associations impairs, for the time at least, the power of the language. For this reason, new compounds, such as those we have just referred to, though perfectly in analogy with many compounds which still remain in the language, and which are not merely expressive, but venerable for their antiquity, could not be ventured upon without covering an author with ridicule. In a word, a philosophical mind will consider that languages, as Sir James Mackintosh profoundly observed of political constitutions, 'are 'not made, but grow;' and will be content that even demonstrated improvements should not be suddenly introduced, according to the judgment, caprice, or whim of the individual writer; but as

the fruit of enlightened criticism and discussion, operating slowly and imperceptibly on the convictions of the many. When changes are thus produced, they are produced not only by a slow process, but are at length almost simultaneously adopted, thus preventing any rude shock to our associations. The old are not destroyed till the new are ready to take their place.

To the Latin, we owe a very large portion of abstract and general terms; especially in the departments of theology, moral and political philosophy, and indeed in all the moral sciences: to the Greek, very many terms in these departments, and nearly the whole of the technicalities of physical science. It may be said, perhaps, that it was the least these languages could do for us, to compensate in this way for the manner in which they had curbed and confined the original spirit of the English; but it is not to be forgotten, that the great change in its grammatical structure took place long before the revival of letters; and, in short, that Latin and Greek had little to do with it. The Conqueror and his Normans, we apprehend, were but scantily furnished with the former language; and if they knew that there was such a language as the latter, it was as much as they did know. It is true, as we have already said, that the extensive study of these languages, and the introduction of a large number of words, abridged the necessity, as well as discouraged the practice, of moulding the old materials into new forms; but the great revolution which first led to this result had been accomplished long before. It must be admitted, however, that if divines and philosophers could ever totally destroy the character of a language (which will never be the case), there was at one time a danger lest the infusion of the classical element should be carried too far. Reading and writing, perpetually and almost exclusively in Latin, these recluse men at once introduced into their pages, with the slightest possible change of termination, hundreds of words which have since become obsolete. Nobody can be ignorant of this who is but moderately versed in the writings of Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, or Burton —the singular author of that singular book, the 'Anatomy of 'Melancholy.' In Jeremy Taylor, for example, we find the words 'funest' for 'sad;' 'effigiate' for 'conform;' 'respersed' for 'scattered;' 'deturpated' for 'deformed;' 'deordination' for 'confusion;' 'clancularly' for 'secretly;' 'rate' for 'ratified;' 'ferity' for 'fierceness;' 'correption' for 'rebuke;' 'immori-'gerous' for 'disobedient;' 'flexures' in the sense of 'com-'pliances;' 'intenerate' for 'render soft.'

But the learned, powerful as is their influence within certain limits, and considerable as are the changes they may effect, never have been, and never will be, able to destroy the essence of a lan-

guage, or to reverse the proportions of its principal elements. The mass who use it to express ordinary objects, their natural feelings, their daily wants, and for the purpose of transacting the practical business of life, will still determine its character; while the writers who employ it for popular purposes will chiefly use the diction of the people. The pure Saxon, however inferior the position it might sometimes hold in the writings of philosophers, has always lived and triumphed in those of the poets and polite writers, more especially in those of the dramatists. Nothing shows the vitality of the Saxon portion of the language more strongly, than the fact of its having preserved its ascendency amidst the extraordinary revolutions of our political and literary history.

'Look at the English,' says Dr Bosworth in his 'Prolegomena, polluted by Danish and Norman conquests, distorted in its genuine and noble features by old and recent endeavours to mould it after the French fashion, invaded by a hostile force of Greek and Latin words, threatening by increasing hosts to overwhelm the indigenous terms; in these long contests against the combined might of so many forcible enemies, the language, it is true, has lost some of its power of inversion in the structure of sentences, the means of denoting the differences of gender, and the nice distinctions by inflexion and termination—almost every word is attacked by the spasm of the accent and the drawing of consonants to wrong positions, yet the old English principle is not overpowered. Trampled down by the ignoble feet of strangers, its spring still retains force enough to restore itself; it lives and plays through all the veins of the language, it impregnates the innumerable strangers entering its dominions with its temper, and stains them with its colour, not unlike the Greek, which in taking up oriental words stripped them of their foreign costume, and bid them appear as native Greeks.'

But though we may congratulate ourselves that the Saxon still maintains its ascendency, we are not to suppose that the obligations which the classical languages conferred upon our own, are slight. They not only polished and refined it, by inspiring our writers with taste, but the contributions they furnished to our vocabulary were in the highest degree valuable. We are not only indebted to them for the greater part of the language of philosophy, and of science; but these languages, more especially the Latin, have furnished us with *duplicates* of many words of common objects, which add much to the variety and harmony of expression.

None who are acquainted with the earliest specimens of English literature, but must have been struck with the fact, that however racy and forcible the expression is, there is often a singular poverty and meagerness about it—a want of variety and compass

in the diction, the tedious recurrence of the same word in a single sentence. No doubt that these defects might have been in a great measure avoided, even without enlarging the capabilities of the language, if writers had attained that taste and refinement which they had not yet acquired, and which were to be imbibed from an intense and prolonged study of classical literature. No doubt, in that rude age, the most was not made of the language such as it was. Still, after making all allowance for this, the language abridged of its native power, needed this transfusion of fresh blood; it was materially strengthened by these foreign alliances. Nor are we indebted to the Latin merely for a vast addition to our vocabulary—for greater compass and variety of expression; there are certain purposes of language, which, generally speaking, our words of Latin origin are alone capable of fulfilling. For example, the Latin contributes most largely to the language of polite life, as well as to that of polite literature. To the orator, this portion of the language is of less importance, because energy is his great object; and indeed, wherever energy is the object, it is comparatively of little consequence. But where the very object is to soften what would be offensively strong, impart dignity or novelty to what is trite, or to avoid what is vulgar or hackneyed, terms and phrases from the Latin are in a thousand cases most valuable resources. For example, it is often necessary to convey ideas which, if expressed with that specialty and force which the terms of the Saxon would be sure to impart, would be highly repulsive, but they may be expressed in the general and less vivid terms, derived from foreign sources, without appearing so unpalatable. For this reason, it will be found that a large portion of those expressions, with which every language abounds, to which a man of sensibility instinctively reverts, and by which we endeavour to throw a veil over what is hideous or offensive, are in English made up of Latin terms. Again, it is often necessary to convey ideas which, though not truly and properly offensive in themselves, would, if clothed in the rough Saxon, appear so to the sensitive modesty of a highly refined state of society—dressed in Latin, these very same ideas shall seem decent enough. Once more, there is a large number of words which, from the frequency with which they are used, and from their being so constantly in the mouths of the vulgar, would not be endured in polished society, though more privileged synonymes of Latin origin, or some classical circumlocution, expressing exactly the same thing, shall pass unquestioned. There may be nothing dishonest, nothing really vulgar about the old Saxon word, yet it would be thought as uncouth in a drawing-room, as the ploughman to whose rude use it is

abandoned. Thus the word 'stench' is lavendered over into unpleasant effluvia, or an ill odour: 'sweat' diluted into four times the number of syllables, becomes a very inoffensive thing in the shape of 'perspiration.' To 'squint' is softened into obliquity of vision; to be 'drunk' is vulgar; but if a man be simply intoxicated or inebriated, it is comparatively venial. Indeed, we may say of the classical names of vices, what Burke more questionably said of vices themselves, 'that they lose half 'their deformity by losing all their grossness.' In the same manner, we all know that it is very possible for a medical man to put to us questions, under the seemly disguise of scientific phraseology and polite circumlocution, which, if expressed in the bare and rude vernacular, would almost be quite as nauseous as his draughts and pills.

Lastly, There are many thoughts which gain immensely by mere novelty and variety of expression. This the judicious poet, who knows that the connexion between thoughts and words is as intimate as that between body and spirit, well understands. There are thoughts, in themselves trite and commonplace, when expressed in the hackneyed terms of common life, which if adorned by some graceful or felicitous novelty of expression, shall assume an unwonted air of dignity and elegance. What was trivial, becomes striking; and what was plebeian, noble.

To know how to employ, in the due degree and on the proper occasions, either the Saxon or the classical elements of our language; when to aim at strength and when at refinement of expression—to be energetic without coarseness and polished without affectation—is the most conclusive proof of a highly cultivated taste. The false refinement with which some avoid the strong Saxon, even when there is nothing vulgar about it;—when its very homeliness and strength are the only reasons which induce them to reject it; in other words, when their only reasons for rejecting, are just everybody else's reasons for preferring it—is perfectly ludicrous. They would sooner employ the most frigid synonyme of Latin origin, provided it is not common, that is, provided it is powerless, or the most effeminate circumlocution, than resort to a nervous, but homely term or phrase. Such writers offend as much by their squeamish delicacy as others by their grossness. They forget that it is possible for perfumes to be as stiflingly strong as ill odours; and remind one of that philosophic people, of whom Swift tells us that they never charged each other with 'lying,' but only with 'saying 'the thing that is not;' or of that courtly preacher, who told his congregation that 'if they did not mend their manners, they

'would certainly go to a place—which he could not think of 'naming in the ears of so polite an assembly.'

It has often been supposed that great familiarity with classical literature will indispose a man for relishing or writing idiomatic English. We are thoroughly persuaded of the contrary. If, indeed, one who has little imagination—little poetic sensibility—*will* read nothing but Latin and Greek; if he will not keep up his acquaintance with the best specimens of English literature, such a result may be expected, but not otherwise. It is also doubtless true, that when Roman literature first began to be much studied, and when Latin was almost the only language in which the learned wrote or read, there was for a time a tendency to import Latin terms too largely, just as there was a tendency to adopt an involved and highly periodic style, utterly inconsistent with the genius of English. All this was not unnatural: classical literature was then doing its work, but had not done it—that of purifying and refining taste. As our language during this period was still in a great degree unfixed, and the taste of those who wrote it comparatively rude, mere imitation, to a certain extent, was the inevitable consequence. There is little temptation now to such folly, and no apology for it. Accordingly in general the only, as it is the proper, effect of the study of classical literature on every vigorous mind, is to inspire it with delicacy of taste;—to secure a more exact and sensitive appreciation of the beautiful. The ambition which will animate such a mind, will be that of transferring the classical *spirit* into the language and literature of his own country, not of moulding their outward forms into conformity with those of Greece and Rome; in a word, of doing that in English which the ancients did in Greek and Latin. A man who should act otherwise, would resemble the learned doctor in 'Peregrine Pickle,' who, instead of transferring to English habits and manners and to modern cookery, the spirit of elegant luxury which reigned over Roman entertainments, turned the stomachs of his guests with pullets stuffed with assafœtida, and dormice pies liquored over with syrup of poppies.

Such, it appears to us, is the genuine and usual effect of studying classical literature. Some few exceptions there will always be; men so perversely constituted in mind, so predestinated to be pedants and slavish copyists, that nothing can cure them; men who will traverse the whole circle of Greek and Roman literature, and acquire nothing thereby but the faculty of spoiling English. Upon such, the grace and beauty which pervade the remains of classical antiquity are utterly lost; they must transfer them bodily, and in their actual forms, or not at

all; and this they foolishly think they have done, when they have violently torn away some few tatters of phraseology, some fragments of the language of their admired models, and grotesquely stuck them on their own pages; totally unconscious that their beauty, like that of the flower plucked from its stem, withers at once by the very violence which tears it from its place, and that there is no more resemblance between classical compositions and such imitations, than between the wild hedgerows and the *hortus siccus* of a botanist. These instances, however, of hopeless bad taste, are comparatively rare.

That the effect of the study of classical literature is generally what we have stated, is certainly confirmed, if we examine the list of our principal authors. It would be no difficult thing to show that a very considerable number of our most idiomatic writers have been, if not profound classical scholars, yet early tinctured with classical literature, and throughout their lives distinguished by a love of it. Such were Milton, South, Swift; the first of whom is indeed as remarkable for his thorough mastery over the Saxon portion of our own language, as he is for his classical spirit. Again, the bulk of those writers who have wielded with equal ease all the elements of our powerful language—giving an undue preference to none of them, but employing each just in the degree and on the occasions required—have been deeply imbued with a love of the Greek and Roman literature. Such, to cite a few examples, were Addison, Pope, Steele, Cowper, Burke; indeed, almost the only writer remarkably idiomatic, who was totally unimbued with this spirit, was Cobbett.

Upon the whole, the English language, in copiousness and variety, as well as in most other qualities, will vie with almost any language, ancient or modern. The words of old Camden are still more applicable to it now than when they were originally written. 'Whereas our tongue is mixed, it is no disgrace. 'The Italian is pleasant, but without sinews, as a still, fleeting 'water. The French delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce 'daring to open her lippes for fear of marring her countenance. 'The Spanish majesticall, but fulsome, running too much on 'the *o*, and terrible like the divell in a play. The Dutch man-'like, but withall very harsh, as one ready, at every word, to 'picke a quarrell. Now we, in borrowing from them, give the 'strength of consonants to the Italian; the full sound of words 'to the French; the variety of terminations to the Spanish; 'and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch; and so, like 'bees, we gather the honey of their good properties, and leave 'the dregs to themselves. And thus, when substantialnesse 'combineth with delightfulnesse, fulnesse with finenesse, seemli-'nesse with portlinesse, and currentnesse with staydnesse, how

'can the language which consisteth of all these, sound other 'than full of all sweetnesse?'" *

The work which stands at the head of this article, is precisely such as the Anglo-Saxon student wanted. Not only were the older Dictionaries, as those of Somner, Benson, and Lye, out of the market, or high priced, but they were all marked by great defects. At the time when even the most recent of them was published, namely, in 1772, the grammatical structure of the Anglo-Saxon had been little investigated; and the false principles which pervaded them, or their want of principles altogether, detract most seriously from their value. Even of Lye, whose great work reflects the highest honour on his industry and learning, Rask observes (perhaps too generally) that, 'from him scarcely any 'knowledge of the grammatical properties of a word can be 'obtained, but of its signification only.' Equally deficient are these works, considered merely as vocabularies. Since the publication of Lye, the study of the Anglo-Saxon (as well as of all the kindred dialects) has been prosecuted with ardour. Its grammatical structure and peculiarities have been developed with extraordinary sagacity by Rask; Grimm's 'Deutsche 'Grammatik' has shed much light on the subject; Bosworth has been long occupied in the same field; while the extensive publication of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, or new editions of what had been already published, by Thorpe, Kemble, and Cardale, together with the critical labours of these and other gentlemen, have not only facilitated a knowledge of the grammar of the language, but have brought extensive additions to its vocabulary. The great desideratum was a good Lexicon, in which all these results of modern scholarship should be applied—in which the new and better principles of grammar should be exemplified, and the additions to the vocabulary embodied. This has been accomplished in the work now before us, which is the fruit of ripe scholarship, enlarged views, and many years of severe and patient labour. Dr Bosworth seems to have availed himself most diligently, not only of all the Lexicographical works which preceded his own, but of the researches of all his contemporaries both here and on the Continent. The additional words in the 'Glossaries to Apollonius,' and to the 'Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,' by Thorpe—in the 'Index 'to Cædmon,' by the same able editor—in the 'Glossary to 'Beowulf,' by Kemble, are here embodied; while the utmost use has been made of the manuscript collections of Mr Cardale,

* Camden's '*Remains*.'

generously offered for this purpose. Rask was an intimate friend of our author; he also seems to have had intercourse with most of the other Anglo-Saxon scholars on the Continent; some of whom have rendered most important assistance, not only in the valuable 'Prolegomena on the Origin and Affi-'nities of the Germanic Languages,' but in the preparation of the Lexicon itself. 'One of them,' to use the language of Dr Bosworth himself, 'well-acquainted with all the Teutonic and 'Scandinavian dialects, has used his utmost efforts to verify 'every word introduced amongst the parallels, and to give the 'orthography and gender correctly.' As the eagerness with which our author has availed himself of every source of information, is in the highest degree creditable to him as a scholar; so the frankness and the gratitude with which he acknowledges all such assistance, are equally creditable to him as a man. Indeed, the candour which he every where manifests, is well worthy of the imitation of authors in general. Not the minutest obligations are left unacknowledged, even on points where some other writers would have appropriated them without scruple. With a still more resolute candour, he does not hesitate to modify or abandon early opinions, whenever more extensive or more accurate research has suggested the propriety of doing so. Thus he frankly acknowledges, in his preface to the 'Essentials of Anglo-Saxon 'Grammar,' that 'as information increased, there has been a 'gradual approximation in grammatical forms and accents to the 'views of Professors Rask and Grimm.'

The general plan of the Lexicon is this:—The Anglo-Saxon words are usually followed by the parallel terms in the cognate dialects; the derivation of the word immediately succeeds the synonymes; then the meanings are given in English, while to the principal significations, the Latin is also added, thus securing the authority of Somner and Lye. Then follow the quotations from Anglo-Saxon writers, with an English translation as literal as possible. The grammatical inflexions are fully given, and the gender of the nouns (a matter of immense importance, and in which Lye's great work is singularly faulty) marked with great care. As to the much debated question of orthography, Dr Bosworth tells us 'that he has always followed 'that which he has found in the best authors; while the principal 'variations in the literal expression of a word, are added in the 'order in which they vary from what is deemed to be the correct 'spelling. No fancy or presumption has been permitted in the 'orthography; but all authors have been allowed to answer 'for themselves, and to appear in their own dress, without a wish 'to dictate the mode in which it is now presumed they ought 'to have written.'

Our author originally intended to include none but pure Anglo-Saxon words; none in fact that are found after A.D. 1100. We think he judged wisely in somewhat extending the rule. Most of the words thus added are from the 'Saxon Chronicle;' and as in every such case the date is added, there can be no fear of confounding pure with impure words. The valuable system of accents, as developed by recent scholars, has been adopted. We must add, that, by an ingenious contrivance, this Dictionary not only answers the purpose of a Saxon-English and of a Saxon-Latin, but of an English and Saxon and Latin and Saxon Dictionary. At the close of the work extensive indices of English and Latin words are given, and references to the columns of the Dictionary, where the correspondent Anglo-Saxon words are to be found.

Nor is the preliminary matter inferior in value to that of the Lexicon itself. After illustrating in a very concise but perspicuous manner the great doctrine, that all languages had a common origin, our author proceeds to consider the origin, history, and mutual connexion of the Germanic tongues. These he treats in a series of brief but very able dissertations, illustrated by copious specimens. They embrace a general view of the Low-German, High-German, and Scandinavian dialects. Those on Anglo-Saxon, Friesic, Dutch, and German, are of considerable extent. In that on the Friesic, Dr Bosworth expresses his obligations to Mr Halbertsma, one of the principal promoters of Friesian literature. We quite agree with our author as to the extraordinary affinities between this dialect and the Anglo-Saxon; and that it is calculated to shed a stronger light on the latter than any other of the sister dialects. One cannot fail to be struck, however, throughout these dissertations, with the strong family likeness amongst *all* the dialects of the Germanic languages; and at the ease with which any one acquainted with English and Dutch, or English and German, might acquire the rest.

The Dissertations are followed by articles on the affinity of the Germanic languages; a short account of the great etymological systems of modern Germany, the essentials of Anglo-Saxon grammar; an abstract of the grammar of Rask, and of that portion of Grimm's 'Deutsche Grammatik' which relates to the Saxon.

In fact, this volume contains, within a moderate compass, a complete apparatus for the study of Anglo-Saxon. Copious, accurate, cheap—embodying the whole results of modern Anglo-Saxon scholarship—there is no other work of the kind that can be put in comparison with it; and we therefore unhesitatingly recommend it as a valuable addition to this department of our literature.

ART. IX.—1. *Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, delivered in the House of Lords, Aug.* 23, 1839. London.

2. "*Shall we overturn the Coach?*"—*A Letter to George Grote, Esq. M.P.* London.

3. *The Ministerial Crisis.* [*By T. Gisborne, Esq., Junior.* London.

IT is recorded of a lady of fashion, that being once at a watering-place with her daughters, it suddenly occurred to her that, for the sake of example, she might as well go to church. Accordingly, one Sunday, her ladyship, attended by the young ladies, entered the chapel most in request, and having boldly marched up the aisle, requested the pew-woman to give them the best seats for hearing the preacher—'a private pew, if you 'please, with a curtain: let it be the warmest you have, with 'a stove in it: put the footman close by, that he may be in 'the way to open the door. I prefer, if you please, that pew 'lined with red cloth; it looks comfortable.' 'Madam,' said the startled pew-woman, 'I am very sorry—but we have not 'a seat to give you.' The lady paused—turned round to her daughters, and said, (as she walked out,) with the complacency of a satisfied conscience—'Well, my dears, at all events we have 'done the civil thing!' The consolation of the noble and learned Lord, the title of whose speech stands amongst those of the publications prefixed to this article, is something of the same kind. If he has not secured his place, he has at least done the civil thing. So elated are his Lordship and his party with the attempt, that they are not contented without making known so laudable an action to all the world. The civil thing is not only done, but, what is more, the civil thing is published and sold for popular distribution at two shillings and sixpence sterling per dozen!

We own that to us there seems something a little farcical in the sessional ceremony which Lord Lyndhurst deems it necessary to the institutions of the country to perform. What might have had point and effect in the first instance, argues poverty of invention when carried into an annual exhibition. This formal parade of verbal hostility—this speech without a result—this elaborate censure, which does not dare to risk a vote—this unqualified reprobation of the past, which shrinks from all application to the future—this roar about impeachments ending in a nibble at papers—appears to us but a very frivolous amusement in the

leaders of a party that professes to have on its side all the respectability of the country, when they wind up their yearly campaign against a Ministry who, in the words of the noble and learned Sessional Reviewer, are 'regarded by the people with 'hatred and contempt.'

If Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, as Lord Lyndhurst avers, 'pursue a course considered, and justly, by the consti-'tution of these realms as a high misdemeanour, *subjecting the* '*parties to impeachment*'—why not draw up the articles, and come at once to the trial? To strut forth on the stage, periodically at fair-time, with all this parade of invective, with a *ferrea vox* and a sword of tin, does not remind us so much of Coningsby as of Catterfelto. His Lordship entitles his speech 'a Review of the Session.' His review is like that of the Persian at Thermopylæ. He leaves what were slain of the enemy on the field, but he carefully buries the losses on his own side. He not only exults over the measures that have been slaughtered, but over those he had meant to slaughter. In a sort of Virgilian Hades, conjured up by his Lordship's poetical imagination, he sees before him the innocent spectres of Bills yet unborn; and is heroically indignant that he has not yet had the pleasure of butchering them. While he finds so much cause for exultation, he must permit us to look out for comfort. And, in the first place—Lord Lyndhurst is not in office.

It may be the misfortune of this Government, that many of its measures on behalf of liberty, civil and religious, have been defeated or unavoidably delayed; but it has not existed, nor does it yet struggle in vain, whilst it interposes a check to the encroachments of a grasping and intolerant party. If it cannot completely carry out the principles of good government, it is not therefore useless whilst it prevents the formation of a bigoted ministry. It may be true that it has not yet established for Ireland municipal institutions, upon just and liberal conditions of equality with England; but whilst it exists, it at least prevents a Municipal Bill that would strengthen the oligarchy in professing to be popular. If it cannot carry the low, it prevents the establishment of the high franchise. It may be true that it has not yet secured to the Canadas a constitution conformable to the wants and circumstances of the colonists; but the Canadas are saved at least from the counter-legislation of those whose contemptuous neglect fostered abuses; and whose factious spirit at the ninth hour not only palters with the remedies for discord, but hazards the efficacy of protection to property and life. Whatever may be the patriotism of the Tories at home, it is difficult to regard their treatment of the Colonies without

strong and unqualified reprehension. The fairest portions of the empire secured to England by her arms and commerce—her last possessions in the New World—are torn by civil commotion—law suspended—trade arrested:—on one side, the English settlers, stubborn in the pride of race, exasperated by the animosities of years, despising the ignorance which thwarted all improvement, enraged at the ferocity which menaced their homes; on the other side, an uninformed, simple, credulous peasantry, roused by a handful of demagogues into a rebellion, not the less lamentable because hopeless; on the frontiers, all the desperate spirits of an adventurous population, feebly restrained by the weak Executive of a Republic. The Crisis appealed not only to the honour of the Mother Country, but to her humanity; and if ever there were occasion in which it behoved statesmen for a while to lay aside those hostilities of party—the object of which is the possession of place—that occasion was in the appointment of a Governor-General sent to the Canadas at such a time. It was in vain to suspend a constitution—in vain to erect an authority of parchment—if the discontented in Canada—if the borderers of the United States—had merely to glance over a London newspaper, in order to learn that one branch of the domestic legislature was seeking occasion to arraign as a defendant the very man sent out to the Colonies as a judge—that every step of his authority was watched by jealous and malignant eyes—that in the least collision between the administrator and the violators of the law, the violators would be sheltered at the expense of the administrator. Who does not know the whole conduct of the Opposition, from the moment Lord Durham left England to the hour he returned? Who, with one particle of common sense, can deny, or even doubt, that the condition of the Canadas, and the policy of the Governor, were as completely party questions with the Tories, as the Irish Appropriation Clause or the Reform Bill? It may be lamented that the work begun by Lord Durham was not completed. But it is matter of congratulation, at least, that they who could thwart were not permitted to construct. What constitution—fair, impartial, and permanent—could have been expected from a Government composed of those who, when in power, had not touched a single grievance—who, in opposition, struggled alike against conciliation and authority—and who prated of technicalities and forms, when law itself lay in ashes amidst the flames of a civil war? What constitution, except that implied by Lord Chandos, even before Lord Durham had turned his back upon England, when he asked, amidst the cheers of his party, 'Why send a Governor at all? Why 'not leave the Colonies to the command of Sir John Colborne?'

—as if the sword were to be the only instrument for eradicating discontent; and constitutions meant nothing more than the civil subjugation of one race, and the military triumph of another. It is truly amusing to find Lord Lyndhurst complaining that nothing has been done for the settlement of the Canadas. 'We were 'told' he says, 'that the scheme was abandoned in consequence 'of information recently received from Canada. What that infor-'mation was has never been communicated to your lordships, or 'the other House of Parliament; and any person who will take 'the pains to trace the proceedings in Canada for the last six 'months, will find that no alteration had occurred in the state of 'things in that country which could have had any influence upon 'this measure.' Now, let us look to the fact. When Lord Durham's scheme for uniting the Canadas became known to Upper Canada, that province did not at first seem indisposed to entertain the proposal; it is true that it demanded disproportionate, but it was far from improbable that it might listen to reasonable, terms. Some opposition there was, but it did not promise to be inveterate. The Bill was prepared. Now, *did* nothing occur in that country which could not have any influence upon this measure? Why, there actually arrived in London, just prior to the abandonment of the scheme, resolutions adopted by a very decided majority of the Legislative Council, against the project of an union, even in the mitigated form in which it had found favour with the Assembly.* The loyalty of the Upper Canadians entitled them at least to respectful consideration on the part of the Mother Country; and her obvious duty, on this new opposition, was to conciliate scruples before she attempted to enforce legislation. But this declaration from one of the constitutional authorities of Upper Canada, Lord Lyndhurst perhaps will still assert to be 'nothing that could have any influence on the measure proposed!' for that boasted regard for colonial constitutions—so lynx-eyed when siding with the oligarchy of Jamaica—appears liable to sudden ophthalmia, when the wishes of the Canadian Legislative Council are treated with becoming respect by the Government. The love for constitutional privileges evinced by the Tories, resembles the magic tent in the Arabian Nights—it possesses the most wonderful powers of expansion and diminution. Are abuses to be protected?—its circumference seems boundless: is liberty to be sheltered?—it shrivels up into a nutshell.

* The copy of these resolutions was accompanied, we believe, by a strong recommendation on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, to postpone all Parliamentary discussions on the subject of the Union, while the excitement produced by the rebellion was still fresh in Canada.

But the noble lord passes on to Jamaica. There, indeed, he displays his love for constitutional rights; and there, no less brilliantly, is exhibited the consistent and sublime superiority to all party considerations of his fellow-labourer in the House of Commons. 'This question,' said Sir Robert Peel, with great emphasis, when urging the expediency of hearing Mr Burge at the bar, '*ought not to be considered a party question.*' Sir Robert is right in his theory: we will look presently to his practice. As this question, however, is one of extreme importance —as upon it the Government resigned—as in another session it is likely to be renewed, and as the most extraordinary misrepresentations have been made upon the subject, let us, as briefly and clearly as possible, lay before the reader the grounds of the contest between the colony and the mother country, and the reasons for the introduction of the Bill that suspended the constitution of Jamaica. We say nothing of the conduct of the Jamaica planters before, or immediately subsequent to, the Negro Emancipation Act. Indeed, in the article on the 'Jamaica Question,' in our last Number, that part of the subject was completely exhausted. It is sufficiently allowed by all parties, that the planters were more willing to take the twenty millions than to carry out the conditions with which the purchase-money was saddled. The Act of Emancipation imperatively demanded legislative provisions for the new state of society it created. Amongst these, the one perhaps most immediately important, was a measure for the regulation of prisons. During the period of slavery, (as Mr Labouchere accurately observes in his opening speech on the first Jamaica Bill,) the punishments awarded to the Negroes—in other words, to the working population—were inflicted by the domestic authority of the masters. It is obvious that they would have been little disposed to resort to prison discipline, when to imprison a slave was to lose his labour. Prisons were, therefore, of trifling importance in the catalogue of penal inflictions. But after the Act of Emancipation, measures respecting prison discipline became vitally necessary: if left exclusively to the planters, it was quite clear that punishments might be devised to render slavery as barbarous and complete as it was before, and to transfer to the hands of the gaoler the lash of the baffled overseer. But during the period of Apprenticeship, not one step towards the regulation of prisons was taken by the Jamaica Legislature. The most frightful abuses prevailed: Negroes were committed to gaol by special magistrates, tools of the local authorities—these places became pandemoniums of atrocious cruelty and sanguinary revenge—women were flogged, their hair cut off; they died of the

severities of the treadmill. Inquests are held: three out of eight in prison are declared to have perished by the discipline inflicted:—the verdict of the 'Visitation of God' upon the remaining five, seems to have been generally understood as a blasphemous screen to the torturers. 'The punishment,' says the Governor, 'of the *Cat* upon women who will not work on the treadmill, has '*become so general*, that some example should be made.' Complaints are poured into the Jamaica Legislature, and referred to Select Committees. The Select Committees report that 'the existing laws are sufficient to prevent abuses.' Nothing is done. After repeated solicitations on the part of the Jamaica Government, the British Ministry come to the Imperial Parliament with an Act for Prison Regulations in the West Indies. Observe that this is not done till the Jamaica Legislature has declined all measures on the subject. The Bill is introduced by Lord Glenelg in the Lords—Lord Ellenborough expresses his approval of it. It passes unanimously—it comes to the Commons. Mr Burge, as agent for Jamaica, protests against it. Lord Chandos moves for a copy of that protest, which is laid on the table of the House of Commons. The Tories—the West Indian proprietors in Parliament—have therefore their attention forcibly directed to the Bill; and what is the result?—No *opposition whatever!*—the Bill passes the Commons with the same unanimity as in the Lords. It reaches Jamaica: the first meeting of the Assembly after the abolition of the Apprenticeship is held. The Assembly declare the passing of this Act an infringement of their rights, and at once refuse to exercise their legislative functions. They suspend laws the most necessary to the Colony. In a word, they abdicate their powers—they strip themselves of the exercise of their own constitution—they are prorogued, to give them time for consideration: they persist—they are dissolved. A new Assembly is chosen—the result is the same—they hold fast to their refusal to legislate; and Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor-General, thus appeals, in his despatch to Lord Glenelg, to the Imperial Legislature:—

'Your lordship will be fully satisfied, from this last appeal to the electoral body, that *no House of Assembly can now be found that will acknowledge the authority of the Queen, Lords, and Commons, to enact laws for Jamaica, or will be likely to pass just and prudent laws for that large portion of the Negro population lately brought into freedom;* and your lordship will be perfectly aware I have no power, as the Governor, to remedy the evils arising from the House of Assembly having refused to perform its functions. Thus a constituency, which may be computed at about 1500 or 1600 voters for the whole island, have returned, and will *continue to return, the same members, who deny the authority of the mother country, while upwards of 300,000 of Her*

Majesty's free and loyal subjects are totally unrepresented; and my appeal to obtain for them common laws of protection as labourers has, your lordship will find, been totally disregarded.'

It will be seen that the whole offence of the British Legislature had been—after all attempts to urge the Jamaica Assembly to take measures on the subject were found in vain—to exercise the unquestionable right to see that the Emancipation Act was fairly carried out; and that the Negroes, who could no longer be tortured and murdered in one place under the name of slaves, should not be tortured and murdered in another under the name of prisoners. But not contented with thus braving the power of the Mother Country—with thus abdicating legislation, because controlled in tyranny—the Jamaica Assembly issues forth a solemn protest, containing the following passage:—

'This House does not dread a comparison with the Commons of England in the success of their legislation. Our laws have not been defied, as by the Irish opponents of tithes; murders are not committed in our island by companies of armed men in open day; nor do bands prowl about at night, setting fire to barns and ricks of corn; nor do our labourers and artisans combine, as of late in Dublin and Glasgow, to raise wages even by maiming and murder. Our courts are never occupied with the obscenities which disgrace England, nor do our husbands and daughters resort to them, to expose their own shame for a money price. The horrible trade of Burke, and we fear of many more, which has given a new word to the English language, was never heard of here; nor have we ever heard of here, nor have we ever known, instances of parents putting their infant families to death, to save them from the protracted sufferings of starvation. It is not in Jamaica that unfortunate mothers outrage nature by the destruction of their new-born offspring, to avoid the cruel persecutions of a hard-hearted and destroying morality,' &c. &c.

Such is the language, not said in the heat of debate by one passionate orator, but formally, deliberately, solemnly adopted in writing, as the sense of the Assembly! Well might Mr Labouchere ask, 'if men capable of using such language in a deliberate state 'paper, were likely to pass laws which are wise and impartial!' The Assembly having thus reduced itself to a defunct body—its legislators having thus replied to a remonstrance by a libel—the Ministry come to Parliament with their first Jamaica Bill, having for its object the temporary suspension of the Jamaica Constitution, which in fact the Jamaica Assembly had themselves annihilated. Upon this question arose the opposition of the Tories. It will be observed, that the whole dispute had originated on the Prisons Bill, which the Tories had passed unanimously. It was a question whether we were right in passing, or the Jamaica Planters right in resisting, that Bill.

If an infringement on their rights, why had the Lords as well as the Commons, the Tories as well as the Whigs, passed it unanimously? if not an infringement on their rights, but a legitimate assertion of the British Legislature on behalf of humanity and justice, is it not obvious that the Tories who consented to the measure should stand by its enforcement? But in this question they are suddenly smitten with a passionate love for constitutional liberty. Suspend the Jamaica constitution, that has lasted more than a hundred and fifty years!—it is a stretch of despotism not to be thought of. The conduct of the planters is softened down into a becoming intemperance, provoked by a passion for freedom; the libel of the protest is styled violent language, it is true, but 'violent 'language does not justify the suspension of the constitution.' * And this, too, is said by the very men who made the language—not formally written, but hastily spoken, not promulged by an assembly, but delivered by one man—who made the language of Mr O'Connell the main ground of their support of the Irish Coercion Bill; and who still find in that language a never-failing excuse for withholding municipal rights from the Irish people! But what, all the while, was this constitution—this 'ancient re-'presentative assembly,' to use Lord Lyndhurst's reverential phraseology, to which he actually compares the British House of Commons? Why, an oligarchy of forty-five members, chiefly planters, attorneys, and overseers, chosen out of a population of about three thousand six hundred, by another oligarchy of sixteen hundred according to Sir L. Smith, or two thousand electors according to Mr Labouchere!—a constitution which, in fact, would cease to exist in fifteen months, by the electoral enfranchisement of the Negroes! And what, after all, did the opposition to the suspension amount to? Was it said that the ministers were not right in the cause of the dispute? No; Sir Robert Peel 'thought it right 'to adhere to the Prisons Bill.' Was it argued that the suspension of the constitution was an injustice not to be listened to on any terms? No; for Sir Robert Peel proposed himself to suspend it, if the planters persisted another year in the course they had adopted. All he asked was delay for a *locus pœnitentiæ*—a delay after prorogation—a dissolution—a new assembly—a second abdication—a deliberate protest, couched in language such as the most powerful foe never dared address to the meanest nation! Delay—this is all that is asked—asked, too, by those whose favourite charge against the Government in its colonial policy, is that of timidity and vacillation! Delay, as Mr Buller well

* See the speech of Sir Robert Peel.

remarked, that the Government might do that during the recess, which might be done with tenfold dignity and effect during the session. Delay, while all the affairs of the colony were in abeyance, and this in the year preceding the political enfranchisement, and following the social emancipation, of the Negroes, when every nerve should have been strained to ensure success to that momentous experiment! Delay in the most important crisis, when the very safety of the Colony depended on the vigour of the Executive!

But, if such was the ground occupied by the Opposition, let let us not forget the manœuvres by which they sought to make it good. On this question, which so nearly obtained for the country the blessings of a Tory Government, it is desirable that the people should be thoroughly enlightened as to the means by which those blessings would have been procured. In the first stages of the Bill, Sir Robert Peel, as we before observed, repeatedly declared that it was not a party question. '*It ought not* '*to be considered a party question.*' '*As I said before, there is no* '*party interest committed in this question.*' So much faith was given to these assurances, that the Bill was not, at the outset, considered likely to lead to a close division. But suddenly it was reported—suspected—known, that some nine or ten gentlemen of extreme opinions on the Liberal side would oppose the Bill. Calculations were made at the Carlton Club; with this aid Ministers might be beaten; the question that 'ought not to be made 'a party question,' immediately became one. It was notorious that gentlemen on the Tory side, connected with the West Indies, were not only favourable to the measure, but, as Lord John Russell observed, 'had communicated that opinion to various members 'of the Administration.' *These gentlemen were called upon to renounce the sentiments so expressed*—to revoke the support promised or implied—'to sacrifice their own opinions and in-'terests on the question of Jamaica, to gratify English party.' Every thing, in short, that could be laid hold of for the purpose—Tory scruples, Radical connivance—was caught up, punched out, and rammed down as wadding for the great gun of the session. When, in the introduction of the second Jamaica Bill, Lord John Russell complained of thus sacrificing the West Indies to party considerations, after so grave assurances of the impropriety of making the previous measure a party question, Sir Robert Peel had literally nothing to say for himself—nothing, except in defence of party principles generally, and a reference to the example of Mr Fox in the French war!—as if Mr Fox had ever said that the French war was not a party question!

Such are the outlines of the cause of dispute between the Go-

vernment and the Opposition.* Such was the policy adopted by the Tories on that memorable question which led to the resignation of Ministers. Turn and twist it as you will, the Government fought and fell on behalf of the Negro population, against an oligarchy of forty-five planters, chosen by two thousand electors, in vindication alike of the majesty, the honour, and the humanity of the British people; and we are perfectly persuaded that, as soon as the facts should have become fairly known and calmly considered by the public, that moral power which effected the abolition of slavery would not have been seen supporting the combination of the English Tories with the Jamaica taskmasters.

To the dispute between Sir Robert Peel and the Sovereign as to the Household appointments, which led to the restoration of Lord Melbourne, we may perhaps have occasion to refer hereafter: we content ourselves now with observing, that to us it seems that there was a graver and more serious consideration involved in the dispute, than that which appears on the surface. It was not merely a question whether the Sovereign was to be debarred from the privileges enjoyed by her meanest subject—condemned to feel that every association, every intimacy, every friendship, was held upon the tenure of ministerial jealousy and fear—chopped and changed with each fluctuation of party—living not in a home but an inn; there was another consideration, appealing to popular reason, as well as to kindly and generous sympathies. Was it a safe precedent to establish, that a Ministry, *not having a majority in the House of Commons, should make that very reason the pretext for demanding a peculiar show of countenance from the Crown?* Sir Robert Peel wished 'so to constitute 'her Majesty's household, that her Majesty's confidential ser-'vants might have the advantage of a public demonstration of 'her Majesty's full support and confidence;'—namely, a greater demonstration than any minister had ever before demanded; and avowedly as a counterpoise to what Sir Robert justly considered his greatest difficulty—a minority in the House of Commons! Nay, this principle of mock support from the Crown, was to be enforced precisely in the ratio of the want of real approbation in the Commons. 'My great difficulty,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'was 'Ireland—a majority of twenty-two had decided in favour of the

* We pass over additional reasons for the enactment of the first Jamaica Bill—in the dangers of Negro legislation, following, with their enfranchisement, closely upon planter oligarchy, because we wish to leave the dispute between Ministers and Opposition in the simplest possible shape.

'policy of the Irish Government.' And how was this majority to be neutralized or won over? By an appeal to the people? No—by the banishment of the ladies of the Household connected with Lords Normanby and Morpeth! To make head against the representatives of the people, Sir Robert Peel was to move, not the Commons, but the Court. We confess that we think this principle and this precedent were as dangerous both to the Crown and to the Commons as any ever before demanded and resisted.

For a lover of peace and order, Lord Lyndhurst finds a singular cause of complaint in the establishment of a Police Force at Manchester, Bolton, and Birmingham. 'These Bills,' he says, 'were requisite on account of the tumults and disturbances 'which have taken place in the northern parts of this island.' If so, were Ministers to blame for raising a constitutional force against tumult and disturbance? 'But the Ministers are 'deeply responsible for these riots.' 'It was they,' says Lord Lyndhurst, 'who first roused the people; they first excited and 'stimulated them to acts of tumult and disorder.' And this is actually said by a member of that very Government under whose rule 'Captain Swing' reigned so freely—under whose nerveless hands every spring in the social system was loosened—beneath whose impotent severities rose up the gigantic association of Ireland—blazed the midnight fires, and swelled the prædial mobs, from Kent to Norfolk—and whose whitening lips prayed the monarch, scarce seated on his throne, not to cross the fatal boundary of Temple Bar! This is said by one from whose party has proceeded, if not all, at least no inferior portion of that agitation against the New Poor-Law, from which, in truth, far more than from causes purely political, the proceedings of the Chartists have taken their peculiar impulse and passion. Happy, indeed, is it for the safety of this country, as well as for those unfortunate men who are already awakening from the frantic councils of their demagogues, that those who see no sceptre but the sword, no sign-post but the gibbet, are not in a situation to enable them to act upon *their* notions of a strong government! Let them rail, if they please, at that forbearance, which is but trust in the good sense of a great and a free people, and which, in allowing the frenzy of a misguided class to fret and consume itself, is rapidly destroying Chartism through its own follies, without making victims of the deceived, and martyrs of the deceivers. We do not hesitate to say, that, had the country reaped no other benefits from the Whig Ministry, that Ministry would be entitled to lasting honour and gratitude, for the lenient and wise, because peace-preserving and liberty-preserving, maxims upon which it acted throughout the Chartist crisis.

On looking back to the past session, we see, then, much cause for satisfaction amongst all men who are sincerely desirous of liberal government; for liberal government consists not only in the advancement of popular interests, but in checks to an anti-popular policy. It is easy for intemperate or superficial politicians to exclaim, that the cry of keeping out the Tories is stale and hackneyed. The question is not only whether you promote good government by keeping in the Whigs, but whether you prevent bad government by keeping out the Tories. It does not signify if the argument be stale, so long as the truth it embodies is not worn away. If, in looking to the Canadas, we find that all nobler considerations for the colonies were merged in the selfish and splenetic desire to embarrass the Government at home; if, in looking to Jamaica, we find that the boasted regard to constitutional rights was but the sympathy of one oligarchy with another; if, in the debates on Irish policy, the punishment of an individual is sought in the exclusion of a people from civil rights upon religious pretences; if, in the attacks on Ministers for their forbearance to the Chartists, the old spirit of Peterloo breaks forth—we may reasonably deem that Government no slight blessing, which preserves the North American Colonies —the Negro population of the West Indies—the Catholics of Ireland—and the whole fabric of social order in Great Britain, from men who have lost the power, but have not outgrown the opinions, of the Addingtons and Castlereaghs.

But if the review of the session be satisfactory in evils prevented, it is certainly not barren in benefits conferred. It is true that one great and most valuable reform, suggested in the opening Speech from the Throne, namely, the amelioration of the Laws, has not been commenced. The many nights in the early part of the session claimed by the Opposition for party contests, and the resignation of Ministers, which necessarily led to the interruption of public business, deprived the country of this benefit. But one great measure has passed the legislature in the enactment of the Penny Postage—a measure, the results of which, social and commercial, will be felt more widely and more rapidly than all the benefits conferred by the Tories on the country from the year 1800 to the year 1830. The Slave Trade Suppression Bill has defeated the opposition of the Duke of Wellington. The Education Grant, a trifle in pecuniary amount, but of immense importance when regarded as the first solemn recognition by the State of the great principle of National Education, without violence to religious opinion, constitutes an era in the progress of enlightened and philosophical legislation. These suffice for an answer to men who assert that the Ministers can effect nothing,

because they have been baffled in much; and when we consider the present nearly even balance of parties—the interruption occasioned by the short restoration of the Tories—the difficulties that on every side surrounded the Government, and enfeebled the legislation of the session, it is rather matter of surprise that three such measures have been enacted, than that so many others have been frustrated.

It is the fashion with some politicians to assert, that there is little or no difference between the Whigs and the Tories. Little or no difference, when (to say nothing of every branch of colonial policy) on the Suppression of Slavery, they had the opposition of the Duke of Wellington—on the Postage Bill, the determined resistance of Sir Robert Peel—on the Education Grant, the fiercest hostility of every section of the Tories! What are the other questions on which public opinion has been most divided, and, on the Liberal side, most loudly expressed? The policy towards Ireland—the Corn Laws—the Vote by Ballot. No difference between Whigs and Tories, when, on the Administration of Lord Normanby, approval is registered on one side, censure on the other; when the Corn Laws and the Ballot are open questions with the Whigs, and rigid adherence to the present systems the watchword of the Tories! But it is said, that to leave the Vote by Ballot an open question 'was a shabby proceeding.' If so, Mr Pitt was the shabbiest politician that ever administered the affairs of this country. We do not pause to discuss the abstract merits of secret suffrage: to measure these, and compare fairly the counterbalancing evils, we must first gauge, dispassionately, the degree of intimidation which it is designed to counteract and baffle. All secresy in the expression of opinion is bad in itself; but the crime rests not with the man who conceals, but with those whose persecution renders the concealment necessary. It was an evil that the Christians under Domitian, or that the Protestants under Philip II., should worship their God in secret. And, no doubt, if men could have prayed by ballot, Christians and Protestants, in those unhappy times, would have fervently desired to do so. Noble and manly would have been the arguments against such an evasion of the lions and the rack. 'What 'sort of religion is this,' might have been said with eloquent indignation, 'which dares not express itself openly? Pretty fellows 'you to set up to be saints, when you shrink from the honour of 'being martyrs. Look at us, you rogues—do not we pray openly, 'and sacrifice to Jupiter, or celebrate mass in the face of day?' The unhappy men thus addressed, might have answered, if they dared,—'You pray openly, because you are the persecutors; we 'in secret, because we are the persecuted. We will be martyrs

'rather than betray conscience. But if we can serve conscience 'without being torn to pieces, or roasted alive, we confess that 'it would not be disagreeable to our feelings to save ourselves.' Wherever there is a duty to be discharged, the conscience enters alike into politics as religion. Wherever the law cannot touch the oppressor, it is too much to talk of the manliness of being oppressed. But we pass over these debatable points, and content ourselves with the simple fact, that no liberal politician, of whatever degree, can honestly contend that there is no distinction, except that of office, between Whigs and Tories; while the most popular of all constitutional reforms is an open question with the one, and the subject of the fiercest reprobation with the other.

We pause from these reflections on individual questions, to cast a glance over the position of Ministers, and the state of Parties. The electoral population in Great Britain, as in all free countries where the representative system exists, is divided into two great classes—the Popular and the Anti-Popular. Each of these contains subdivisions as numerous as the shades or colourings of human character—stretching, on the one side, towards absolute despotism, whether in Church or State; verging, on the other, towards the institutions of a republic. It is an error, then, to suppose that differences and degrees of political opinion are found only behind the Ministerial benches. Mr Baring Wall, in his recent Pamphlet, observes, as a fact notorious to all, that between Sir Robert Peel and some of his followers, there are distinctions as wide as between Lord Melbourne and Mr Hume. But the necessary result—partly of the strength of each of the two main parties, partly of the divisions in each—is to produce a public opinion, not less in one than in the other, which deduces from the extremes and varieties of either party a certain practical compromise of theory and action. No matter which of these classes be in power; it cannot go to the lengths espoused by many of its component members. Beyond what is practicable in administration, there must always be something desiderated in theory. Sir Robert Peel could not govern England on the principles of Sir Robert Inglis; nor could Lord Melbourne govern England on the principles of Sir William Molesworth. Nay, if Sir Robert Inglis were made Prime Minister to-morrow, he would not be six months in office, before there would be many other Inglises to condemn him for conceding too far; just as, if Sir William Molesworth succeeded to Lord Melbourne, there would be a million Molesworths to condemn him for not going far enough. It is easy for the speculative to outbid the practical man. He who has got El Dorado before him, is not to be dazzled even by Peru:—estates, in theory, are all held by yearly tenants;—

'Hæres
Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam.'

It follows from this—the necessary condition of a free people and a representative government—that any possible administration must always be more moderate in its views, than many of those who favour it with their support. Mirabeau has illustrated this necessity with his usual force and felicity, where he says, the man in his closet opens his map, and passes with the motion of a finger from the Ganges to the Mississipi. But the man who actually proposes to cross an alp or to traverse the ocean, must apportion his journey or his voyage to the difficulties in the way, or the resources at his command. 'We cannot,' to use the language of Burke, 'consider our country as a *carte blanche*, upon which 'we may scribble whatever we please. A man full of warm 'speculative benevolence may wish his society otherwise consti- 'tuted than he finds it; but a good patriot and a true politician 'always considers how he shall make the most of the existing 'materials of his country.'

That government is the best which unites the greatest degree of progress and improvement with the greatest degree of tranquillity and safety—which is best suited to the people, and therefore most popular—which is most conducive to order, and therefore most conservative. In the most timid part of his career, in the fullest excitement of his reason or his fancy against Mr Fox and the French Revolution, Burke does not contend that the duty of a minister is to stand *super antiquas vias*. 'A disposition to 'preserve,' he says, 'and an ability to improve, taken together, 'would be my standard of a statesman.'*

We think it must be allowed by all thinking men, that, at the present time, there is no alternative to the Whig Government, or to one more or less analagous to it, but the administration of Sir Robert Peel. We have shown that the administration of Lord Melbourne has been, at least, more popular than any Sir Robert Peel could have formed. Looking back only to the present session, Sir Robert Peel's Government would have been united against the alteration of the Corn Laws—against the Vote by Ballot—against the principle of the Education Grant—against the low Franchise to Irish Corporations—against the Penny Postage. It is reasonable to suppose, from the Duke of Wellington's Protest, that it would not have introduced the Slavery Suppression Bill; and equally reasonable, from the language of the Duke of

* Letter on the French Revolution.

Wellington, to suppose that it would have proved its vigour by those severities against the Chartists, which no friend to the liberty of the subject could have desired to see enforced. The present Government is therefore more friendly to popular principles than the one which alone could rise from its ruins. Is it, therefore, less really Conservative? This is a point on which we must say a word or two.

We have observed it stated by the organs of that very small Parliamentary section, who profess at once to be friends of reform and opponents of the Ministry, that it is a paradox to contend that the same Government can be both Conservative and Popular. It is no such thing. If to be Conservative means to favour the policy that has for its object the revival or strengthening of the old Tory legislation, the spirit of which went far to make the Government of England a pure oligarchy, supported by mock representation; which excluded from advancement, in all professions, the man who was attached to liberty; which repressed all opinion inimical to itself;—when religious, by test acts and oaths—when civil, by suspensions of the Habeas Corpus, and indictments for conspiracy and libel,—no doubt the present Government is not Conservative. If to join with the Tories of the present day in seeking pretences from religion to bar men from social rights—bringing forth the panoply of the temple to scare away the superstitious from the town-hall and the school-room—or in piling up all the influences of aristocracy, against the expansion of commercial industry, or the expression of free opinion—if this be conservative, the Government has no claim to the distinction. But if, as we believe, a very large proportion of those who, out of Parliament, hold themselves Conservatives, and deem it their duty to oppose the Whig Ministry, desire not to revive an absolute and arbitrary rule, which is wholly incompatible with the present state of civilisation; nor to render up to the dictation of the Lords the other branches of the legislature; but to preserve the great principles of the constitution, and with them security to commerce and credit, to life and property—these men we address boldly, and we ask them in what respect they can hope for a fuller attainment of these objects by the restoration of Sir Robert Peel and his party? Grant that they return to power, are you sure that their position will be less difficult than that of the Whigs?—that you will have a more vigorous administration? When the Duke of Wellington exclaimed, 'What I wish to see 'established is a Government'—are you confident that that Government, *par excellence*, will be found in the Cabinet of the member for Tamworth? Sir Robert Peel did not think so himself,

when called in the last session to the head of affairs. In the explanation that followed his retirement, he dwells upon nothing so much as the unparalleled difficulties that beset him. He confessed that he began with a majority of the representatives of the people opposed to him; and yet he saw something in the circumstances of the times, and the public mind, which made him shrink from dissolving Parliament, except as a last resource. Hope for a vigorous and permanent Government under Sir Robert Peel—when the very feebleness of the position to which he was raised was his sole excuse for the authority arrogated over the domestic appointments of the Household! What could the influence of two or three ladies of the Bedchamber have availed against a man of consummate ability and experience, had he felt that the public were with him?—had he foreseen any of the usual elements for the formation of a vigorous and permanent cabinet? Great indeed must have been his difficulties—feeble the wing of his new-fledged Cabinet—when he could only face the country and feel his way to a general election, by demanding from the Sovereign an especial, signal, and unprecedented mark of the royal favour, which might serve as a blind to the public; and persuade them not only of her Majesty's constitutional support of, but of her personal predilections for, the party she had summoned to her councils. This, and this alone—this bolstering and propping up a hollow power with false seemings—this, and this alone, could be the object of a demand, that were otherwise a wanton dictation; and of a retirement that were otherwise a splenetic and unstatesmanlike surrender of his duties and his party. We do not blame Sir Robert Peel for either the demand or the retirement: it is in the weakness of his position—in the necessity he avowed for obtaining every possible resource and aid, precedented or unprecedented, he could borrow from the popularity and *prestige* of the throne—that we find the very excuse that he made for himself. But, we ask you, moderate and thinking Conservatives—does this argue the probability of a strong and vigorous Government formed under Sir Robert Peel? Not again, perhaps, will there be so rare a concurrence of circumstances in his favour. The Whig Ministers had voluntarily seceded—the Liberal party were dispirited and dismayed—the dissension amongst its members, which had led to the resignation of Lord Melbourne, spread still wider at the break-up of that organization which a Ministry must always in some measure establish amongst its general supporters. There was, it is true, a nominal majority in the Commons against Sir Robert Peel; but there was little likelihood, for some time at least, of a vigorous and united Parliamentary opposition. Yet, with all this in his favour, he could not encounter the

imaginary machinations of two ladies of the bedchamber! But let us grant that Sir Robert Peel and his party come again into power, and on their own terms; we think that all reasonable men, however Conservative, will acknowledge, that nothing is worse for any country than a series of shortlived experiments at administration; that nothing tends more to unsettle the popular mind—to injure the great interests of trade and commerce—to derange the various relations which an Empire holds with Foreign States—to disturb, in short, the very principles on which true Conservatism must be built,—security, regularity, and permanence. But if injurious such changes at all times, and especially to a commercial state, how much more in the present time?—at home, a deep chasm between one large portion of the working-classes and their fellow subjects;—abroad, the maintenance itself of our colonial possessions dependent on some continuous, certain, and settled policy. It is impossible for those who remember the popular agitations at the close of the last century under Mr Pitt, or the more recent prædial insurrections under the Duke of Wellington, to suppose that the late disturbances are the result of a Whig policy, or would find a necessary cure under Tory hands. They belong partly to that ignorance which the general education opposed by the Tories alone can dispel;* partly to the restlessness incidental on that peculiar crisis in civilisation, when the working-classes covet the power obtained by those immediately above them, and frustrate their own object by the rashness of the means they adopt. It is impossible to attribute to the Whigs the condition of the colonies; originating in the Canadas, as far back as the discordant constitution devised by Mr Pitt; and dating in Jamaica, from the first efforts of philanthropy to emancipate the Negroes.

But no matter what the causes—there are the effects! Disordered and discontented colonies abroad, are not to be dealt with by shifting and evanescent administrations at home. It follows, that for Conservatives, as for the whole Empire, a brief and unsuccessful attempt at government on the part of Sir Robert Peel, is to be regarded with apprehension and alarm. Grant him office—is it probable, then, that he would retain it long? We have

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* 'In the 80,000 uninstructed children,' said Lord Lansdowne, in his truly excellent speech on National Education, 'now growing out of infancy, as it appeared, in three or four only of the great towns of the north, without any creed, if it were not a farce to talk of creeds in connexion with persons so ignorant, your lordships may see the rising Chartists of the next age!'

already, in the first place, intimated the divisions that exist in his own party. How long would the convert to Catholic emancipation, the surrenderer of the Orange Lodges, retain the confidence of his Irish partisans?—fatal auxiliaries, whom nothing less than the entire subjugation of their own countrymen—the restoration of the old Protestant ascendency, can bribe into submission. Allow that the members, drilled and tamed into moderation by contact with English common sense, are willing to compromise and obey, will the constituents, hot and rabid with prejudice and triumph, be equally submissive? Look to the reception of Sir Frederick Shaw, one of the most able of the Irish party, among his own corporation of Dublin—treated as a deserter and apostate for his qualified concession in municipal reform, and hissed in the most eloquent periods of his eulogy on Sir Robert Peel. See more recently what has been said of the parliamentary Tories by Mr Gregg—the Archimandrite of Orange polemics—Gregg, who encountered Maguire—Gregg, who shouts aloud what more prudent intolerance thinks in secret. In his letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr Gregg says: 'Protestant principle is 'cushioned in the legislature—(cushioned, we presume, in the 'sense of the billiard-table; not the less ready, next stroke, for 'a cannon!) In sending members to Parliament we send them 'to the seat of the scorner: thanks—(to whom, Conservatives?—'to whom? To Lord Melbourne? to Lord Mulgrave? to Daniel 'O'Connell? No, no! thanks)—*again to the Duke of Wellington 'and Sir Robert Peel!*' The reverend gentleman, passing with a contemptuous toss of the head by Lord Eliot, falls foul upon whom, of all men? Why, Mr Sergeant Jackson, of Protestant Bandon! Yet it has been whispered, that had Sir Robert Peel retained office, Lord Eliot might have gone to Ireland; and it may be supposed that Sergeant Jackson's talents would equally have found their way into office. A pleasant prospect, then, for Sir Robert Peel's Irish Government: Here the Catholics—there the Orangemen—

'Nubibus hic tumidus, fluctibus ille minax.'

But it may be supposed that Mr Gregg is a solitary fanatic—alas! he is but one of many.

It is in vain to deny what is notorious to all who live in the world: the allegiance paid by a large portion of his followers, not only in Ireland but in Great Britain, to Sir Robert Peel, arises from respect to his talents, not confidence in his opinions. His good qualities themselves—his profound experience in practical affairs; his deliberate caution, which, while it moderates ambition in himself, tends to damp enthusiasm in his allies; his decorous

and honest respect for whatever is just and moderate in that section of public opinion to which his political creed is not violently opposed;—all those qualities, in a word, which, combined with his accomplishments in debate, have obtained for him so eminent a position in the House of Commons, seem to many to savour of timidity; and should he regain office, the first moment he is driven by circumstances and the public to one liberal measure, what now is timidity will be called treason. We venture to predict, that if Sir Robert Peel were a year in power—no matter what majority he might secure at a general election following on his installation—that no language of reproach uttered against Lord Melbourne by the most impatient of the Ultra-Radicals, would equal the vituperation heaped on their prime minister by a larger and more powerful portion of the Ultras of his own creed. We are persuaded that in many divisions in which his ministerial existence would be staked, he would have to throw himself for support, from the Tories upon the Whigs; and his administration would present precisely the same character as that attributed to the present one, when, on some questions of policy, the Radicals pass through one door, and the Whigs and Tories through the other. This we believe to be a natural consequence of the Reform Bill. Men who represent constituencies, and not hedgerows and old walls, cannot be reduced on all occasions to the exact expediencies of a party. Precisely the same necessity that compels a Cabinet to open questions, compels a Party to subdivisions. But we think there will be this distinction between Sir Robert Peel's Government and Lord Melbourne's: the Ultra Tories in Parliament will be far more numerous than the eight or ten malecontents on the liberal side; they will talk of treachery, when the Ultra-Radicals can only reasonably chafe against resistance. For it exasperates more to go too far than to concede too little—to surrender one atom of the abuses which we cling to, than to resist the innovation we desire—to give away what we have, than to refuse what we covet.

The Administration of Sir Robert Peel, if formed, could neither be vigorous nor durable: the present crisis in our national civilisation forbids it. In all stages of popular progress, the main and striking landmarks are in the increased power of the large towns. Cast your eyes over any page in our history in which the successful movement of the people is recorded; and the chief cause of the success is in the growth and prosperity and energy of the Burgher Class. The philosophical historian, who pauses to examine the causes of the rise of free opinion under James and Charles, invariably dwells with care and emphasis on the development of that popular power and union which results from some new importance acquired by the inhabitants of

the towns. To the same cause is to be attributed the bloodless and irresistible struggle that terminated in the Reform Bill. That measure, which unequivocally proved, has also prodigiously increased, the influence of the middle class of the towns upon the whole machinery of legislation. When Lord John Russell, in a sentence, the spirit of which has been unfairly represented, observed that in the electoral distribution of the Reform Bill, care was taken to give stability to the state as well as progress to the people, by a numerical preponderance to the agricultural districts, he rightly estimated the force and the tendency of urban influences on political affairs. In the long run, the spirit of a town population must always gain upon that of the agricultural. It has a much more rapid and extensive effect upon public opinion. With the former, political questions rise up with a suddenness that seems to the unobservant almost miraculous—receive instantaneous combination—and are urged on the legislature with a continuous energy and intelligence, which the lethargic and scattered electors of a province never can command. A numerical preponderance to the agricultural population, is not a moral, not a real, not an actual preponderance. It takes many counties to balance one Birmingham. Of this truth Sir Robert Peel was aware, when he made it a principal excuse for his concession to the Catholic claims, that he found the representatives of the larger towns in their favour. He estimated not merely the number of the representatives for and against, but those of the respective constituencies. But has Sir Robert Peel gained, and will he gain, to his side any reasonable proportion of the larger towns? How many small boroughs and subdivided counties will equal the life and movement—the agitation and the power of the immense constituencies that would be brought to bear against his Government? What difficulties—far greater than those arising from the disfavour of two ladies of the household—will await the cabinet that sees against it the mighty forces of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Salford, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Leeds, Nottingham, Edinburgh, and Glasgow?* And as it is the inevitable tendency of civilisation, that the power of a town population increases year by year upon the inert and sluggish population of rural districts, so is it clear, that in their opposition are difficulties, not to be overcome, not to be diminished, which all

* See how alive the Tories are to the importance of the great towns, in their recent exultation, not that they succeeded at Manchester, but that they were not so much beaten as usual! Thanks to their union with the Chartists, and the absence of the Liberal Candidate!

the tact of a leader, all the sophistry of a rhetorician, cannot soften away; and we again ask, while the great towns are against him—the strongholds of trade, the sleepless sources of public opinion—where is your hope of vigour and permanence from Sir Robert Peel's administration? No; that administration could not last. We have already remarked, and every one must allow, that any government now to be established must be a government of compromise; that neither the extreme Tory, nor the extreme Radical party could keep ground amidst the various modifications of opinion that compose the public mind of these realms. With the progressive impulse of a free people, whose voice is heard through the new constituencies created by the Reform Bill, a government that would change nothing would be impracticable. Thus much, indeed, is conceded by the Tamworth manifesto itself. With the strong and deep-rooted, but often unconscious, attachment to aristocratic influences that characterises England, and with the cautious fears that belong to a commercial nation, a government that attempted to enforce constitutional changes which the great body of the people did not support, in defiance of the strength of one party, in contempt of the moderation of another, in the teeth of the habits and feelings of the community in general, could not exist a day after its views were declared. No matter whether the government be that of Lord Melbourne or Sir Robert Peel, it must still, then, be a government of compromise; and its efficacy and duration must as necessarily be proportioned to the degree to which the compromise is carried. If too much below the average of opinion—if too much behind the necessities of the times—it will be as shortlived, and perhaps more feeble than a government which attempted to lead opinion and forestall events. Must not this necessarily be the condition of a ministry, with Sir Robert Peel at its head—a man whose whole life has been one series of compromises made too late! From the question on the Currency to the Test Act, from the Test Act to the Catholic question, from the Catholic question to Municipal Reform and the abolition of the Orange Lodges, we trace his career by the landmarks of concession. These are compromises enough, but compromises that were triumphs to enemies, not sources of new strength to himself. It must be so still, if the member for Tamworth come into power. He will have to compromise so as to revolt his followers, without satisfying or converting his foes. Sir Robert Peel cannot maintain the confidence of his whole party, unless he can sink Ireland into the ocean. He cannot conciliate the liberal party and propitiate the towns, while he continues the champion of the Corn Laws, and of the High Church. Too free for his own party, too shackled for

any other, the compromises of Sir Robert Peel would be but the confessions of his weakness. We are certain of the ultimate result. Whatever the numbers arrayed against him, if the bridge be too short from opposition to office, the time would soon come when Tories enough would be found to lend their boats for the transit. And this is precisely what a certain section of Reformers, false or real, make their apology for deserting the Government. 'Let Sir Robert Peel,' they cry, 'come into 'office. He cannot retain it; a new and a more liberal adminis-'tration must succeed.' Of all the ingenious and far-fetched speculations of political philosophy that have been hatched any where but at Laputá and Crotchet Castle, this appears to us the most singular. Go back to the records of all the men whom a people have wisely trusted—by whom great reforms have been achieved; and point out to us any single instance where they have thought of strengthening the army by surrendering the camp. The invariable characteristic of the true champions of the people has been, that they never willingly went back a step; their great maxim was to build upon what they had already won: when they deemed the march too slow, they never at least sold their captains to the enemy. But if the reasoning be original it is not profound. It may be quite true that Sir Robert Peel's Government may be weak and perishable, it does not therefore follow that the next liberal Government should be strong and enduring. In opposition many old ties may be dissolved—many friends now warm may grow inactive—many of the elements for administration may be disordered and deranged. The Liberals may be strong enough to eject the Tories, without therefore being strong enough to establish a government one whit more vigorous than that which we now possess. And, in the mean time, what advantages would be lost? The Lords, the Church, every department of patronage, once more manned with the foe;* and that current of opinion which

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* It is well said, in the able and spirited letter to Mr Grote, attributed to one of the most distinguished of the metropolitan members, that 'every 'year, every day almost, of a liberal government retaining office, adds to 'our adherents in the Church and the magistracy, on the judicial and 'episcopal benches, and delivers up into our hands some strongholds of 'Tory power.' Mr Gisborne refers, without designing it, to an instance of the effects resulting from the principles of a liberal executive, viz. in the election of magistrates in corporate towns. In the Municipal Bill, the House of Commons enacted that the town-councils should by election appoint magistrates in corporate towns; the Lords substituted a power of nomination by the Crown. What does the Minister having the executive power do? Why, request that the town-councils would hold

now flows from the middle class into the professions of the more aristocratic, checked in its gradual but continuous flow. These are considerations for a party; but there are others which affect the whole community. What is worse for the Empire at this time, in all its relations at home and abroad, than a series of ephemeral administrations?—what chances of diminished glory, and prosperity, and power! It is this which we dread, not as Whigs only, but as subjects, in the formation of a Tory government. We grant that they who desire changes incompatible with that monarchical constitution, which we believe to be best for this country—for liberty itself—may hail through the rents and chasms of succeeding cabinets the dim shadow of absolute democracy. But these are not the main body of the Reformers, whether Whigs or Radicals. Let the Conservatives mark well what portion of the liberal press—what liberal members of the House of Commons—have volunteered their services to the Tories. Are they the moderate Whigs—the more temperate Radicals? Or, are they those who make little secret of opinions the most broadly democratic; for the attainment of which they are, no doubt honestly, willing to hazard all that the Conservative and the Radical party themselves hold most dear?

The chief evil of successive and rapid failures in administration appears to us to be this; at each failure the hopes of the people, and the working classes especially, are raised into extravagant expectation. It is not merely constitutional changes that the weakness of the executive will promise to their impatience—it is financial relief; and against that relief, to any great extent, the National Faith presents a front at first sacred, but soon obnoxious. Who can tell what fierce impetuosity—what hungry discontent—may at last drive some ambitious minister, to purchase popularity by paying off taxes with the money of the National Creditor? Men may think little of this cause of alarm, and may despise it as remote. But in the affairs of states, distance from danger is measured not by years but events. Burke, at a period when the Debt was infinitely less, regarded as the worst evil in quick mutations of government, the sudden changes in the popular mind as to the sanctity of the national credit. Political extravagance advances with giant strides at every defeat of

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a similar election to that which they would have held if the House of Commons' provision had become law; and invariably, or nearly so, he appoints the persons so elected.—See *Mr Gisborne's Pamphlet.* Here, then, it is the executive power that secures to corporate towns the advantage of popular magistrates.

governments that stand upon political justice. The desire of the Chartists for Universal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments, is not as an end, but a means. A principal end, allowed by all their journals, is the annihilation of the debt; and, in order that Paul may be robbed as well as Peter, the Chartist newspapers suggest the confiscation of the land as a remuneration to the fundholder. Will Chartism be stronger or weaker if Sir Robert Peel come into power? At present it is dying fast: change of air may revive it. We will not say whether it will be stronger if the Tories rise to power; but of this we are convinced,—it will be stronger if the Tories fail in keeping the power they may gain. Behind Toryism stands Chartism, ready to advance through the first breach in the wall. We grant that all fear for the National Faith were idle, if we looked to either of the great parties as they now exist; but new factions and new creeds rise to the surface at every ferment of the deeps. It were a yet more idle fear, if the working classes were liberally educated. But the misfortune is, that while governments, with their several principles of policy, rise and fall, the education of the people cannot proceed; because, as education deals with a generation, a continuous system by a settled government is indispensably necessary; and there is nothing we should lament and fear more, than the rendering this question of questions the mere vehicle for the bitterness of polemical fury, and the jealousies of contending sects—impartial to all creeds to-day, subservient to the High Church to-morrow, according as Whig or Tory may be at the helm of affairs. We certainly cannot pretend to be free from the spirit—it may be, from the prejudices—of party; but we solemnly declare, that it is not only as belonging to that section of political opinion which, to our minds, has been rendered illustrious by the struggles of the great purifiers of our constitution and ameliorators of our laws; but it is still more strongly, as men desiring the peace, integrity, and stability of the empire, that we should deplore the removal of the present Ministry, and the formation of one which must carry in itself the seeds of premature dissolution. It is in vain for us to appeal to rival partisans, in all the heat and excitement of active politics; but there is a large class of persons not so deeply implicated with the one party or the other as to be blind to all the consequences which the ambition of some can entail on all. There are many who call themselves Conservatives—not, we will believe, because they are inimical to the reform of abuses, but because they desire security to the state—many who side with the Tories from unexamined prejudice and hereditary predilection. These men, as well as the more warm and intemperate of our own party, we solemnly solicit to consider well, be-

fore they resolve to hazard all that may follow the dissolution of the existing Cabinet. Is it a strong cabinet, with an easy course and a long life, that you expect from Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington? If you will not believe our warnings of the futility of the expectation, look narrowly to the conduct of these statesmen, worthy, we allow, by experience and reputation, to be the leaders of a party. Are they—the wisest, the ablest, the most practical of the Conservatives—so convinced of the policy urged on them by their followers, as to be eager for office, and insensible to the difficulties we have predicted? Again, we refer you to the explanations of Sir Robert Peel—to his solemn and deliberate conviction of the danger that cradled his three days' Government. We point out to you the speeches of the Duke of Wellington subsequent to that experiment. Does the hero of a hundred fields seem so sanguine of victory in the one to which you would impel him? So late as the 23d of August—on the occasion of Lord Lyndhurst's Review of the Session—the Duke hints not at forming a new Government; he contents himself, at the end as at the beginning of the Session, with attempting to counsel and guide the Government already established 'He hoped—(what? that the Conservatives might return to 'power? No)—that the noble Viscount would turn over a new 'leaf, and really govern the country in future.' Out of the whole Parliamentary host of the Tories, we know but two men of any marked eminence in public affairs, who have evinced a disposition to trust their forces to the *alea periculosa* of official fortune—Lord Lyndhurst in the Upper House, Sir James Graham in the Lower. The first an accomplished lawyer, an artful orator, a fascinating companion—'ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et 'qui plurimum et salis habet et fellis:' we cannot, in the concluding words of Pliny's eulogium, add—'nec candoris minus.' But, whatever Lord Lyndhurst's qualifications, we do not know that the Tories themselves would choose him to be one, to whose judgment they would confidently submit the grave and complicated interests of the country at this crisis. The last, a man studious of details, elaborate in rhetoric, stately and plausible, but ponderous in manner:—like Athelstane the Unready, a stout knight and a good lance when fairly roused from his dignified repose; but in whom there seems no principle of action so keen and inspiring as the desire to avenge himself on those who disturbed him from the serene enjoyment—(then but little enlivened by his sallies)—of the best place at the Board of Admiralty. There is no patriotism more loud, there is none more unsafe, than that which is animated by spite. Both these statesmen, we grant, are vehement for the siege; but then they have both (at different stages

of their several careers) been deserters. From the extreme of Liberal opinions, they have passed to the extreme, perhaps, of Tory. Converts are ardent soldiers, but are they always the most prudent leaders? Who, next to these, are the combatants the most impatient at the caution of the Duke and Sir Robert? The very men least to be depended upon when the fortress is taken—the extravagant and reckless Ultras, the wild and intolerant Orangemen, the herd of obscure but intemperate politicians, who, whatever their birth or fortune, may, in political distinction at least, be said to have every thing to gain and nothing to lose. To these, the deeper the well the more cheering the excitement of the leap.

It may be said that we have dwelt too much upon a prospective and perhaps imaginary change: that there is little immediate probability of the return of the Tories to power. But our remarks apply not only to the hypothetical formation of future ministries, *but to the degree of support to be given to the present.* There are some who assert, that they do not wish to destroy the Ministry, but only to urge them; others declare, that they are not prepared to overthrow, they merely desire to restrain. Let both these divisions, if really more anxious for the great interests of the country than the petty and fleeting objects of a faction, consider well ere they thwart, harass, weaken, the very Ministry which they confess to be on the whole the best suited to the present condition of the times. For if no party be prepared with another cabinet, it is a confession that no other party is yet ripe for power. If the egg be broken ere the fledgling is kindled, you have not only counted but killed your chickens before they are hatched! If the Tories and the Lords are ready to supplant the Ministry, we cannot blame them for their hostilities; but if not, we do blame them for obstructing the business of the country in the pure and gratuitous desire of annoyance. What is it but such a desire, that induces Lord Lyndhurst to throw upon Ministers the blame of backwardness in measures which every one knew he had marked out for his especial victims? What but faction can lead the Tory lawyer to appeal to the extreme Radicals in taunting Ministers for not introducing the reforms which he was determined they should not complete? Would the business of the country have been one jot more advanced, if all the Bills projected by Government had passed the Commons the first month of the session, and been devoured in the last by the omnivorous Bill-eaters in the Lords?

If, as the extreme Radicals and the Tories unite in declaring, the great fault of the Government is its weakness, they who originate the fault might find the excuse. A powerful Opposition

is the sure cause of a weak Government. It is a droll way of strengthening the one by increasing the virulence of the other. Before, however, we come more seriously to examine how far *any* part of the charge of inefficiency is merited by Ministers, let us cast a rapid glance over the obstacles to calm, settled, and deliberate legislation, which the Reform Bill itself has created. Machiavel long ago observed—and it does not require a Machiavel to comprehend—that every form of government has its peculiar disadvantages—the concomitant, and partly the result, of its peculiar merits. In the unreformed House of Commons, which, owing to the close boroughs, was, if not chosen, at least directly and powerfully influenced by the House of Lords, there was a necessary harmony between the two chambers. That harmony was, as necessarily, favourable on the whole to smooth, regular, and expeditious legislation. Except upon one or two great questions, (such as Catholic Emancipation,) what was made acceptable to the one stood little chance of being rejected by the other. It was this harmony, and the discord that would obviously be introduced by free representation, which made the great argument of the opponents to Parliamentary Reform. But the answer was loud and decided—'We do not desire a harmony 'which is, in fact, but subservience. The House of Commons 'is the House of the people. We demand to be heard in that 'House, and we must take the consequences of disagreement 'with the other.' The people were no doubt right when they made this reply. But the consequences predicted have come to pass; and to those consequences they must submit. They can no longer expect that legislation will proceed from one stage to the other with its ancient rapidity and ease; they must be prepared for the very disagreement which results from their liberty of choice. In fact, even should the Tories return to power, we believe that, though with less constancy and bitterness, the struggle now carried on between the two chambers would continue. The tendency of the Lords, unconsciously perhaps to themselves, is towards regaining the influence they have lost in the Commons. Under a Tory government, could it for a while be successful, they would gradually appear advancing to that object. But it is equally the tendency of the House of Commons to emancipate itself more and more thoroughly from the control. And should the influence of the Lords creep on, fold by fold, so as once more to become felt and visible, the efforts of the popular assembly will be, once more, impatient and convulsive throes that can end only in the victory of the one antagonism or the other. But, meanwhile, the want of harmony is a great obstruction to business. The people are apt to

blame the Government for what, in truth, is the working of the new constitution. Bills that consume half one session—lost in the Lords, are naturally reproduced, to waste one-half the next. Legislation is more popular, but more encumbered and more tardy. The evil must be taken for the sake of the good. *Urticæ proxima sæpe rosa est.* Again, in the old Parliament, a large proportion of members, representing only a nobleman's tenants, or their own pockets, did not deem it necessary to crowd the benches with nightly attendance, or cumber the order-book with notices of motions. Great party conflicts were rare, and the debate was left in the hands of a very few members. Adjourned discussions were prodigies out of the usual course of events. The business of the session, such as it was, proceeded with fluent regularity. Any one who has paid attention to Parliamentary business, must be aware how difficult it is to proceed far with a full House. You cannot chain the attention of four hundred or five hundred members to the tedious and minute details of a Bill which interests only some thirty or forty.* But constituents naturally desire to see the names of their members in the lists of the divisions; and the very virtue of regular attendance produces much of the vice of impatient and yet protracted legislation. The enfranchisement of the large towns, with their complicated interests, public and local, tends to the multiplication of Bills. The interest in politics, that is always keen in proportion to the freedom of the constitution, tends to the multiplication of speeches. All constituencies unite in lamenting that so much time is wasted in mere talk; and yet each constituency is proud of the talk, or angry at the silence, of its own member. Hence *linguæ centum sunt, oraque centum.* These are the faults of assemblies, in proportion as they are popular in their nature, and numerous in their constitution. The House of Commons is the largest popular assembly in the world. All the reforms that can be devised in the constituencies, will not increase the virtue of the chamber as a deliberative and business-like body. It is by reducing the numbers that you may augment its capacities for business. A hundred men of common sense will get through their work quicker than six hundred sages.

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* In fact, one cause of the number of bills passed, and the quantity of actual business done at the close of the session, compared with the beginning and the middle, is that Party Debates are then pretty generally over, and a sufficient proportion of members have left town, to allow those who remain to get through the necessary work with temper and dispatch.

But would the good of this change compensate for the evil? It is the numbers of the House of Commons that give popular life and vigour to its debates; that excite the eloquence which rings through every part of the empire; and waken in the most torpid that interest in public affairs which is to liberty what enthusiasm is to action. No change would be more fatal to popular principles, even with Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, than one which paralysed the democratic vigour that the House of Commons takes from its numbers alone, by converting the great arena of debate into a committee for consultation. But it is precisely because of the close communion between representative and constituent—because of the competition, jealousy, and emulation which arise from sympathy with popular bodies, and desire of their applause—because in the new House of Commons every interest finds some representative—every talent covets some display—every grievance obtains some voice, that there are complaints of the disproportion of talk to business—of the *quantum* of legislation begun to the *modicum* of legislation achieved—that Motions that never can succeed—Bills that never can be passed—interfere with the progress of measures that belong to the essential welfare of the country. Hence it is that, even without the chilling influence of the Upper House, the Lower House produces its own obstructions, from the fervour of its own activity. Musæus says that the eagle lays three eggs, sits on two, and hatches one; and Parliament may be said to do business pretty much as the eagle, according to him, lays eggs. But we think still, as the people thought when they demanded the Reform Bill, that the good counterbalances the evil. And if the effects be judged, not as Lord Lyndhurst proposes, by the number of bills that *are not* carried, but by the number and the nature of those that *are*, we believe we shall be enabled to show that the people have no cause to complain. The Whigs have now, under two Cabinets, been in power nine years. You say they have been vacillating and inefficient; and we do not ask you to match what they have done in nine years with the acts of any *one* previous Administration, the strongest and most vigorous, commanding all the powers of the Commons, the Lords, the Throne, and the Press,—but we ask whether *all* the Cabinets from 1688 to 1830 have effected as much? In the first three or four years under Lord Grey, they carried the Reform Bill, against what obstacles we need not say. The Act for the Abolition of Slavery; the East India Charter; the opening of the China Trade; the Bank Charter Bill, (including a partial repeal of the Usury Laws and Regulations for the improvement of Joint-Stock Companies;) in Foreign Policy, the settlement

of the great European questions which established the thrones of Greece, Portugal, and Belgium; the Scotch Burgh Reform; the English Poor-Law Bill; the Consolidation into one volume of the Commercial Laws of the Empire; the law that applies the principle of bonding to the Manufacture of Sugar; the removal of the Prohibition on Raw Silk from France; various improvements in the Laws, (not, indeed, so extensive as could be wished, and leaving much to be done, but comprising at least, in the Limitation-for-Actions Bill, a reform that has justly been called 'the most sweeping change made in the laws for half 'a century,')—all these, a single one of which would have immortalized a Tory government, were among the earliest achievements of this inefficient Whig Administration. During this time, was no relief afforded to the people? If no other good had been effected in our financial arrangements than the simplification of the Public Accounts—the credit and the immense advantage of which Mr Hume justly attributes to the Whigs—it would have been no small service to the country. But what have been the more palpable financial benefits? From 1831 to 1834, out of the fifteen millions which the national debt and the actual exigencies of the state leave available to the economist, a reduction in the expenditure was made to the amount of two millions, nine hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds. In 1831 and 1832, one million, seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds were taken off the taxes; in 1833, one million, five hundred and forty-five thousand pounds.* Did the working classes, who are now told that the Whigs are callous to their welfare, reap nothing from these reductions? Were the reductions not made with an especial eye to the poorer classes? Is there a Whig-denouncing Chartist in the land who has felt his situation the worse for the reliefs in coals, soap, candles, leather, printed cottons, the large reduction of taxes on houses from L.10 to L.18 value? The Government are accused of seeking patronage. Did they show it when, in their savings to the state, they resigned patronage in the several establishments to the amount of 1265 official appointments; in the customs, to 414; in the excise, to 507; in the colonies, to a pecuniary reduction of nearly L.400,000?

But these are the merits of Lord Grey's cabinet. Will you deny any share of them to Lord Melbourne, who was of that cabinet? What is the distinction between Lord Grey's cabinet

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* See, for a more elaborate account of the measures and the reductions referred to in the text, the valuable pamphlet, entitled, 'The Re-'form Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.'

and Lord Melbourne's? This, that Lord Melbourne has to deal with fewer abuses which the public are generally decided to correct;—that, having a much more formidable opposition in the Lords, a much less commanding majority in the Commons, a much less zealous support from the Press, he has less power to effect reforms. But with all these drawbacks and disadvantages, is it said of Lord Melbourne's Government that it is less liberal than Lord Grey's? that it hazards the expression of more timid principles of reform? This is not said by the Tories: this is not asserted by the Radicals. Well then, Lord Melbourne's Government, enfeebled, if you please, by the strength of the Opposition—having a comparatively scanty majority in the Commons—having had at one time but a reluctant countenance from the Court—at all times the unrelaxing opposition of the Lords, and with that disadvantage in the popular mind which is to be found in the reaction or exhaustion that followed the Reform Bill, as it does all isolated popular efforts—have carried greater and more difficult questions than ever procured for the strongest Tory administration the praise of efficiency and vigour.

Let us now cast a glance towards the benefits derived from their management of the finances. Even prior to the Government of Lord Grey, the Duke of Wellington thought that the limit of retrenchment, and, consequently, of reduceable taxation, was attained. Then came the relief effected by Lord Grey. Yet, under Lord Melbourne, there has been an additional reduction in taxes to the amount nearly of a million and a half. And this, be it remembered, during the very time when the exigencies of the state seemed rather to threaten increase than to promise diminution of the national burdens. During the very time when it was necessary for the honour and security of the empire to augment (and not inconsiderably) the army, the navy, and the ordnance, an adequate force has been provided for the defence of the Canadas; the military movements in the East Indies have been carried on with a spirit, and on a scale unprecedented in later times; the British contingent employed in Spain has been maintained, and has been a main cause of tranquillizing the Peninsula. And have financial reductions, or military preparations, been attended with a niggard bounty to those departments in national civilization, in which we seek the ornament and grace of states? We venture to say, that literature, science, and the arts, have received more liberal encouragement and aid than were ever before accorded by the Treasury. Expeditions and voyages of discovery have been undertaken; extended serieses of observations have been made; a geological survey of unexampled precision and accuracy is in progress; the

publication of useful works has been promoted; paintings of the rarest value have enriched our National Gallery; new relics of antiquity, manuscripts precious to learning, vases, engravings—various collections inestimable to taste, to art, and to science—have been added to the British Museum. We do not envy those who can sneer at such acquisitions to the intellectual wealth of a great and polished people; or who deem the advancement of the liberal arts unworthy the attention of Government. But art has not been favoured to the neglect of trade. A branch of industry capable of very large extension has been saved from utter ruin, by the reduction of the duty on Flint Glass to half its former amount. At the time of the reduction, the manufacture was in a state of rapid decay; capitalists about to quit the trade; several of the glass houses already closed: the selection of this tax for large reduction, has given to the industry thus relieved a new impetus. The alteration of the Paper Duties, (an article in which the interests of literature were deeply concerned,) has not only greatly lessened the pressure of the Excise, but remedied fraud on the one side, and oppression on the other. The entire repeal of the duties on Printed Paper Hangings, has added materially to the cleanliness and comfort of even the poorest householders. What was the state of the law, as regards the Press, when Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer brought forward his motion for the reduction of the Newspaper duty to one penny? Not only was the progress of knowledge impeded by the high duty then existing, but the law was at once odious and ineffective. Prosecutions were undertaken—printing-presses confiscated—prisons crowded with offenders, who derived from the judgment of the courts of justice not only the honours of martyrdom, but the rewards of successful speculation. The year following that motion, the Government, having the available surplus, according to the proposition it embraced, reduced the duty from fourpence to one penny, in the teeth of the most violent but subtle opposition of the Tories, headed by Sir C. Knightly, and under colour of substituting the repeal of the duty upon tallow! With the reduction of the Newspaper Duty, ceased all the oppression and the immorality of countless prosecutions and lucrative imprisonments. Before Lord Melbourne's Government, motion after motion had been vainly made for equalizing the Sugar Duties, and reducing the drawbacks on exportation. Over and over again had Mr Whitmore (whose retirement from Parliament all well-wishers to British commerce must lament,) urged the impolicy of the existing duties on East Indian sugar, and their fatal consequences to trade, to the revenue, and the improvement of

the African race. Lord Melbourne's Government was the first to grapple with these questions, so important to commerce. It equalized the sugar duties, and at the same time reduced the drawback, or rather the bounty, on sugar exported. It also achieved an act of tardy justice in favour of the West Indian Colonies, which had so long borne the weight of the four and a half per cent duties;—a branch of revenue most oppressive in itself, and misapplied to purposes wholly foreign from those which had originally justified its introduction. During this Administration, not only has perfect publicity been given to the affairs of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, so long shrouded in mystery, but the heavy burden borne by Tin, (that earliest article of British trade,) has been entirely removed. What was the public feeling against the Pension List prior to this Administration? what jobs did it cover? what jealousy did it create? The people, judging of cases unknown by abuses apparent, applied to the whole list Lord Liverpool's epigrammatic endorcement on the Memorial of a certain noble marquis,—'This 'is too bad.' A committee was appointed—an enquiry the most searching took place, in spite of the vehement indignation of the Tories—the whole case was submitted to a fair tribunal. The principle on which Civil List pensions should be hereafter granted was made part of the law itself; responsibility to Parliament, effective and immediate, was secured; and an arrangement founded on just economy reduced this branch of the public expenditure to less than one-half its former amount. The complete success that attended the treatment of this question, is apparent in the complete satisfaction it has given to the public mind. Since the Report of the Pension List Committee, what candidate finds at the hustings a popular grievance in pensions—now made the fair rewards of intellectual labour or public service?

Such have been the principal financial measures of the last five sessions; and, contemporaneously, the great work of consolidating the Excise Acts has been steadily persevered in; while two great operations, the West India Loan and the Funding of Exchequer Bills, have proved at once the validity of the public credit, and the readiness with which the Government encountered a temporary obloquy, from their determination to secure to the public the most advantageous terms. On occasions of this nature, it is easy to purchase popularity at the expense of the people. It is precisely because, by the resolution of the Treasury, the profits of the monied speculators were reduced to a *minimum*, that the chorus of applause which hailed the loans of Mr Pitt, subsided into an angry murmur against a Treasury that considered itself the guardian of the public purse.

Turning from these financial measures, we see effected by this 'feeble Government' others, which no Tory administration ever felt itself endowed with the vigour and the courage to propose—the English Municipal Bill—the English Tithe Bill—the adjustment of Irish Tithes—the Irish Poor Law (a still more difficult question than the English,)—the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt by Mesne Process. Those Ministers whose hands are said to be so weak, have shortened by nearly two years the noviciate of African liberty; they have struck a deadly blow at the Slave Trade in other countries; they have prepared new paths for commercial enterprise in Turkey and in Russia; they have commenced for Literature negotiations for the greatest boon it can receive—an International Law of Copyright; they have established the great principle of Popular Education, without exclusion of religious differences; and they have closed the last arduous session (for we will not narrow this boon by classing it amongst the mere financial arrangements,) *with obtaining, for every class of the people, the commercial, literary, and social benefits arising from the cheapest possible intercourse by correspondence*—preceding, in this, the most vigorous and most popular states in the world. These have, in four or five years, been some of the acts of the Ministry charged with utter inefficiency! Whether it be much or little, the charity of the Opposition is to give nothing. They remind us of the story told of Antigonus. A Cynic asked him for a drachm of silver. 'Pooh!' said Antigonus, 'that is not a 'present that should come from a king.' 'Give me then a talent.' 'Pooh!' said Antigonus, 'that's not a present that should go 'to a Cynic.' With those who censure the niggard generosity of others, there is always the double excuse for their own thrift—the too much or the too little.

We repeat it—for we will nail down these facts upon the memories of those whom we address—there has not been an abuse upon which public opinion has been expressed with energy and decision, of which the reform has not been either effected, or advanced, in the nine years' administration of these 'Do-nothing 'Whigs.' Look back to the mock Parliament of Rotten Boroughs—it is reformed; to the jobbing Corporate Oligarchies—they are opened to popular control; to the disease that, in the banded mendicancy of the old Poor Law, rotted away the sinews of industry—it is healed; to the bar to improvement in English tithes—it is removed; to the Rathcormac butcheries of the Irish tithes—they are at an end; to the wholesale famine of the Irish peasantry—the Irish Poor Law opens an asylum to starvation; to the intolerable grievance of a pension list for titled paupers—it is rooted from the land; to Colonial Slavery—it is no more. On

what abuses, yet existing, are the opinions of men attached to popular rights the most warmly expressed? The coercion of Electors—the monopoly of the Landowners;—the Government has advanced as far in remedial measures as numerical force will allow. The Vote by Ballot, and the Repeal of the Corn Laws, are Open questions. Let the people look back when they please to the struggles of this Ministry—it is the people's banner that floats above the contest—it is the people's cause that has triumphed, and which yet animates to farther exertions.

But there are some persons who persist in regarding only what the Ministry has *not* done. In vain we point out to them what it *has* done. They are worthy rivals of a certain Pere Londre, who, in a Register of the times, thus recorded the battle of the Boyne :—'The battle of the Boyne—*Schom-*' *berg is killed there at the head of the English.*' Certainly Schomberg was killed; but it is no less true that his army achieved a great victory. No doubt, in any new edition of his Register, the worthy Pere Londre would still pertinaciously print—'The 'battle of the Boyne—Schomberg is killed there at the head of 'the English!' Do what you will to explain the whole truth, there ever are in politics Peres' Londre enough to dwell only on the one fact! Tell them all that the Government has done, and they still persist in recording their deeds by a reference to something that the Government has not effected. They can never allow the victory gained; they can only insist on their Schomberg killed.

The great questions not yet settled, we have no doubt the Government, whatever the result, will fairly grapple with, at the commencement of the next session. We look with sanguine expectation to their strengthening our colonial empire, by a matured and comprehensive scheme for the constitutional pacification of the Canadas. In domestic reforms, we hope for an efficient amelioration in the Laws; and we cannot here withhold the expression of our trust and belief, that, amongst the earliest measures laid before Parliament, will be one for the better and more effectual working of the machinery of the Reform Bill.

We make no apology for entering at such length into the circumstances connected with last Session, the acts of Ministers, and the state of Parties. The condition of the country and the aspect of the times fully warrant our details. With the fate of the present Government rests, for a time at least, the result of that most momentous experiment which the Whigs have been the first to make in the history of this country, namely, WHETHER REFORM IS TO BE A PRINCIPLE OF OPPOSITION OR OF ADMINISTRATION. As yet they have succeeded in the noble attempt

to enrol amongst the servants of the Crown the advocates and champions of popular improvement. The struggle carried on is, in fact, that between a portion of the aristocracy and those most influenced by the habits and prejudices of aristocratic policy, (not scrupling to seek an alliance wherever political intemperance can be found,) and a Ministry supported by the Commons and favoured by the Crown. In this crisis, we may be forgiven if we have too largely expressed that interest in public affairs which all men of all parties must deeply feel.

NOTE to the Article on the Ministerial Plan of Education.

HAVING, since the above article was printed, received a copy of the Minutes of the Privy Council relative to the application of the late Parliamentary Grant for Education, we think it may be useful to make our readers acquainted, by means of it, with the Regulations by which the Council have resolved to regulate the appropriation of the Grant for the present year. We therefore here annex the Minute containing them.

'EXTRACT from Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 24th September 1839.

'The Lords of the Committee, deliberated as to the best manner of effecting the objects contemplated in the vote of the last Session. The sum voted is L.30,000; the number of applications is already 307; the number of scholars to be educated in the proposed schools is 58,302; and the amount applied for is L.48,590.

'The Lords of the Committee observe, that, in a large proportion of the applications now before them, the memorialists have commenced, or undertaken, the erection of schoolhouses, in the expectation of receiving pecuniary assistance from her Majesty's Government, upon conditions similar to those which were required by the Lords of the Treasury; and the Lords of the Committee resolve to be guided by the regulations contained in the Treasury Minutes, in so far as will be consistent with the terms of her Majesty's Order in Council of 3d June 1839.

'The following Regulations will therefore govern the appropriation of the sum intrusted to the superintendence of the Committee for the present year:—

'REGULATIONS.

'1. Every application for a grant is to be made in the form of a memorial, addressed, "To the Right Honourable the "Lords of the Committee of Council on Education."

'2. The Committee will consider the memorials in order, according to the dates at which they have been or shall be received.

'3. The right of inspection will be required by the Committee in all cases. Inspectors, authorized by her Majesty in Council, will be appointed from time to time, to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money. The Inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council.

'4. Before any application for aid shall be entertained, the Committee will require to be satisfied—by reference either to the Inspectors, or to the National or British and Foreign School Society, or, if the school be in Scotland, to some competent authority there—

'1*st*, That the case is deserving of assistance.

'2*d*, That there are no charitable or other funds or endowments which might supersede the necessity of a grant.

'3*d*, That the site of the school-house has been obtained with a good legal tenure, and that by conveyance to trustees it has been duly secured for the education of the children of the poor.

'4*th*, That it is reasonable to expect that the school will be efficiently and permanently supported.

'5. The Committee will require that every building, on behalf of which any application is entertained, shall be of substantial erection, and that in the plans thereof not less than six square feet be provided for each child.

'6. All recipients of grants will be required to bind themselves to submit to any audit of their building account, and to furnish any reports of their schools which the Committee of Council may require.

'7. The Committee will require that the certificate hereto annexed shall be signed by the applicants and presented to the Committee, before their Lordships will authorize the payment of any grant which may be made to a school.

'8. In all ordinary cases, the grants will be made in aid of the erection of School-houses (exclusive of residence for master or assistant) upon the following further conditions:—

'1*st*, That for every 10s. to be granted by the Committee, the means of educating one child (at least) shall be provided.

'2*d*, That the amount of private subscription shall be received, expended, and accounted for, before their Lordships will authorize the payment of the grant.

'9. In every application for aid to the erection of a School-house in England or Wales, it must be stated whether the school is in connexion with the National Society, or British and Foreign School Society; and if the said school be not in connexion with either of those societies, the Committee will not entertain the case, unless some special circumstances be exhibited to induce their Lordships to treat the case as special.

'10. Under the head of special, the following may be included:—

'1*st*, Cases of peculiar urgency arising in poor and populous places.

'2*d*, Peculiar cases in which sums may be required for the aid and support of existing schools.

'3*d*, Cases of schools in England or Wales, which are not connected with the National or British and Foreign Society.

CERTIFICATE.

'We, the undersigned, promoters of the school at hereby certify, for the information of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education—

'1*st*, That the new school-house, in aid of which your Lordships were pleased to grant L. , is completed in a satisfactory and workmanlike manner; being built of the proper dimensions, and in all respects according to the plan and specification proposed to, and approved by, your Lordships.

'2*d*, That the amount of private subscription, specified in our memorials to your Lordships, has been received, expended, and accounted for, and that there does not remain any debt, charge, or claim of any kind on account of the building, except what will be liquidated by your Lordships' grant; the payment of which is now prayed for.

'3*d*, That the site of the school-house has been obtained with a good legal tenure, and has been duly conveyed to trustees, so as to secure the building for the purpose of educating the children of the poor.

'*4th*, That we are ready to submit to any audit of our accounts for building which your Lordships may direct; to make such periodical reports respecting the state of our schools as your Lordships may call for; and to admit your Lordships' inspectors, according to the annexed regulation marked A.

'In testimony whereof, we affix our signatures, and request the payment of the sum appropriated to the school at aforesaid.

'Signed and dated

REGULATION A.

'The right of inspection will be required by the committee in all cases. Inspectors authorized by her Majesty in Council will be appointed from time to time to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money. The inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council.'

ERRATA.

P. 8, l. 14, *for* Shrewsbury, and a Mr Johnstone, *read* a Mr Johnstone of the family of Westerhall.
P. 9, l. 41, *for* Brosely, a little below Coalbrookdale, *read* in Coalbrookdale.
P. 10, l. 36, *for* Conan at Bewdly, *read* Conan and Beauley.
P. 12, l. 19, *for* pond locks, *read* pound locks.

No. CXLII. will be Published in January.

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EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JANUARY 1840.

N°. CXLII.

ART. I.—*The Life of Robert Lord Clive; collected from the Family Papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.* By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

WE have always thought it strange, that while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atabalipa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Surajah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the vanquished Americans, and were at the same

time quite as highly civilized as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not only insipid, but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely-printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is, that his narrative, though one of the most authentic, and one of the most finely written in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that Sir John Malcolm's volumes will not much attract those readers whom Orme and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at his disposal by the late Lord Powis, were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skilfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticise with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation, and by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished, and of those who have digested the materials, is, on the whole, greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers, and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive, than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions, and tried by strong

temptations, committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened view of his whole career must admit, that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First, this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law, and divided his time between professional business and the avocations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the 29th of September 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year; and from these it appears that, even at that early age, his strong will, and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional intrepidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to the family. 'Fighting,' says one of his uncles, 'to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper 'such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every 'trifling occasion.' The old people of the neighbourhood still remember to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the good-for-nothing lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and halfpence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning, and gaining for himself every where the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been, that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a fortune or to die of a fever at Madras.

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the

youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The Company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and to keep a sharp look-out for private traders who dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid, that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt; the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account; and those who lived to rise to the top of the service, often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St George had arisen on a barren spot, beaten by a raging surf; and in the neighbourhood a town, inhabited by many thousands of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labours of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious, than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life, were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more an oriental in his tastes and habits, and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo-Indian of the present day.

Within the fort and its precincts, the English governors exercised, by permission of the native rulers, an extensive authority.

But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was governed by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the Company, out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British resident gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to play at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese, and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged—no small calamity in a climate which can be rendered tolerable to an European only by spacious and well-placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him; but when he landed at Fort St George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. His shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself. He was several months in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected, from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later years. 'I have not enjoyed,' says he, 'one happy day since I left my 'native country.' And again, 'I must confess, at intervals, when 'I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very par-'ticular manner. . . . . If I should be so far blest as to revisit again 'my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of 'all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be pre-'sented before me in one view.'

One solace he found of the most respectable kind. The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it. The young man devoted much of his leisure to

reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed. As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits.

But neither climate, nor poverty, nor study, nor the sorrows of a homesick exile, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit. He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation. Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself; and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein. After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an exclamation, that surely he was reserved for something great.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life, suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence. Europe had been, during some years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession. George II., was the steady ally of Maria Theresa. The house of Bourbon took the opposite side. Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together; and she found it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendency. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted an expedition to the continent of India, in spite of the opposition of the British fleet—landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up; the French colours were displayed on Fort St George; and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Dupleix, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers; that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone; and that Madras should be rased to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger

which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English, was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Dupleix treated the principal servants of the Company. The governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St George, were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St David, one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed, naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his restless and intrepid spirit, than the business of examining packages and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of Fort St David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him—judgment, sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

He had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between Great Britain and France. Dupleix was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company; and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French Crowns; but there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East, a war most eventful and important—a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century, was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a popula-

tion subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindostan, amazed even travellers who had seen St Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi, dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys, who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul, ruled as many subjects and enjoyed as large an income as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism, and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house, produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from their mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But, throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without co-operated with an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within; and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps the fall of the Carlovingians furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each

other in race, language, and religion, flocked as if by concert from the furthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Baltic extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine. The Hungarian, in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognised the Gog and Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depth of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense, and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. To this point we trace the power of those princes who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses, and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurungzebe. A series of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A series of ferocious invaders had descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier;—the Peacock Throne, on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpoots threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Seiks ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread terror along the Jumna. The high lands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race;—a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that th

wild clan of plunderers first descended from the mountains; and soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Their captains reigned at Poonah, at Gualior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles—to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title, stooped to pay this ignominious 'black-mail.' The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy would have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. But they were in truth no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and lead the hardy tribes of Cabul and Chorasan against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible, that a trading company, sepa-

rated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas—would compel Mahratta and Mahommedan to forget their mutual feuds in common subjection—would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls;—and, having established a government far stronger than any ever known in those countries, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes—dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar.

The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy, was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe or Frederick would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth, of some glittering puppet dignified with the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were successfully employed by the English, were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

The state of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a decent pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty; and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the natives confounded the confusion, by applying to Asiatic politics the public law of the West, and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty; for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life

only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the Mogul, arguments and precedents might be found for every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands, represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used, did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was *de facto* dissolved; and that, though it might be proper to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relique of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748, died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India—the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan.

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the competitor of Nazir Jung. Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law, it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganized, they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by their success against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic—to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole of southern India;—this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sepoys, disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated and slain. His son, Mahommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly; and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix

After some months of fighting, negotiation, and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed every where. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers; Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan; and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mahommedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, with authority superior even to that of Chunda Sahib. He was entrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the treasures which former Viceroys of the Deccan had accumulated, found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition, unless signed by him, was even perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months. But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, an European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the vain-glorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display it with arrogant ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its greatest triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his victory to all the nations of the East. Medals stamped with emblems of his success were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad; which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix.

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of Trichinopoly alone; and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England; and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St George; they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of Pondicherry; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix every where successful; while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress, had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters—that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors, that unless some vigorous effort were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the house of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the favourite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys, armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded this little force under him, not a single one had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the Company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy; but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a blow.

But Clive well knew that he would not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay; and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore; and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers, whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous; the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left; the stock of provisions was scanty; and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed any thing that is related of the tenth legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive—not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said,

which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Row, had been hired to assist Mohammed Ali; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him, in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahommedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than that mournful legend:—how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had perished round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered his latest prayer—how the assassins carried his head in triumph—how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff—and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of nearly twelve centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslems of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation, that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rajah Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude that had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

The news was received at Fort St George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoys, were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp; but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoys, who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib, and recognised the title of Mahommed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been entrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, pro-

tracted the struggle. The Mahrattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was, that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St George, and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken—a loss more serious than that of thousands of natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be rased to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the devices by which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterised Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness; and it is bare justice to Clive to say, that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to

common rules. 'Some people,' he wrote, 'are pleased to 'term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky; but, in my opinion, 'from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and 'might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out;—a 'man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a pre-'sence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger—'born a soldier; for, without a military education of any sort, or 'much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment 'and good sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer 'and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted 'success.'

The French had no commander to oppose to the two friends. Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice; and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms. He was thus under the necessity of entrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs; and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam, and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was not a single man of talent; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed every where. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance. They condemned his policy. They allowed him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised;—lavished his private fortune, strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly, but steadily,

the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India, and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty, and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description, that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly-levied sepoys and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash-houses of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much, that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well. Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men.

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer-Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished, and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her.

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years

before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven; yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and presented him with a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he declined to receive this token of gratitude, unless a similar compliment was paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had become so great a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out, that after all the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize-money had fallen to his share, and he had brought home several thousands, some of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties, and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition.

At the time of the general election of 1754, the Government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal Opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last Rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the

influence and promises of Prince Frederick, had been dispersed by his death. Almost every public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connexions had been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress and supplant each other. The prime minister, Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury, from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them.

Newcastle had set his heart on returning two members for St Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount there; and Fox exerted himself strenuously in Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed by the whole interest of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly, that in election battles there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned; but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favour. But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox.

Newcastle the Tories could only despise. Fox they hated as the boldest and most subtle politician, and the ablest debater among the Whigs;—as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland. After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was, that the House, by a small minority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated.

Ejected from Parliament, and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand, and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service in which he was employed after his return to the East, was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah. This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the house of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould, which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with similar exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegetation, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cult-

vated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilizes the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Other provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics, which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb, that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does, he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogley. Lower down the stream, the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee, contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle, abandoned to water-fowl and alligators, covered the site of the present Citadel, and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Bahar, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English

called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty, who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect, and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him; and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the good-will of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake—when the sight of pain as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds; and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without a special permission from the Nabob. A rich native whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped

into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. He abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left at the mercy of the guards; and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice—the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls, and the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction—not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer—approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if any body awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies—raved, prayed, blasphemed

—implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gasps and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses, on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things, which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted, were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the Prince, at Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah, in the mean time, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade any Englishman to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence, it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry—fine troops and full of spirit—and fifteen

hundred sepoys, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects and larger revenues than the King of Prussia, or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries, that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains, than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs; and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts, and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat—though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman; and his

military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he displayed great talents, and obtained great success, is undeniable. But it is also undeniable, that the transactions in which he now began to take a part, have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man 'to whom de-'ception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang.' Clive seems to us to have been constitutionally the very opposite of a knave—bold even to temerity—sincere even to indiscretion—hearty in friendship—open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen—from his boxing-matches at school, to the stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament, amidst which his later years were passed—his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been, that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour—with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame—with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined—most erroneously in our opinion—that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free—if he went on telling truth, and hearing none—if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly, this man, in all the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer; and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents—Mr Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This

Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindoo talents—quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance—and the Hindoo vices—servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front which the English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded, than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Nearly five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear, and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal 'against Clive, the 'daring in war, on whom,' says his highness, 'may all bad 'fortune attend.' He ordered his army to march against the English. He countermanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He again sent for him, and begged pardon for his intemperance. In the mean time, his wretched maladminis-

tration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects—soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against him; in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malecontents at Moorshedabad, and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation; but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince to perfect security. The same courier who carried this 'soothing letter,' as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr Watts a letter in the following terms:—'Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five 'thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will 'march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long 'as I have a man left.'

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well; the plot was nearly ripe; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false. The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy; and he determined to take advantage of his situation, and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling, as the price of his secresy and of his assistance. The

committee, incensed by the treachery, and appalled by the danger, knew not what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy, and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

His advice was taken; but how was the wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red—the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such, that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier; and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar; the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey; and still Meer Jaffier delayed to fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate; and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no

light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed, and at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep: he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his stout heart should now and then have sunk when he reflected against what odds and for what a prize he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sate gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke—the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more

powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English, and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis.*

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few fieldpieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered the army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to re-assemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed, and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of nearly sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But, as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next day he repaired to the English quarters, not a little uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put

himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived; and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language; and is said to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired, when a lad, in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr Scrafton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, 'It is now time to undeceive Omichund.' 'Omichund,' said Mr Scrafton in Hindostanee, 'the red treaty 'is a take-in. You are to have nothing.' Omichund fell back insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though unscrupulous in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples of India, in the hope that change of scene

might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ his talents in the public service. But from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding, and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments, and hung with precious stones. In this abject state he languished a few months, and then died.

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no faith with them; and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalee, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so; for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia, we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed, not merely a crime, but a blunder. That honesty is the best policy, is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interest of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith. But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of this great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy—that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing, when

compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the 'yea 'yea,' and 'nay nay,' of a British envoy. No fastness, however strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent., and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept; he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General; and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess, is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound—had we, as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund, retaliated by lying, and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion—it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we condemn it most severely.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Meeran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood

so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort-William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which but a few months ago had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived; and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice, and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough, on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents; and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We fully acquit Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country; but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It follows, that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble—with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any govern-

ment be well served if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed—on grounds of common law and common sense—that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France, would grossly violate his duty, and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose—and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument—that the Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace had rendered to the House of Bourbon—what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute-book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now, than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that in Clive's case there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general, not of the Crown, but of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least, authorized its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary, he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken any thing, we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity; but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad.

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile or quite as depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required; and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob. The viceroy of the rich and powerful province of Oude, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with despatches, which had been written at the India-House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion, the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. 'Are you yet 'to learn,' he said, 'who that Colonel Clive is, and in what 'station God has placed him?' The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered, 'I affront the Colonel—I, who never get 'up in the morning without making three low bows to his jack-'ass!' This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.

It is but justice to say, that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an

expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendency; and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Delhi, in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah Alum, destined to be the sport, during many years, of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favour him. He found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, was speedily assembled round him; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Jaffier's terror was extreme; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage, 'If you do this,' he wrote, 'you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and 'many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, 'who will bully you out of money till you have none left in 'your treasury. I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity 'of the English, and of those troops which are attached to you.' He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier, whom he highly esteemed. 'Come to no terms; 'defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English 'are stanch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause 'in which they have once taken a part.'

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing, by forced marches. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty

Europeans and two thousand five hundred sepoys. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince, advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court of Moorshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quit-rent which the East India Company was bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up, might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas; and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad, and the Dutch factory at Chinsura; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsura, exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country—still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence—equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one-half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic, that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He

knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility, if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France; that they might disavow his acts; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied, that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison at Chinsura, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendency in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was entrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsura; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories; and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him—not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition; but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention; and Pitt, whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament described Clive as a heaven-born general,—a man, who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery; but

these words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate; and his single victory having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway, versed in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous, wanted vigour and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg. The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he sent home, through private houses, was also considerable. He invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a-year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third, were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm, that no Englishman who started with nothing, has ever, in any line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four. It would be unjust not to add that he made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a-year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a-year on his old commander Lawrence,

whose means were very slender. The whole sum which he expended in this manner, may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate Parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view; and after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attachments, as we have seen, were to Mr Fox; at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr Pitt; but finally, he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted him, presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. 'He 'will be in town very soon,' said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, 'and then your Majesty will 'have another vote.'

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself as a soldier and a statesman; and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control. The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court of Proprietors, wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have its way. That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful than at present; for, then, every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous—the debates indecently virulent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train to every discussion and every

ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is rather fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a-year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the Sudder courts, are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company; nor can any talents however splendid, nor any connexions however powerful, obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago, much less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street, or published a clever pamphlet in defence of the chairman, he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery-office, which invited every body to take a chance, and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received, as a present, an estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquis of Rockingham, and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year—a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House, had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Sulivan. He had conceived a strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival; but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was

then chosen annually. At the election of 1763, Clive attempted to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sulivan was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it;—armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance, that the average interval between the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards—the Spanish viceroy, who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches, and of sumpter-horses trapped and shod with silver—were now outdone. Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than were the effect of their unprincipled eagerness to be rich. They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier. They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim. But Meer Cossim had talents and a will; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit—nay, which destroyed his revenue in its very source. The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer Jaffier again; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every one of these revolutions, the new prince divided among

his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together from the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with perfect impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource:—when the evil became insupportable, they rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil genii, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed—the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers; and, to all, the haughty race presented a dauntless front. Their armies, every where outnumbered, were every where victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. 'It must be acknowledged,' says the Mussulman historian of those times, 'that this nation's presence of mind, 'firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all ques-'tion. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious 'prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging 'themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many 'military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of govern-

'ment—if they exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in re-
'lieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns
'their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable
'to them, or worthier of command; but the people under their
'dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and
'distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted ser-
'vants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer.'

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity, luxury, and the spirit of insubordination, spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess-room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal, and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions; a disorganized administration; the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched; every fleet bringing back individuals able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government; war on the frontiers, disaffection in the army, the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro;—such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was, that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds, and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required;—that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them, that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy Sulivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sulivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sulivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, by the by-laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and, though hundreds were present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate, but Clive triumphed. Sulivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat; and both the chairman and the deputy-chairman were friends of the new governor.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May 1765 he reached Calcutta, and he found the whole machine of government more fearfully disorganized than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant, ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling were distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company; and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter, written immediately after to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. 'Alas!' he says, 'how is the 'English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a 'few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation— 'irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that great 'Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must 'be accountable if there be an hereafter, that I am come out with 'a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to 'destroy those great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt.'

The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to effect a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made some show of opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a

year and a half; and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride. He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them; to conciliate the goodwill of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors; and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would be the hatred of those ravenous adventurers, who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless; but very soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would procure it elsewhere; and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices. The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in a very short time all resistance was quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To lay by a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be supposed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages. It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation. That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign

of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. 'Absolutely prohibit the private trade,' said he, 'for your business will be better done. I know this 'is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you 'will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; 'and then you know what you part from.'

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the by-gains of its servants. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a-year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could hardly live in India for less than ten times that sum; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth proconsuls, proprætors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the implied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to expect that they would be content to live in penury. He justly concluded, that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head of Indian revenue; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions—of violating his promises—of authorizing that very abuse which it was his especial mission to destroy,—namely, the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit, that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of

revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence. Yet, such is the injustice of mankind, that none of those acts which are the real stains of his life, has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service: that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors affected the interests of the military service; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercantile agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoys, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders he was inflexibly severe; but his severity was pure from all taint of private malevolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor; but Clive would not listen to the charge. 'The officers,' he said, 'are Englishmen, not assassins.'

While he reformed the civil service and established his au-

thority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time, the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers and the Odoacers, who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified with the names of Cæsar and Augustus. But as in the one case, so in the other, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms alone, the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy; and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless; and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased that the English were disposed to give solid rupees, which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck; and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace—to Charles Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes, would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of a rival trading corporation.

This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose on any body; and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffier still resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as 'Your Highness,' and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty thousand pounds a-year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a-year. The neighbouring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Prince of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money, and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but peremptorily refused: and it deserves notice that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources, he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and as far as we can judge he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling, in specie and jewels: and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund, which still bears his name, owes its origin to this princely donation.

After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health rendered it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India House were still powerful and active; and they had been reinforced by a large band of allies, whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal, persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him; and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connexion, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquess. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced, that among the Jacobins might be reckoned 'the East Indians 'almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present 'importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth.'

The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs; that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country; that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men;—these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in that into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord-Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as 'Domesday Book,' had been accumulated by violating public faith—by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary—all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature, were stirred against the wretch who had obtained, by guilt and dishonour, the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy—of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tempest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The maccaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style—Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons—were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say, that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be

numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of the country respecting Nabobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nabob—the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium. He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square. He reared one palace in Shropshire, and another at Claremont. His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendour and power, envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations, wealth and dignity seem to have sate as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's 'Margery Mushroom.' Nor was he himself, with all his great qualities, free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content with the plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite. Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dauntless, and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders 'two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be 'got for love or money.' A few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories, of

which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated respecting his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India—of bad acts committed when he was absent—nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account. He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson always held this language. Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds, was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad; and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns who drank in this frightful story, was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunter, since widely known as William Huntingdon, S.S.; and the superstition which was strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor, seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.*

In the mean time, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal, was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive; and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered, were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770, the rains failed; the earth was parched up; the tanks were empty; the rivers shrank within their beds; a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had

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* See Huntingdon's *Kingdom of Heaven taken by Prayer*, and his Letters.

never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close by the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained, but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects, and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it; that one English functionary, who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been utterly unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn-factors. It was, however, so loud and so general, that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith.* What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his measures had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down,

* Wealth of Nations, Book IV. Chap. v.—Digression.

and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob—the Anglo-Indian character personified; and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the city, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies, had left them little leisure to study Indian politics. Where they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham, indeed, during the short period of his ascendency in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold and sweeping measure, respecting the acquisitions of the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr Pitt and the great Whig connexion in 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war; the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis; the ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions—of every Indian abuse, and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such, that he could count on the support of no powerful connexion. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition—with the little band who still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead: his followers were scattered; and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which

divided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by himself. His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated; and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with every thing at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs, he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech, vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham, who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and must be allowed to exhibit, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation, which assiduous culture might have improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to the measures of his last administration; and succeeded so far, that his enemies thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot, to enquire into the affairs of India; and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah, and raised Meer Jaffier, was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross-examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep-stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies, would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his Eastern negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund; and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them, and that, in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffier; but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or

honour. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him;—a great prince dependent on his pleasure; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder; wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. 'By God, Mr Chairman,' he exclaimed, 'at this moment I stand astonished at my own 'moderation!'

The enquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India; and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffier, nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichund, but for his determined resistance to avarice and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed;—and if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry IV. of France, Peter the Great of Russia—how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes

wider views; and the best tribunal for great political cases is that tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history.

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down, and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North, though not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the enquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some years before been created a Knight of the Bath, was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George III., who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned, and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides; for in that age all questions were open questions except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on the Government. Thurlow, the Attorney General, was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance, that some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with great energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs; and, after bidding his hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step further, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large

sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the House stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism; but they shrunk from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.

The result of this memorable enquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis XV. had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime *theophilanthropy* stolen from the New Testa-

ment, and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations; and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of that strange melancholy 'which re-'joiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave.' While still a writer at Madras, he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air. The malignity with which his enemies had pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the mean time, his temper was tried by acute physical suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates, he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium; and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It was said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious, that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable; and the ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. On the 22d of November 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of

real piety and talents so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy, as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults; and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connexion with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity.

From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghazni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé, and Charles the Twelfth, won great battles at a still earlier age; but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the victories of the Granicus, of Rocroi, and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendency of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realized, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one-half of a Roman legion.

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the adminis-

tration of our Eastern empire. When he landed at Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days, compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away—if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty—if to that gang of public robbers which once spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal, has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit—if we now see men like Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth—the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list—in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer, a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.

ART. II.—*On the Philosophy of the Mind.* By JAMES DOUGLAS, Esq. of Cavers. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1839.

AT a time when the study of Mental Philosophy is almost abandoned, even in those quarters where its cultivation might most naturally be looked for, the appearance of a work on that subject from the pen of a country gentleman, is a phenomenon calculated to excite some attention. For though the class of persons to which the author—more fortunate in this respect than most authors—belongs, no longer deserves to be spoken of as the type of mental crassitude and inertness; yet, among the intellectual characteristics usually ascribed to it, is certainly not that of a taste for abstract inquiries. But, however foreign to the ordi-

nary habits and tastes of his class Mr Douglas's work may seem, we are bound to say that it is not chargeable with the faults which generally mark the efforts of a mere amateur. Whatever may be its imperfections—and those we shall have occasion to point out are but too considerable—they are not such as spring from any deficiency of preparation in philosophical learning, or from any indisposition to sound the deeper parts of the subject. His reading appears to have ranged over a field of no inconsiderable extent; indeed, we suspect he has employed more time and pains in making himself acquainted with the opinions of others—in trying to comprehend what is incomprehensible, and to reconcile what is irreconcilable in those opinions—than in prosecuting investigations commenced on his own account. For, besides that his work is not distinguished by much original speculation, we find in it but few traces of those exact and methodical habits of thought, which well-conducted metaphysical researches naturally tend to generate.

Mr Douglas, however, as is probably known to most of our readers, is by no means new to the labours of authorship; having previously published several well-written works on some of the most interesting and important subjects that can engage the human attention—such, namely, as relate to the religious, moral, and social advancement of our species. But though these subjects are connected, at certain points, with the topics which he has here undertaken to discuss, he may be considered, on the whole, as having ventured on a new field.

We should suspect Mr Douglas to have entered on the composition of the present work without any very definite views or objects. He does not, we believe, profess to have any opinions absolutely new on the theory of mind generally, or on the particular questions which it involves; neither can his work be taken, whether in intention or effect, as a systematic outline of the science of mind in what may be regarded its present state. Its character, so far as it possesses any distinctive character at all, is that of a commentary on the history and more prominent doctrines of mental philosophy. In composing it, however, the author seems never to have exactly settled with himself what class of readers he meant more especially to address. Written in that abrupt allusive style, which supposes in the reader a tolerable degree of familiarity with the subject, it yet communicates little beyond what, on that supposition, must be already known. But passing over this defect, and taking the work in the character of a commentary, we cannot but regard its author as very indifferently fitted for discharging what should be the chief part of a commentator's office—namely, to clear up the darker,

and disentangle the more perplexed parts of the subject. Mr Douglas is a man of a well-stored and contemplative mind; and the work presents not a few specimens of acute observation, and of ingenious and striking reflection; but he almost uniformly fails in combining his materials with reference to any definite result. He is essentially destitute of that which is vulgarly, but expressively, called a *clear head*. The work is full of examples of his inability to discriminate, in a complicated enquiry, the exact point on which the dispute turns; or, when that point has been discriminated, to preserve it free from intermixture with other allied or resembling questions. He is also deficient in the faculty of perceiving the relation and dependency of the different members of an argument or exposition; and in the art of stating them according to their natural order and connexion. His mind, indeed, presents a singular mixture of acuteness and obtuseness. With evidences of a capacity to apprehend the nicest distinctions, he often confounds subjects the most easily separable. While affording what might be taken as satisfactory indications that he sees his way clearly through a subject, he no sooner enters into it than he stumbles and wanders like one blind. It is not the least singular amongst his peculiarities, that often, whilst himself exhibiting the most helpless perplexity, or labouring under the most inextricable confusion, he yet professes to have afforded a complete key to all the difficulties of the subject under discussion. Indeed, he is seldom more thoroughly unintelligible than when he appears to feel satisfied of having placed a point beyond all farther possibility of doubt or dispute.

Mr Douglas, however, is not, properly speaking, a wandering or discursive writer. Between a wandering style and that which he here exemplifies, there is much the same difference as, in music, between modulating into a variety of keys, and frequently changing the pitch on the same key. He does not diverge from his subject—he moves in parallels to it; sometimes in near parallels, but not in the line of it, and not long in one parallel. The motion of his thoughts is like that of a knight in the game of chess, which is neither backward, forward, sideway, nor diagonal, but, with every leap in a certain course, a start out of it. Or, as it is common to speak of a *vein* of thought, we should say that the vein of Mr Douglas's thoughts is not only separated by frequent interstices; but that the opposite sides of the fracture do not correspond—each of the severed masses being either somewhat heaved up, or somewhat depressed.

The work consists of two principal divisions, respectively entitled, 'Speculative Opinions,' and 'Investigation by Induc-'tion.' As we shall require all the space we can devote to it,

for the remarks which we have to offer on some points touched upon in the second part, we can notice but very generally that division which is entitled 'Speculative Opinions.' To the whole of this division, the observation already made applies; that, while the information it contains is of too desultory and incomplete a kind to be in any degree available to one entering on the study of philosophical history, it has too little of novelty to excite much interest in one further advanced. In the facts, of course, much novelty is not to be looked for; and in Mr Douglas's manner of stating and commenting upon them, (though he is not without occasional indications of depth and acuteness,) there is such a want of distinctness and continuity of thought, that one can rarely carry away from the perusal any thing of a precise or definite character. In the mode in which the earlier stages of philosophical history are treated, we think we discern something like an attempt to hide at once our ignorance of ancient systems, and the futilities and absurdities of these systems, so far as we do know them, under an assemblage of pompous words.

In his desire, indeed, to confer an interest on this part of his subject, Mr Douglas sometimes appears to sacrifice the consistency and connexion of his statements to the mere graces of composition; and to use phrases that 'become the mouth well,' without much caring whether they are otherwise applicable or appropriate. Apparently seeking to avoid the fault of Brucker—who, as he complains, 'stripped the materials he had collected of 'their beauty and spirit, and flung them together, a mere mass 'destitute of symmetry and life'—Mr Douglas tries to enter into the spirit and feelings, and even to assume something of the manner, of an ancient. This ambitious design will, we think, tend to lead the inexperienced inquirer into a habit of accepting sounds instead of sense—(for what are most of the systems and opinions that Mr Douglas has occasion to describe, but a set of imposing terms without meaning?)—and certainly cannot supply, in the eyes of persons of more mature judgment, the defects on account of which the work of Brucker is disliked. The fact is, that Mr Douglas appears to have been himself to a certain extent imposed upon, by the specious jargon so often passed off for philosophy; at least we should judge so from the tone of gravity and intelligence with which he sometimes discusses systems and opinions, of which all that can be truly said is, that they are utterly destitute of sense or meaning. It is but just to say, however, that many parts of this division of the work are very agreeably written. We may mention, as an instance, an account of Cardan, containing

some curious particulars, narrated in a strain of amusing pleasantry.

We have already noticed a peculiar sort of incoherency or unconnectedness that often characterises Mr Douglas's observations—a sort of *dislocation*, as it were, of his thoughts, by which his premises are always slipping out of the joint that should unite them to his conclusions. The following passage may be quoted as an instance of this:—

'Truth is the conformity of our thoughts with the nature of things; in order, therefore, to arrive at truth, we must become acquainted with external things by means of induction. Induction, therefore, according to Aristotle's principles, is the great source of knowledge. Dialectics only arrange the truths we have already acquired. But here there is a great opposition between the principles and the practice of Aristotle; he has sedulously cultivated dialectics, and neglected the true logic—the method of induction.

'The reason of this contradiction is found in a peculiarity of Aristotle's philosophy—which, though it alone sufficiently explains his tenets, yet appears to be neglected by his commentators,—he set aside the principles of Plato, without substituting any certain principles in their stead. He rejected the ideas of Plato as absurd, because they were nothing more than "eternal objects of sense;" but what is the "form" ("*eidos*") of Aristotle, but the "idea" of Plato, mutilated and imperfect? Each take [takes] the same view of matter, that it is mere capability. Plato explains whence it derived the forms which we see it possessed of; but whence are the forms of Aristotle?—they are the very absurdities that he attributes to his master, "eternal sensibles;" whereas the ideas of Plato are eternal intellectuals, which leave only transitory and imperfect copies of themselves impressed upon this fleeting and changing world.'

'The same defect attends the Deity of Aristotle when compared with the Deity of Plato,—the theory of Plato may be visionary, but it is complete—no links are wanting to the hypothesis—its only want is the want of reality. The Deity of Aristotle is the Deity of Plato stripped of the *logos* or intellectual world—stripped of his moral attributes, and reduced to be only the first mover and the first cause.

'The same explanation applies to dialectics and induction. Dialectics are the art of carrying on a dispute—for dialectica is the art of dialogue,—and a dialogue possessed little interest unless the speakers disagreed. Dialectics were an engrossing pursuit of the Greeks; the search after truth was less thought of than victory over an antagonist. This, indeed, was the great fault imputed to the Sophists; but none of their philosophers, not even Socrates himself, was entirely free from sophistry. As sects increated, disputes multiplied likewise; and their time, their thoughts, and their writings were expended upon endless strifes. The Pythagoreans furnished the ten categories, and the Eleatics abundance of arguments, which Zeno, Euclid, and Stilpo reduced into dialectics: and Aristotle completed the logic, falsely so called, of the Greeks, by perfecting the syllogism. Aristotle had justly remarked, that induction of par-

ticulars must precede dialectics, or the inference from universals. This was true, according to his metaphysics, which referred the origin of knowledge to the senses. The logic of the Greeks was, therefore, more suitable to the philosophy of Plato, who considered the universal notions inherent in the mind as the basis of knowledge, than to the opinions of Aristotle, who, if he had formed his dialectics according to his own theory, should have laid the chief stress upon induction, and considered dialectics as a very subordinate branch in the conduct of the understanding.'—P. 56-59.

Here it will be observed, that the avowed object of the author is to account for the contradiction 'between the principles and 'the practice of Aristotle,' exhibited in the sedulous cultivation of dialectics, to the neglect of induction. And the reason of this contradiction is stated to be, 'that he set aside the principles 'of Plato without substituting any certain principles in their 'stead.' But how the *reason* given explains the *contradiction*, we cannot, by any powers of penetration with which we are gifted, discover. Of the comparison between the *eidos* of Aristotle, and the *idea* of Plato, we neither understand the meaning nor the aim. The remainder of the quotation, if somewhat more intelligible, and even presenting some just and ingenious observations, is at least as foreign to the purpose specified.

In his chapter on 'Perception,' (the first of the second part of his work,) Mr Douglas has presented the subject in the stage at which Dr Reid left it; without adverting to that more minute and exact analysis of the phenomena of perception which has been effected by later writers, particularly Brown and Mill. In stating that our sensations are attended with the immediate perception of external objects, and that our perceptions (contrary to what had been maintained by the sceptical writers) are distinct from sensations, Dr Reid was right. He was wrong in supposing (as he seems to have done) that the perception is connected, by an original law of our nature, with the sensation; so that alongst with the sensation, there is conveyed, at once and from the first, a belief of external existence. For our own part, we think there is no proposition in the whole range of metaphysical science more certain than this, that none of the five external senses, nor all of them together—as distinct from the power of voluntary motion and its accompanying muscular sensations—could ever have given us an idea of the existence of matter;—nay, we will say that without any of the external senses, and with that of voluntary motion, we should have better attained an idea of matter than on the reverse supposition. Mr Douglas allows that three of the senses (smelling, taste, and hearing) give no idea of the existence of matter; but he supposes that by these senses (as, for instance, 'by the 'smell of the rose) we become acquainted with an existence

'which is separate from and independent of our own.' This appears to us altogether incorrect. 'That' (to use the words of Dr Brown) 'we should have supposed our sensations to 'have had a cause of some sort—as we suppose a cause of all our 'feelings, internal as well as external, may indeed be admitted.' But that mere smell should convey the idea of 'an existence 'separate from our own,' we can see no more reason for supposing, than that the feelings of hunger, or thirst, or cramp, or inflammation, should give us the idea of separate existence. In favour of sight and touch, however, Mr Douglas claims that which he denies to the other three senses; stating that 'sight and 'touch introduce us into a new world, acquainting us not only 'with the secondary, but with the primary qualities of matter.' Now, it appears to us to be established beyond a doubt, that sight and touch can give us no more idea of an external world, or of the primary qualities of matter, than any of the other three senses. As regards sight, indeed, we thought the point had, ever since the days of Bishop Berkeley, been admitted—being involved in the doctrine established by him, that sight is not originally cognisant of distance: at all events, whatever holds true in this particular with respect to touch, will do so, *a fortiori*, with respect to sight. The sensation of touch, however, is merely that which we feel when an external body is applied to the surface of our own body at rest; and we entirely agree with Dr Brown in thinking that such sensation alone, whether the pressure of the external body is slight or severe, (so long as our own body remains at rest,) could never give the idea of external existence. The matter does not admit of direct proof by reasoning; it must be determined by a simple appeal to consciousness. At any rate, we feel that we can add nothing to what has been said by Dr Brown on the subject; and shall merely remark that we know of no argument tending to show that the sensation of touch could give the idea of external existence, that would not equally go to prove that sight makes us acquainted with distance. But while we concur in opinion with Dr Brown, that it is the sense of obstruction to voluntary motion, and that alone, that furnishes us with the idea of matter, (or at least of impenetrability, which is its essence,)—and that this idea of obstruction comes to be associated with our sensations of touch, just as the ideas of tangible figure and distance come to be associated with the sensations of colour,—we regard his account of the particular process by which we receive the ideas of superficial and solid extension as unsatisfactory, and involving a needless paradox—namely, that of supposing the ideas of linear extension and time to be absolutely identical. We must also

protest against being held as intimating any sort of agreement with Dr Brown in regard to the needlessness, or the futility, of Dr Reid's refutation of the Ideal Theory. In fact, taking the sense of touch as including the sense of resistance, (which Dr Reid seems to do,) we should have nothing to object to his statements, so far as this sense is concerned; nor do we, on the other hand, believe that Dr Reid himself would have refused to admit any thing we have now been contending for. But, at all events, the conclusions which Dr Reid founds on the existence of perception as an act separate from mere sensation—and as an act, its existence must have been admitted by Dr Brown—are nowise bound up in the supposition of its being the act of an original and distinct faculty.

As an instance of that indistinctness of purpose and aim that we have remarked to be so characteristic of this work, we quote what follows :—

'As this doctrine respecting visible figure has been considered, if not unfounded, at least indifferently proved, by the late ingenious Dr Brown, it may be proper to quote his words ;—"The immediate perception of visible figure has been assumed as indisputable, rather than attempted to be proved, as before the time of Berkeley the immediate visual perception of distance, and of the three dimensions of matter, was supposed, in like manner, to be without any need of proof; and it is therefore impossible to refer to arguments upon the subject. I presume, however, that the reasons which have led to the belief of this immediate perception of a figure termed visible, as distinguished from that tangible figure which we learn to see, are the following two—the only reasons which I can even imagine—that it is absolutely impossible, in our present sensations of sight, to separate colour from extension, and that there are, in fact, a certain breadth and length of the retina on which the light falls." It is striking that a third argument should have escaped Dr Brown's notice, especially as it had been used by Reid, not indeed as an argument, but as an illustration. The true theory of vision is clearly deduced from painting—a picture of Raphael is only a coloured board. How is it, that looking upon it, we behold depth and figure, passion and beauty? It is that we have learned to interpret the shadings of colour when in infancy, when we were combining sight and touch, visible magnitude with tangible; interpreting the information of our eyes by the experiments we were making with our hands. But even this consideration is needless, for Berkeley had satisfactorily shown, what indeed is sufficiently obvious upon consideration, that the rays of light falling on the eye indicate extension, but not depth or distance, except indirectly, by the faintness of colouring.'—Pp. 165, 166.

Now, on the point here referred to, we are inclined (though we cannot now state our reasons) to think Mr Douglas right rather than Dr Brown—understanding the former to maintain, the latter

to deny, that we immediately perceive visible figure by the eye.* But what we desire to ask is—what possible relation Mr Douglas's remarks on the quotation from Dr Brown bear to the specific question at issue? Dr Brown states two reasons, supposed (without reason, as appears to him) to prove that we immediately perceive visible figure. Mr Douglas is surprised that a third one should not have occurred to Dr Brown—namely, that we associate tangible figure and distance with mere visible figure and colour. How does this evince that we have an immediate perception of visible figure? As another reason why we should have that perception, Mr Douglas gravely adds—just one of the two which Dr Brown had specified, and refused to admit!

The next section is entitled 'Memory and Suggestion.' The term Suggestion has been employed by Dr Brown to denote that law of mind by which each of our different mental acts, or states, always introduces or draws another after it. Mr Douglas employs the term quite differently from this;—using it to denote the third source (in addition to those of sensation and reflection given by Locke) from which our ideas are originally derived. Thus the ideas of time—space—power—which are not ideas either of sensation or reflection, are yet inevitably suggested by other ideas which are obtained by sensation or reflection. In this application of the term, Mr Douglas follows Dr Reid. Dr Reid's application,† however, can be considered as little more than occasional; and the other appropriation, so much more formally and systematically made by Dr Brown—and in the main well-grounded—ought not, we think, to have been disturbed; more especially as not only is no reason given for the preference of Dr Reid's use of the term, but that of Dr Brown is not even noticed. Indeed Mr Douglas himself observes, (in which we agree with him,) that 'it would still more correctly express the manner in which 'these thoughts are sometimes originated, to say that they are 'implied, rather than suggested, in those acts of the mind which 'reveal them to us.'—P. 193.

We quote with pleasure the following striking observations:—

'Even in the defects and limitations of memory, the hand of the be-

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* Supposing the eye directed to a surface of uniform colour, filling the whole range of vision,—no idea of figure would be obtained; but surely, if a surface presented a variety of colours definitely bounded, the sense of sight would at once distinguish the boundaries (or *figure*) of each.

† Inquiry, ch. II. § 7. We do not remember any instance of the application in question in Dr Reid's larger and later work.

neficent Creator is manifest. There was more depth in the answer of Themistocles than he was aware of, when being asked if he chose to be instructed in an art of memory, he answered, that he preferred to learn the art of forgetfulness. The art of memory is the art of forgetfulness, and in that we are taught by Nature herself. Experience is of the utmost value, but it is only when the chaff is sifted out of it. All our former perceptions crowding back together on the mind, would produce there an inextricable chaos; but a gradual darkness steals over the objects to which we cease to direct our attention; and the fading light of the past is concentrated upon the circumstances upon which we habitually reflect, or in which we continue to take an abiding interest; and even when all seems lost to the view amid a number of newer and intervening prospects, a sudden gleam, like the evening radiance upon the highest Alps, will suddenly restore, in all their distinctness, each faded outline upon the distant horizon.'—P. 196.

Towards the close of this section we find what follows :—

'—— Stuart* considers that Turgot's resolving "our belief of the existence of the material world into our belief of the continuance of the laws of nature," was an improvement upon the views of Reid. We may also note here a very strange observation of Mr Stuart's,—"It has always appeared to me that something of this sort was necessary to complete Dr Reid's speculations on the Berkeleian controversy; for although he has shown our notions concerning the primary qualities of bodies to be connected, by an original law of our constitution, with the sensations which they excite in our minds, he has taken no notice of the grounds of our belief, that these qualities have an existence independent of our perceptions."'—P. 225.

We cannot see wherein the strangeness of Mr Stewart's observation consists. It may be quite true, as observed by Mr Douglas, 'that Dr Reid sufficiently shows that every perception is attended 'with the belief of existence independent of the mind.' But this does not by any means negative the supposition, that the principle adverted to by Turgot and Stewart enters into the composition of the perception itself;—that the perception (as including the belief of permanent independent existence) involves that principle as an element, or rests on it as a foundation. But agreeing, as we do, with Turgot and Stewart, in maintaining the instrumentality of the principle in question, we are inclined to differ from the latter as to the *mode* of its instrumentality. Instead of supposing, as Mr Stewart seems to do, that there may

* Mr Douglas has favoured his readers with *variæ lectiones* of the well known name of Dugald Stewart, which he sometimes gives *Stuart*, sometimes *Steuart*. This, of course, would not be worth noticing, did it not appear a little like impertinence.

be first a perception of *present* existence, and then, by virtue of the principle alluded to, a belief of permanent and independent existence, we should be disposed to consider the process as one and indivisible. At whatever age an infant may be supposed to be first capable of forming the notion of external existence, at that age, we believe—if it once strikes its arm against a hard object—it is led, by the law of its mind, to expect a similar obstruction to a similar motion. And this expectation, instead of being subsequent and auxiliary to perception, in giving the belief of permanent independent existence, we should regard as forming an essential part of the perception itself—if indeed it does not wholly constitute it.

But though we see nothing strange in Mr Stewart's observation, we do find something very much so in the following observations by Mr Douglas:—

'That Reid, Stewart, and Turgot, have, in this case, been mistaken, in proposing such an original law of thought, as a belief in the continuance of the laws of nature, will easily appear. That can never be an original proposition which consists of slowly acquired terms. Had we an innate idea of nature, of laws, or of permanence, then we might have such an ultimate and instinctive principle; but since the notion of nature is very gradually acquired, and since the term *laws* is metaphorical, the absurdity of our forming a conclusion, while we are yet unfurnished with the premises, will be abundantly apparent. Should it be said, that this law of thought remains dormant till we become acquainted with the meaning of nature and of laws, though this supposition is sufficiently absurd of itself, it may be further observed, that our belief of this permanence of the laws of nature, is certain and uniform; but no certain conclusion can be attached to variable terms, such as the very complex and fluctuating notions of nature and her laws.'—P. 226.

A child that has burned its finger in a candle, believes that the candle will burn it again. Finding a pleasant sensation from tasting honey once, it believes it will find it again. These, and a variety of similar beliefs, generalized into an universal proposition by grown-up men and philosophers, are thus expressed—the laws of nature continue uniform; and because a child does not understand the terms of this proposition therefore that cannot be an original law of thought by which it entertains, as occasion occurs, the particular beliefs which the general proposition comprehends! Would not the same reasoning prove that there can be no ultimate law of belief at all? *

* To a similar effect Mr Douglas elsewhere observes—'Another 'oversight has been committed by Reid. These principles of "common

But, while we think Mr Douglas altogether in error in denying the originality of the principle in question, on the grounds now examined, we think him right in the opinion which he expresses, that this principle may be resolved into another—namely, into the belief that every effect or change must have a cause. It is not the first time that this mode of resolution has been proposed; but it is one that has not very commonly been thought of, and even by Mr Douglas it has rather been hinted at than explained. Considering it, however, well deserving of attention, we shall here bestow a little illustration upon it.

Our belief in the uniformity of the laws of nature, has been considered, by the greater portion of the most judicious enquirers, to be an ultimate fact in our constitution; and, if we mistake not, it has as usually been considered a distinct principle from that by which we believe that every effect must have a cause. The point to be shown is, that the former is a necessary result of the latter.

Our notion of *cause* is that of something which, if it exists, or comes into operation, the effect must follow; if it does not exist or come into operation, the effect will not follow. To suppose, then, that where the cause exists, or comes into operation, the effect will not follow, would be to suppose a cessation of the power, virtue, or efficiency of the cause. But such cessation is, of course, itself a change or effect, and for this change or effect there must be another cause. But this is merely saying that if there is not such cause, this change will not take place; or, to speak more properly, the latter proposition is the original form of the belief—the former, its artificial converse. Now, unless we have positive reason to suppose such cause of change, we believe there will be no change; that is, we believe that the cause (first spoken of) will continue to have the same power, virtue, or efficiency, which we have once ascertained it to have;—in other words, we believe in the permanency of this law of nature. For example:—We burn our finger in the flame of a candle. For the pain which we feel, some cause must have existed. The circumstance on which the pain actually did follow, was the application of the flame; this, therefore, is assumed to be the cause.

'sense" may be certain without being ultimate principles; to make 'them ultimate principles, as Reid does, is to revert to the absurdity of 'innate ideas, and to suppose thoughts previous to thinking. Their 'certainty is by no means diminished by their being resolved into 'simpler elements.'—P. 145. Mr Douglas has managed to cram more absurdity into this short passage than we have space to point out.

Whenever this cause, then, (assuming it to be such,) comes into operation, the effect must follow: this is implied in the very *notion* of cause. To suppose that the effect would not follow—that pain would not follow the application of the flame—is to suppose that there has been a change in the nature of the flame, (the cause.) But as for this change, again, there must have been a cause, without which the change would not have taken place—therefore, not positively apprehending any such cause, we do not expect the change; we believe the nature and power of the flame will continue the same; that is, we believe in the permanency of the law of nature by which flame applied to the body produces pain. The permanent operation of a cause, then, is thus implied in the very notion of it as a cause; so long as its nature, as a cause, is not subject to change; and, accordingly, our belief in the permanency of the laws of nature is not positive but negative; and simply proportioned to our confidence that there is nothing to cause a change in the nature of any given cause.

As necessarily as we believe that every effect must have a cause, we must believe that like causes must produce like effects. This answers Mr Hume's question—why we should suppose that because one piece of bread has nourished us, another similar piece should do so. Our confidence in the similarity of the effect is not higher than that which we have in the similarity of the cause.*

From the next section, on 'The Train of Thought and the 'Mental Faculties,' we quote these fine observations:—

'The wisdom of the Creator is manifest in the structure by which the mind retains all the former thoughts which it may afterwards require, in an order that is ever variable, yet ever constant, and that ever adapts itself to the wants of the mind. No magazine, in which all the productions of art were stored; no museum, with all the diversified productions of nature, are (is) in any degree to be compared to the repository of the mind itself, in which are stored, not only the various objects of external nature, but the endless combinations which the mind forms out of the intimations of the senses; and these, not only sorted and arranged in their distinct compartments, but these compartments changing their

* It is only since this was written, that we have observed the same explanation (on the subject of our belief in the permanency of the laws of nature) given in an article in the 'Quarterly Review'—(No. XXIV., Art. I.) We mention this as affording a presumption of the correctness of the explanation;—not merely on account of the metaphysical ability displayed in the article in question, but because of the concurrence of opinions independently formed, which it is the means of evincing.

places; and while they offer themselves spontaneously, assuming a new order, as well as enlarging their contents according to the need, the disposition, and the pursuits of the mind, which treasures up its acquisitions within their ample and ever enlarging receptacles.'—P. 232.

The only other point which we can notice in this section, is that referred to in the following words:—

'A more important mistake of Mr Stewart consists in his attributing belief to every act of conception. He very strangely asserts, "when a painter conceives the face and figure of an absent friend, in order to draw his picture, he believes, for the moment, that his friend is before him."'

Mr Douglas's reasonings on this head are too long to quote,—too incomprehensible to abridge; or at least, if, as detached observations, their meaning is intelligible, they are so totally devoid of bearing upon the point at issue, that the more correctly we might state them, the more certainly we should be suspected of mistating them.

With regard to the point itself, we must confess that the first time we became acquainted with Mr Stewart's opinion, we were not a little startled by it. On further consideration, however, it seemed to us impossible to question its truth, without maintaining (what we think would not be maintained) that our acts of conception or imagination, when awake, are specifically different from our dreams when asleep. It will be admitted that in the case of the latter there is belief;* and any apparent want of it in the former, is easily explicable by a reference to the interruptions which our day-dreams receive from our perceptions. A question, however, which we think naturally arises, and which Mr Stewart has not touched upon, is this:—If, when we conceive the face of an absent person, we believe, even for a moment, that we really see such person, we could do no more if he were actually present before our eyes. How, then, it may be asked, can we distinguish what is real from what is imaginary?

Now, for our own part, we are inclined to admit the consequence implied in this question, and to maintain that we cannot, from any thing in the nature of the operations themselves, discriminate between our perceptions and our conceptions;—that the only ground of this discrimination is, the permanence and connected order of our perceptions, as compared with the fleeting and de-

* Elsewhere (p. 111) Mr Douglas mentions, as an opinion of Hobbes's, that 'Belief depends upon clearness; hence vivid dreams are believed—*a favourite speculation of Professor Stuart.*' With whom was ever the contrary a favourite speculation, or a speculation at all?

sultory succession of our conceptions. It seems to us, for instance, that we could not distinguish a coherent dream or reverie from fact, otherwise than by observing the break between the scenes and events of such dream or reverie, and the scenes and events preceding and succeeding them. The realities before and after the act of imagination join together; the imagined occurrences do not join either with what is before or what is after—even supposing them consistent amongst themselves. This would distinguish an imaginary scene or occurrence from a real one; even supposing the imagination to have been so vivid and uninterrupted as that (what we know often happens) all consciousness of surrounding objects had, for the time, been lost. But it is seldom that reverie is so complete. Our perceptions *alternate* with our conceptions with such inconceivable rapidity, that we seem to be conscious of both at once. This prevents the distinction from being ever, in our waking hours, wholly lost. In the season of darkness, when our perceptions are confined to those of touch, (and even these, when the body is entirely quiescent, are hardly excited,) imagination exerts a stronger sway over us; and as we lose the memory of the train of our perceptions on the approach of sleep, the belief of the reality of our conceptions becomes complete. We do not doubt that young children are for a considerable time, and until they are able to observe a *connected order* in the scenes and occurrences around them, quite unable to distinguish their fancies from the actual realities which they behold.

Mr Douglas has taken up that unreasonable prejudice against the study of Logic, which, we regret to say, has been exhibited by the most distinguished of our Scotch metaphysicians—namely, Reid, Stewart, and Brown. On this point we must make a remark or two.

Considering the distinguished place which the *reasoning process* occupies among our mental acts; the importance and variety of the uses to which it is subservient, and the number of modes and forms under which it is exercised;—if it is not an object of scientific curiosity—rendered more eminently so, as every such object is, by its difficulty—to ascertain what the essence of reasoning is; what is the common quality that belongs to all acts of reasoning simply as such; what are the specific peculiarities that distinguish true from false reasoning;—if this, we say, is not an object of scientific curiosity, we beg to know what problem in mental philosophy may fairly be considered as such? That the reduction which has been effected, of all the modes and varieties of reasoning to a single formula, (namely, that whatever is true of the species is true of all the individuals it con-

tains,) is one of the most perfect and beautiful specimens of philosophical generalization that the history of science presents, is admitted even by those, or some of those, who most disparage the study of logic; yet they do not the less persist in disparaging it—and why? just for the very reason that renders it, as a science, perfect;—because the principle to which the phenomena under examination are reduced, is simple, necessarily true, and comprehends all the given phenomena within it.* Now, to what does all philosophy tend? But observe the argument employed. Because all the forms of reasoning may be reduced to the formula specified, therefore all that is acquired by learning logic is a knowledge of the truth of this formula! Does the knowledge of a science, then, consist in the knowledge of the general principle to which the truths of that science are reducible; or is the interest or value of a science measured by the amount of information conveyed by such principle, stated in the abstract, and irrespectively of the nature and mode of the deductions from, and reductions into, such principle?

So far we have been speaking of Logic as a science. The importance of logic as an art would be at once admitted, if it could preserve us either from reasoning falsely ourselves, or from being imposed upon by false reasoning in others. It is denied that it can do either, in any case where we really need its assistance. Thus, 'a correct conclusion,' says Mr Douglas, 'inevitably follows cor-'rect premises.'—Do no errors in reasoning, then, ever occur but from false or ambiguous premises? Or does it at all consist with the analogies of our mental constitution and habits to suppose, that by having the nature of errors in reasoning explained to us in the abstract, and familiarized by examples, we shall be rendered in no degree more capable of discovering and avoiding such? To say that Logic cannot of itself teach men to reason, is merely to say that the rules of an art can never create the genius of an art. To say that men may reason well without a knowledge of Logic, is merely to say that there may be art without science. But, because rules cannot create genius, it does not follow that they may not assist it, or assist inferior degrees of it. Though there may be practice

* Our observations have respect to the general *truth and completeness* of the syllogistic theory. We are, notwithstanding, inclined to think that the rules and principles of logic might be stated with more philosophical precision and simplicity, and divested of their repulsive technicalities.

without rules, it does not follow that such practice will be equally free from error and difficulty as with rules—or if so, what is the use of rules in grammar, or music, or any other art? But we could afford to wave all this, and still maintain the great utility of an acquaintance with Logic. The mere possession of an acknowledged standard by which the correctness of reasoning may be tried—of a nomenclature by which errors may be specifically challenged,—facilitates, in a high degree, the conduct of an argument between different parties;—of which any one may satisfy himself by merely reflecting on the difficulty of arguing with a person entirely ignorant of the rules and terms of Logic. It has been well remarked that the effect of perfecting the science of military Tactics, is to save fighting and bloodshed. Two accomplished generals, mutually opposed, will foresee what would be the result of an engagement, if entered on at a particular conjuncture, where two unskilful leaders must try the actual issue. So, on occasion of a debate between two persons ignorant of the rules of Logic, questions will arise on the validity (even the *logical* validity) of a particular argument, which they have no common principles to determine; and they will involve themselves in endless argumentation, where two logicians, concurring in common principles, would settle the point in an instant.

Quoting the following syllogism,

> 'Every true patriot is a friend to religion;
> Some great statesmen are not friends to religion;
> Some great statesmen are not true patriots;'—

Mr Douglas observes—'We are only surprised that any one 'should have thought it worth while to put into a logical form a 'truth which most great statesmen proclaim by every action of 'their public life.' That is to say, a trifling conclusion may be established by a logical process; *therefore*, such process can never be of any use. Not leaving the question, however, to be determined by this argument, however conclusive, Mr Douglas, in the short space of three pages, proves incontestably that some of the terms of this syllogism might be used in different meanings. But Logic cannot preserve us from errors and uncertainty arising from this source; *therefore*, it cannot preserve us from *any* sort of error or uncertainty! Truly, if it is any reproach to a man to subject himself to the trammels of logical rules, from this reproach Mr Douglas has very successfully laboured to exempt himself.

'The peculiar beauty of this science is, that it requires no science at all—it matters not whether we attach any ideas or not to A, B, or C; the principles of logic are alike demonstrative and certain. Give it only the

letters of the alphabet, and it reaps all the harvest of discovery of which it is capable. Then, indeed, it is in its highest form, and in the state of pure and unmixed science. When it descends to particular instances, to Peter, man, or animal, it loses somewhat of its certainty along with its high supra-mundane character.'—P. 276.

This is a charge from which we must in candour admit our inability to free the science of Logic; but here we must quote, from another part of Mr Douglas's work, an observation which we thought a striking and ingenious one :—

'These coincidences' [between some hints of Bruno, and certain opinions of Liebnitz and Descartes] 'are rather to be attributed to the narrowness of the human understanding, which is often on the brink of errors as well as of truths, though yet from timidity or weakness it withdraws itself from the discovery, or the paradox, which are [is] to confer celebrity on much later writers.'—P. 97.

Whether it has been timidity or weakness that has withdrawn Mr Douglas 'from the discovery which is' (we doubt not) 'to 'confer celebrity' on his critics, we know not; but such a discovery he has unwittingly left us the glory of achieving. And this is neither more nor less than a discovery—obtained simply by following out Mr Douglas's views—of the utter futility and worthlessness of Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, all Mathematics;—nay, to a certain extent, of all general truths and general reasoning whatever. For assuredly it matters not whether we attach any ideas or not to x, y, z, m, n; it matters not whether, in a calculation that would cover half an acre, the numbers set down denote men, horses, yards of cloth, pounds of candles, or degrees of longitude; it matters not whether squares, triangles, and circles are cut out of paper, or cotton cloth, or arable land, 'the 'principles of *mathematics* are alike demonstrative and certain:' from which the worthlessness and futility of Mathematics is made distinctly apparent; and generally this conclusion follows, that the more abstracted and generalized the principles of a science can be made, in that proportion it ceases to be a science worthy of the name!

But whatever we may think of Mr Douglas's arguments in this discussion, it is but fair to say that they are arguments, and so stated, that we can comprehend and treat them as such; which is more than we can say of a great part of the rest of his work. Towards the close of the section are some observations, generally acute and judicious, on the subject of Lord Bacon's method, but we have not room to quote them. Besides, this is a theme in a good measure exhausted.

The chapter on 'Emotions' presents little occasion for re-

mark;* and the succeeding one on 'Taste' is so confused and indistinct, as to set all remark at defiance. To comment on particular passages we have not space. For an examination of Mr Douglas's general views of the subject, we regret being under the disqualification of an entire inability to ascertain what those views are. As a specimen of his mode of treatment, we give the following authoritative correction of certain defects in the speculations of Mr Stewart. In regard to the opinion expressed by that philosopher, that the name of *beauty* might have been transferred from the first to the last of a series of objects, of which every two in *succession* might have something in common, the *extremes* nothing, Mr Douglas observes,—

'Here etymology prevails over philosophy. Mr Stewart's notions of beauty are somewhat confused. He speaks of the ideas of beauty when he should have fixed his thoughts on the emotion of the beautiful; and then all things would have become clear and simple. Whatever excites the emotions of beauty is beautiful, at least for the moment. Stewart defines beauty—that which is agreeable to the eye. It is simply that which is agreeable to the mind.'—P. 309.

The following observations on the sublime are fine and striking. Indeed, it is in making such reflections that Mr Douglas's strength

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* We cannot, however, pass over an observation made by the author in regard to Dr Brown: After stating that 'Mr Stewart terms him to be 'too much of a poet to be a good metaphysician, and too much of a meta-'physician to be a good poet,' Mr Douglas tartly adds—'Not with much 'justice; for neither his poetical nor metaphysical powers were so great 'as to injure him in any other branch of pursuit.' Of the correctness of all the opinions maintained by Dr Brown, or of the appropriateness of the style in which he has chosen to convey them, we shall not assuredly undertake to be the defenders. But to talk slightingly of Dr Brown's 'meta-'physical powers'—of his ability to notice metaphysical phenomena, and to conduct metaphysical investigations—to affect to acknowledge that these powers 'certainly were *considerable*'—is what we think the possession of far more considerable powers than Mr Douglas has evidenced, would not have entitled him with a good grace to do. Mr Douglas rather absurdly adds to the words quoted, (as if to impugn the justice of Mr Stewart's remark,) that 'Shakspeare, the greatest, at least, of modern 'poets, has thrown more light upon the operations of the mind than 'most of those who make the study of the mind their principal pursuit.' Did ever Shakspeare, by any manifestation of *metaphysical* talent, evince the compatibility of such talent (for that is the question) with poetical genius? The light thrown by Shakspeare on the human mind, is much the same sort of substitute for metaphysical knowledge that a *landscape* in perspective is for a land-surveyor's *plan*.

lies. He never ventures upon any thing in the shape of reasoning or systematic exposition—any thing requiring accurate discrimination or consecutive arrangement—without losing his powers.

'There are two sublimes—the sublime of terror, and the sublime of enthusiasm—both derived from one source, though flowing in opposite directions; from power, favourable or adverse, with which we sympathize, or of which we stand in awe. Enthusiasm was the sublime of antiquity; for there the mind could sympathize with the limited and not inimitable prowess of the ancient heroes and demi-gods. The other sublime more frequently occurs to pure theists, overwhelmed at the operations of infinite power, and lost in astonishment and awe. It requires Christianity to familiarize the mind with God, as our reconciled friend, in order that we may sympathize with his Almightiness, in the firm belief that it is accomplishing the designs of infinite and everlasting love.'—P. 311.

The following paragraph is also highly attractive:—

'After observing the growth of the beautiful and the poetical in the individual mind, it might be curious to trace its history in the progress of society. Of the three elements into which the subject has often been divided, according to the method of Addison, novelty takes the lead—the new, the strange, the wonderful, are what naturally attract the attention of the earliest tribes of mankind. To this is added the pathetic, occasioned by the various turns of prosperity and adversity; then the sublime, in what relates to the operations of unseen power; and the beautiful always comes last, and seems to mark that the first fervour of genius and of nations has passed away. When beauty fails, magnificence succeeds; and when magnificence fails, it gives place to false ornament, exaggeration, and bombast. At last genius itself gives place to taste; and nations, losing the susceptibility of youth, sit in judgment, in the decline of their existence, over the images that dazzled, and the feelings that warmed them, when their pulse beat high, and when the sun of life was yet in its zenith.'—P. 314.

From the opportunities our readers have now had of estimating the degree in which Mr Douglas possesses the gift of answering hard questions, they will be able to guess with what success he has handled the knotty points of 'Freedom and the Will.' He takes a great deal of useless pains to show the absurdity of the question, whether the will is *free*—if the word *free* is used in the sense in which it is applied to actions; which are said to be free when they are such as *we will* to perform. In this sense, the question would mean, whether we can will as we will, which is absurd. Every body knows, that the question as to the freedom of the will refers to its freedom from the power of motives;—not as to whether motives have an influence, (for that is admitted,) but whether they have a determinate and regular influence over the will as a passive subject—whether th ation between motive and volition

is *specifically* the same as the relation between physical cause and effect; or whether the resemblance is not merely general;—in short, whether our volitions are not properly *causes* rather than *effects*.

After having clearly enough distinguished this question from the one previously alluded to, Mr Douglas proceeds to deliver his judgment; the nature of which he announces by saying, that, 'as is usual in disputes, both parties are in the wrong.' 'Those 'who contend for necessity,' he goes on to observe, 'abuse the 'meaning of words.' The abuse in question, Mr Douglas rectifies as follows:—

'For necessity, substitute the word certainty, and the assertion that the Divine determinations are certain, will not provoke many disputants. What is chiefly objectionable in Edwards's treatise, is the improper use of terms; alter a few words, and the whole will appear so simple and reasonable, that at least nine-tenths of the work might be dispensed with.' —P. 327.

So much for one of the parties.

'The opposite party, who maintain the other extreme, have fallen into more striking errors. The first of these is the assertion of Reid, that we perform some actions without a motive: But Stewart has committed a more grievous error than Reid. "The argument for necessity," Stewart observes, "derives all its force from the maxim, that every change requires a cause. But this cause, (Maxim?) although true with regard to inanimate matter, does not apply to intelligent agents, which cannot be conceived without the power of *self-determination*." Such violent modes of escape would naturally give one a high notion of the arguments of the necessitarians, which a perusal of their writings, or even a simple enquiry of what they mean by necessity, (not to mention the vagueness and impropriety of other terms,) is well qualified to dispel.'—P. 328.

Why the mode of 'escape' here attended to, which, so far as it asserts a fact, asserts no more than what every man's consciousness assures him of;—why this should be reckoned 'violent,' we are not informed. The author is also pleased to retain to himself, on the other hand, the knowledge of those intrinsical weaknesses of the necessitarian argument, from failing to discern which Reid and Stewart had been driven to such 'violent modes of es- 'cape.'

Those who think that something more might be necessary to clear up the difficulties of this question, may perhaps find matters brought to a bearing in the following paragraph. Speaking of the necessitarian argument from the prescience of the Deity, and Mr Stewart's mode of obviating it, Mr Douglas observes:—

'Here is, again, the confusion between necessity and certainty. There can be no certain knowledge of uncertain things; and if the mind were exempted from the law of causation, according to Stewart, or could will

without a motive, according to Reid, then, being under the dominion of chance, and every thing being arbitrary and unfixed, the uncertainty of events would preclude the certainty of knowledge. But if the same certainty be allowed to the operations of the mind; if God has given laws to it as well as to the material world, the same certainty, though not the same necessity, attends moral as well as material phenomena, and no difficulty remains respecting the divine prescience and human liberty, excepting the mode of the divine intelligence, which is equally beyond our comprehension, whether in regard to events past, present, or to come: And though many pitiful arguments are allowed to pass on such subjects as the present, it would scarcely be permitted to any one to say, except under the disguise of technical terms, "I neither foreknow future events, nor see how they can be foreknown, except as necessary results from existing causes, and, therefore, must deny that knowledge to the Deity which I do not possess myself."'—P. 329, 330.

When Mr Douglas wrote the commencing words of this passage, he must surely have meant them to apply to what he was himself going to say. It is expressly asserted, that, 'if the 'mind were *exempted from the law of causation*, the uncertainty 'of events would preclude the certainty of knowledge;' and con-'versely, that, 'if God has given laws to it as well as to the 'material world, the same certainty, though *not the same necessity*, 'attends moral as well as material phenomena.' Why, what greater necessity can there be,—what other kind of necessity is ever meant in this controversy, than mind's (*i. e.* the *will*—or the argument is away from the purpose) being subjected to the 'law of causation'—to the same laws as the natural world? And if *certainty*, as asserted, depends on mind's being subject to the law of causation, (*i. e.* to necessity,) where is the distinction between certainty and necessity?—No one, says Mr Douglas, can be permitted to say, 'I cannot see how future events can be fore-'known, except as necessary results from existing causes.' What else, we beg to ask, does Mr Douglas himself say in the preceding sentences of the paragraph?

Mr Douglas has, as has been seen, pronounced both sides in this controversy to be in the wrong. He ought to have said that both were right; for, so far as we can see, he fairly affirms the position of each against the other.

The section on 'Morals' if less confused and cloudy than some of the preceding ones, is in the same proportion superficial and commonplace. Mr Douglas does not seem to have made himself so fully master of this, as of other parts of his subject; indeed, we should suspect the section to have been written more with a view to fill up an outline, than because the author felt he had any thing material to observe on the topics to which it relates. In giving his opinion on the different theories of morals,

he does not seem to have had any well-formed notion of the specific nature of the enquiry about which such theories are occupied. This enquiry comprehends two perfectly distinct questions;—one (a question in mental philosophy) regarding the *faculty* by which we judge of moral distinctions; another (the subject of the science of morals) regarding the common quality of actions, denominated morally good. Or, to speak after a form often used by Mr Douglas, and taken from the school of Kant, we should say, the first is a *subjective*, the second an *objective*, enquiry. Some theories answer—so far as they answer any thing at all—the one question, some the other; many confound both under such vague terms as, the foundation of morality, the nature of virtue, the grounds of moral preference, and the like. Thus Mr Douglas considers, that 'to fix morality on the basis 'of prudence,' is one of the systems of those moralists who 'place the source of morality in the understanding;'—the other class being those who place it in the affections or feelings. Such as have studied the theory of morals will not require to be told that, as, according to one class of theorists, our approbation of prudence (as well as of every other species of good action) resolves into a feeling; so, according to another class, our approbation of benevolence (as opposed to prudence) is ultimately founded on an act of the understanding. How far Mr Douglas has penetrated into the questions at issue, or is in a condition to determine between them, will appear from the following sentence:—'Those who have placed morality in feelings have much 'to urge in their behalf; for till the heart is engaged, as well as 'the head, on the side of virtue, how little is gained by empty, 'airy speculations, except to deaden the conscience.' From which we might gather, that the controversy maintained between the patrons of what are respectively called the intellectual and sentimental systems,* resolved into a question how much was to be gained by 'empty airy speculations' that did not engage the heart!

Here, however, let us observe, that it is no disparagement to Mr Douglas's attainments, that he has not made himself familiar with this very intricate subject. It is too extensive to be treated of merely as a head of Mental Philosophy, being, in fact, itself a distinct branch of science.

The chapter on this subject closes with the following judicious observations:—

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* See Sir James Macintosh's 'Dissertation on the History of Ethical Science,' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

'Mistaken notions of Christianity have discouraged the culture of moral philosophy in latter days, and the moderns have not effected so much as the ancients, with all their disadvantages, in this branch of the study of the mind. Christianity was not intended to supersede the exercise of our powers, but rather to invigorate their exertions, by giving them the right direction, and supplying them with the true data on which to proceed. Instead of furnishing a system of morals, Christianity has afforded a new fountain of spiritual existence, from which that system may be deduced, by implanting a new and stronger principle of virtue, by conferring upon its disciples a renovated and godlike nature, and by exchanging that external law, which only enforces an outward compliance for that inward law which is written on the fleshly tables of the heart. Where our faculties cannot penetrate into the invisible world, and into the secrets of futurity, Christianity affords us the light and information of a supernatural revelation; but where our native faculties are commensurate with the attainment of truth, we are called to press forward in the pursuit of excellence and of knowledge, and to advance in moral science, as in natural, by the sincere and diligent exercise of our faculties. "Whatsoever things are true—whatsoever things are honest—whatsoever things are just—whatsoever things are pure—whatsoever things are lovely—whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."'—P. 353.

The last section on 'Religion,' though on the whole exhibiting more perspicuity and order than most of the others, is, in too many instances, deficient in those qualities. The subject is too extensive to be entered upon generally here. We can only make one or two remarks. The following observation is worthy of notice:—

'Instead of stating the proposition, as Reid has done, "design and intelligence in the cause may be inferred, with certainty, from marks or signs of it in the effect;" and yet, without specifying what these marks or signs are, this law of thought may be simply expressed thus: Fitnesses imply design.'—P. 358.

This seems a just correction. To say that design may be inferred from the marks of it, is a nugatory proposition; so it is to say, that where there is design there must be intelligence. To admit marks of design is to admit design—to admit design, is to admit intelligence; for the word design implies intelligence, as necessarily as action does agent. The point to be proved against the Atheist is, that there are marks of design,—that fitnessess to an end are marks of design.

'Reid and Stewart have so far misconceived the more abstract mode of demonstration used by Clarke, as to suppose that it necessarily involved the peculiar notions entertained by himself, as well as Newton, respecting space. But these peculiarities might be set aside, as we before observed, and the argument would still remain unbroken and entire.

'It may be propounded in a very brief and sufficiently comprehensible form. Every change has a cause. Then (since an infinite series of causes is absurd) there must be a first cause, eternal and unchangeable. Existence, without a cause or origin, must be unlimited and absolute, as well as eternal; for where there is no cause to constitute, there is no cause to limit. The first being, since unlimited and absolute, must be all being, infinitely wise, good, and perfect; containing the fulness of every excellence that can exist, without defect, as without limit.'—P. 360.

Here, as in some other instances, Mr Douglas has shown more aptitude for comprehending and stating a purely abstract argument, than for conducting investigations of a more mixed character. Indeed, we would hazard the opinion that his talent lies more in the way of the exact sciences, than of those to which he appears to have addicted himself.

Mr Douglas has, in the present chapter, been pleased to indulge in some remarks on Mr Stewart, which cannot be passed without notice. After an observation or two, the most futile and aimless imaginable, on the existence of misery and evil, he proceeds in the following ranting style:—

'What a proof of the necessity of revelation, is the philosophy of so moral a writer as Stewart! The notice of revelation is scrupulously avoided, as if that heavenly light once admitted, would put out the grosser and earthly fires which we have kindled, as the only beacons to guide ourselves in the darkness of the world. The great aim of many moral philosophers is avowedly and determinedly to close their philosophic shutters against the meridian sun, in order to enjoy, by day, the flickering light of their slender tapers.'—P. 370.

It strikes us that the argument would have been a little more logical if the word *inefficiency* had been here used instead of the the word *necessity*. It is a somewhat strange proof of the *necessity* of revelation to show, that when granted, it is not merely not made use of, but that 'the notice of it is scrupulously avoided,'—that 'the *great aim* of many moral philosophers is *avowedly and deter-* 'minedly to close their philosophic shutters against the meridian 'sun.' The whole ground of these charges is, that Mr Stewart, in writing a treatise on 'Natural Religion,' did not wander out of his subject into the doctrines of Revelation. This is, according to the author's tasteful metaphor, 'closing his philosophic 'shutters.' Soon after occurs the following feeble remark:—

'We agree with Stewart, that these arguments conjoined are sufficient to prove the doctrine of immortality, in the calmness of reason, and in the absence of temptation; but how little effect would such arguments have on the generality of mankind? Even to those who adopt them, immortality is proved, but not revealed; they may believe that they shall live after the dissolution of the body, but how or where, they have still to seek, after the utmost force of argument is exhausted.'—P. 370.

Where does Mr Stewart, either directly or indirectly deny,—or what purpose of his was concerned in denying—'how little effect 'such arguments would have on the generality of mankind,' or any of the remaining considerations stated? Would not any one imagine here, that Mr Stewart's direct object had been to show the sufficiency of Natural Religion, and the uselessness of Revelation?*

If any thing can be more untrue and unreasonable than this, it is what follows:—

'Neither does Stewart's reasoning throw more light upon the character of the Deity. That a wise and powerful being exists, is proved with comparative ease; but what are his thoughts to us-ward, and in what relation shall we stand to him after death? On this all-important subject Stewart throws no light, and seems, for any thing that appears to the contrary, to take but little interest in the enquiry.'—P. 371.

So Mr Stewart must be held answerable for the deficiencies of Natural Religion! And because, when speaking solely of Natural religion, he omits the notice of truths not supplied by Natural Religion, he must be held to take but little interest in these truths! The Christian charity, and the logical correctness of these conclusions, are farther illustrated in the following paragraph:—

'It is melancholy, to consider a professor of morals and an instructor of youth, not only sedulously shutting his eyes under the full blaze of that illumination which has brought life and immortality to light, but encouraging others also to rejoice in sparks of their own kindling, rather than to hail at once the rising of the Sun of Righteousness with

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* 'I have little doubt,' says Mr Stewart, in the truly excellent work to which Mr Douglas's observations refer, 'that polytheism would have continued to be the religion of the multitude in all countries, had not the idolatrous tendency of *the uninformed understanding been corrected by the light of Divine revelation.*'—*Phil. of the Act. and Mor. Powers,* B. III. ch. 2, § 3, part I.

And again—

'It may perhaps be asked, why the evidences of a future state were not made *more striking and indubitable?* why *human reason was left so much in the dark* on a subject so interesting to our happiness? and why even *that revelation which has brought life and immortality to light,* has not afforded us a clearer view of the enjoyments and occupations of futurity? To these questions it would be presumptuous to attempt a direct reply,' &c.—*Ibid.* ch. 4, § 2.

Such are some of the evidences of Mr Stewart's disposition 'avowedly 'and determinedly' to exclude the light of revelation!

healing in his wings; and that one, whose office it was to point out the sources and distinctions of morality, should have endeavoured to perplex so plain a question as the fallen condition of humanity,* which even the heathens acknowledged, and the more eminent moralists among them made the groundwork of their philosophy.'—P. 372.

Whether the disposition which Mr Douglas evinces to carp at and malign the opinions of Mr Stewart, is grounded in ignorance or prejudice, we do not know; but sure we are, that he cannot for a moment mislead any one who has even a slight acquaintance with the writings of that philosopher, whose ingenuousness and candour are not the least conspicuous and admirable qualities of his truly great character.

Where, we ask this presuming writer, is the evidence that Mr Stewart 'sedulously shuts his eyes' in the manner described?—above all, where is the evidence of his 'encouraging others to rejoice in sparks of their own kindling?' Where does Mr Stewart 'endeavour' (as it is perspicuously expressed) 'to perplex so plain a question as the fallen condition of humanity?' Mr Stewart, while endeavouring to meet the argument against the Divine Goodness drawn from the existence of moral evil, finds it necessary to determine what is the actual amount of that evil, and to free the representations of it from exaggeration.† And this, forsooth, is 'to perplex so plain a question as the fallen condition of humanity!' Will Mr Douglas venture to say that the ostensible purpose of Mr Stewart's argument was other than what we have represented? Will he deny that this purpose was a pious purpose? Will he exhibit even the shadow of a reason for presuming that Mr Stewart had any other purpose than the ostensible one? Unfortunately, however, for Mr Stewart, the

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* What light does Mr Douglas suppose the 'fallen condition of humanity' to throw on the 'sources and distinctions of morality?'

† Mr Douglas, completely overlooking the aim of Mr Stewart's argument, seems to have fixed himself wholly on an ambiguous expression of the latter. Mr Stewart says, 'a distinction which I shall afterwards have occasion to illustrate, between absolute and relative rectitude, will enable me to *explain away* a much greater proportion of the apparent wickedness of our species.' The phrase 'to explain away' usually includes, we believe, the idea of a *dishonest intention*. How little Mr Stewart's intention was of this kind (supposing him so weak as openly to profess it), may be gathered from the *mode* in which he does 'explain away' a part of human wickedness. This is merely by asserting the principle that a man's wickedness must be reckoned by what he knowingly and intentionally commits, and not by what is done ignorantly and unintentionally. Mr Douglas does not notice this.

effect of his argument was to weigh somewhat heavily against a doctrine, above all others a favourite at present with a certain religious party amongst us—that of the *total depravity* of the human heart;—(meaning—or, if not this, what does it mean?—that men hate what is right, simply as being right, and love what is wrong, simply as being wrong,) and this effect Mr Stewart had been guilty of overlooking. The point which he proposed to examine was, indeed, one of pure fact; and probably he may have thought that the establishment of a fact could never interfere with a true doctrine. But he ought to have known better. He ought to have known that when a theological dogma and a fact come into collision, we must maintain the dogma, and 'close our philosophic shutters' to the fact.

It is melancholy to behold such a want of candour and fairness. Surely that must be a diseased state of religious feeling, which can thus convert into poison the most wholesome nutriments of piety to God and charity to man—which could thus prompt the aspersion (without the shadow of a ground)* of one who never published a sentence that was not fitted to enlarge the intellect, and better the heart—one who, in the very act which has given occasion to these bigoted and uncharitable reflections, was employing the resources of his profound philosophy and attractive eloquence in strengthening the foundations of religion, natural and revealed!

Before closing our remarks on this work, it is necessary to mention that the author in several places speaks as if he had brought to light a mental faculty before undiscovered. His first allusion to it occurs in the following words:—

'To conceive the sensations of touch and hardness separate from the extension to which they are united, is beyond the reach of philosophy to attain. So much stronger is the mind to build than to pull down, so

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* Mr Stewart, in entering generally on the subject of the existence of moral evil, has these words:—'Premising only, that after all that 'reason can allege on this subject, there still remains insuperable difficulties connected with it, which nothing but revelation can explain;' and, on commencing the subordinate enquiry as to the amount of the evil, he remarks—'When I speak of the preponderancy of moral good 'in the world, I do not mean to draw any inference in favour of the 'secret springs of human conduct, as they appear in the sight of that 'Being who alone is acquainted with every thought of the heart; but only 'to illustrate the kind provision which is made in the constitution of man, 'and in the circumstances of his condition, for the growth and culture of 'those dispositions which are favourable to the happiness of individuals 'and to the good order of society.'—Book III. ch. 3, § 1.

much stronger (we must use a new term for an *unnoticed power*) is construction than abstraction.'—P. 163.

It is said to be a frequent consequence of the discovery of an important truth, that not only does it at once recommend itself to the understandings of mankind, but every man feels as if it were quite familiar to him, and only wonders how he had never happened to perceive and proclaim it. Apparently Mr Douglas has conceived that the mere mention of the power which he calls *construction*, or the plastic power, was all that was necessary to secure its permanent reception into systems of mental philosophy; for he has dispensed with giving us any explanation of its nature. Nor can we say that we are able, from an examination of the different passages where the mention of it occurs,* to supply the deficiency. The following is that which seems to contain the fullest description of it:—

'But the greatest oversight of all, (and with regard to this there is no exception,) is the nearly entire omission of the constructive process of the mind, and the consequent difficulties that arise respecting abstraction. Now, it is construction that is the remarkable process; abstraction is merely a partial untying of that knot which the mind has complicated for itself. All our perceptions and sensations, all our notions of suggestion, and the reflections of our own thoughts, enter the mind singly; and if abstraction could arrive at that limit, which, however, it can scarcely ever hope to reach, of restoring them to their primitive simplicity and unmixed individuality, all that it would effect would be merely to reach the point from which the mind originally set out. If there were no faculty like construction, which united, there would be no need of abstraction to disunite.'—P. 250.

From any thing we can divine of the nature of the power of *construction*, here alluded to, we cannot perceive how it differs from the principle of association. At all events, they are so like, that it would not have been too much to expect that Mr Douglas himself should have enabled us to discriminate them.

We regret that, in our account of this work, we have so often felt ourselves obliged to use a tone of dissatisfaction. The author is of what we reckon the orthodox school of metaphysics. He is free from all quackery and affectation; he is no setter-forth of strange technicalities. If he is obscure, (as he too often is,) he is not so for purposes of mystery and imposition. The work is throughout composed with taste and elegance;—it is easy, natural, and varied. Indeed, we are not without some suspicion that Mr Douglas has been rather more intent on attaining the graces

* See pages 173, 203, 246, 253, 300.

of fine writing, than on presenting distinct notions and lucid expositions. Yet he is never forced or artificial. Nor, on the whole, should we pronounce him wanting in judgment; at least we should feel inclined to place much more confidence in the soundness of his conclusions, than in the regularity or correctness of the process by which he arrives at them. Of those reflections of a more contemplative cast in which he occasionally indulges—such as evince attentive observation and deep feeling rather than skilful reasoning—rather a perception of the beautiful and the good than of the true—we have given some specimens, and should have been at no loss for more, had our limits permitted us to extract them.

ART. III.—1. *Speeches delivered at a Public Meeting for the Formation of a British India Society, held in the Freemasons' Hall, Saturday, July* 6, 1839. *The Right Hon. Lord Brougham in the chair.* London: Printed for the British India Society. 1839.

2. *British India Society: Reasons why it is the interest of every person in the United Kingdom to promote the objects of this Society.* Published by the Committee of the Society. London. September 1839.

3. *An Appeal from the Inhabitants of British India to the Justice of the People of England: a Popular Enquiry into the Operation of the System of Taxation in British India.* By JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq. London: 1839.

WE remarked some time ago, regarding England, that 'the 'room for rational improvement is so great, that any 'person, really master of the case, would know that much must 'be lost, whilst nothing is to be gained, by running off into 'extravagant misrepresentations or conclusions.' This sentiment is emphatically true with respect to our empire in India. It is equally certain that that knowledge of the principles and practical working of the administration of our vast possessions in that quarter—the attainment of which, in any degree satisfactory to themselves, the ablest of those who have zealously pursued it from their earliest manhood, have found sufficient to occupy the best years of their lives*—is not to be arrived at

* This observation is especially applicable to the Land-Revenue. 'Every man who has long been employed in the management of the

'*per saltum*'—by the mere impulse of the most sincere philanthropy: still less is it to be gathered from the lips of declaimers at public meetings, or from the pamphlets of partisans. There is not, in truth, any royal road to this knowledge more than to geometry: it must needs be painfully learned; and those, however honest, who will form headlong conclusions, either on their own very insufficient information, or on the *ex parte* statements of others, who have clients to serve or old grudges to pay off, will assuredly fall into much error;—will make themselves, and, in some degree, the general cause of benevolence, ridiculous; and if they are happily prevented, by calmer and wiser men, from doing any considerable mischief, will certainly miss of good.

These considerations have sprung from the perusal of the publications before us. The first two are the manifestoes of a society which was established in July last, with the benevolent design of 'bettering the condition of our fellow-subjects—the 'natives of British India.' The last is the work of a gentleman, (who, we observe, is a member of the society's Committee of Management,) known to be intimately acquainted with the history and present condition of the Indo-Chinese nations; but whose residence, during his employment in the East, having been almost exclusively confined to the Malayan peninsula and islands; and his short service to the west of the Ganges, to the medical staff; he does not possess, as we shall presently show, that measure of information respecting the difficult subject which he has treated, which alone could render him a safe guide to his colleagues and the public.

We would premise two other observations. First, we think that the Society, the names of some of whose members are an ample guarantee for their individual philanthropy—and which states, in its committee's address of July 1839, that it will 'suggest, and labour to secure, the delay of all specific plans 'of amelioration, until every doubt respecting the nature and 'extent of alleged existing evils, and the neeessity of remedy-'ing them, is entirely removed'—would have acted both wisely and charitably, if, in this early stage of its endeavours 'to ob-

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'revenues of Bengal,' says Mr Shore, in his Minute of 10th Feb. 1790, 'will, if candid, allow that his opinion on many important points has 'often varied, and that the information of one year has been rendered 'dubious by that of another.' The select committee of the House of Commons, which drew up the fifth report, remarks on this passage and context, that they 'have no reason to suppose that the intricacy of 'subject is overrated.'

'tain from every available source, authentic and impartial in-'formation respecting the present actual condition of the natives 'of India, and the circumstances of the country,' it had restrained, if not its co-ordinate members, at least its Travelling Secretary, from that extreme exaggeration and invective, which not only prejudges the very questions which the society has undertaken to investigate, but which must necessarily disgust and alienate many sincere friends of the people of India, and excite others, who might otherwise have been indifferent, into active opponents of the association.

We would, in the second place, appeal from the society, in its excited meetings, or hurried away, in its publications, by the zeal without knowledge of such functionaries as its travelling secretary, to the common sense of its members in their calmer moments, as well as to the public in general,—whether it be, we do not say consistent, but at all likely, that a government conducted by educated Englishmen and Christians—to the general ability and honesty of which, since the days of Lord Cornwallis, British statesmen of the highest reputation have consecutively borne unqualified testimony; for whose merits foreign travellers, such as Burckhardt and Jacquemont, have vouched in the most unsuspicious terms; and to which, as 'swaying a sceptre of good 'policy, redounding not more to the benefit of the government 'than that of the governed,' the eminent chairman of the society, (Lord Brougham,) at its inaugural meeting, declared that 'the natives of India owe a boundless debt of gratitude'—should not only be so wicked, but so desperately foolish, as the Secretary, Mr George Thompson, and others represent it to be. This gentleman stated at the meeting in July, in direct contradiction to the noble chairman whom he was addressing, that 'India has been governed upon false principles;' that we 'have 'stretched a robber's hand over the soil;' that 'we have acted 'the part of mercenary conquerors, intent only upon the acquisi-'tion of gain. Our lust of lucre' (he proceeded) 'has mastered 'every other passion, and led us to abuse our power, and pursue 'a blind and ruinous policy:—we are now reaping the fruit of 'our doings. The proofs of misgovernment stare us in the face, 'in every part of India. The revenue from the land is fast fail-'ing. The manufactures of the country have dwindled into 'insignificance. The fruitful field has, in many instances, become 'a wilderness. Famines have depopulated some of the most 'fertile regions. Rebellions have multiplied; commercial esta-'blishments have gone to ruin. A sense of insecurity has seized 'upon the most enlightened minds. Ancient public works have 'been suffered to crumble into dust. Roads, connecting canals—

'the improvement of the navigation of the great rivers—all these 'matters have been despised.'

Here are two representations of the same things, one painted by the chairman, and the other by the travelling secretary of the British India Society; both of which cannot possibly be true. And if the reports given in the public prints are to be believed, Mr Thompson's metropolitan picture is timid and faint in its colouring, when compared with that in which he depicts the enormities of British Indian domination to the easier credulity of his provincial audiences. But how can Lord Brougham believe, as firmly, he tells us, as he believes that he was bodily present in Freemasons' Hall, that 'the natives of 'India owe a boundless debt of gratitude to the Company and the 'people of England,' unless he utterly disbelieve the travelling secretary's account of what the same parties have done, and left undone, in that country? Happily, however, there is nothing very distressing in this dilemma. Mr Thompson's picture is not like enough to be even a tolerable caricature. 'The revenue 'from the land,' so far from 'fast failing,' is generally on the increase; and it is satisfactory to find, that notwithstanding the heavy expenses of the war in Affghanistan, now happily concluded, it will not be necessary to open a loan. If 'the manu-'factures of the country have dwindled,' it is solely because the steam-engines and spinning-jennies of Manchester and Paisley have overworked and undersold the native handicraftsman—a result assuredly beneficial to the great body of consumers. The expression that 'the fruitful field has become a wilderness,' has all the beauty of Scripture but its truth; the fact being diametrically the reverse. Even so long ago as 1787, Mr Shore could say—'with respect to the past I am, from my own observation, 'as far as it has been extended, authorized to affirm, that, since 'the year 1770, cultivation is progressively increased.'* Since the date of the permanent settlement in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares—since the acquisition of the provinces in the north-west—hundreds of thousands of acres have been reclaimed. In every district, as sportsmen too well know, the tiger and the wild boar have been dispossessed from the fastnesses of centuries. At the one extremity of the enormous presidency of Bengal, the lions which, within the memory of man, prowled up to the gates of Delhi, are now rarely to be found on the skirts of the desert, two hundred miles from that city; and where the waters which wash its walls, and afterwards mingle with those of the Ganges,

* Minute of 18th Sept. 1789. Fifth Report.

are lost in the Bay of Bengal after a course of twelve or fourteen hundred miles, the obstinate jungles and salt marshes of the Delta are rapidly receding before the energies of the bold adventurers who have undertaken to drain and clear them. Not only is it not true that useful 'public works have been suffered to 'crumble into dust,' and that 'connecting canals have been de-'spised,' but the canals of Delhi and the Dooab, choked by the neglect of our predecessors in empire, have been opened and enlarged; and Mr Thompson might have learned from Bishop Heber—whose journal has been appealed to for one of the very few unfavourable sentiments which it contains—how the population of Delhi went out with garlands to greet and crown the first waters of the health-bearing and fertilizing stream. The work of extending the usefulness of these canals, originally intended only for irrigation and domestic purposes, by increasing their volume of water, and their branches, and by rendering the main streams navigable, is still going on; and measures have been taken to bestow similar blessings upon the province of Rohilcund. The whole trade of the eastern districts at all times—the whole trade of the provinces during several months of the year—is brought to Calcutta, either by its two artificial canals, or by rivers kept open during the dry season by the skill of an officer specially appointed to that duty. A grand road, metalled throughout, (though in the champaign country nature does not supply a stone for the purpose,) has been opened from Calcutta to Delhi; a beautiful branch-road from Mirzapore carries to that great mart the cotton and other products of the fertile valley of the Nerbudda; a road from Bengal into Assam, over the Cossyah Mountains, is in execution; that from Calcutta to the borders of the Madras presidency, beyond Juggernath, is nearly finished. But we need not heap up instances. Sufficient has been said to show the utter groundlessness of Mr Thompson's charge. That enough has been done, that more ought not to be done, no one acquainted with the subject will affirm. But all such know, that the rulers of India are fully alive to their correlative interests and obligations.

We put it to the good sense and right feeling of the many most respectable and benevolent members of the British India Society, whose object is the real welfare of our fellow-subjects in the East, and not the running down of the Company and its servants, whether any thing but mischief can possibly result from such rhetorical exaggerations—to use the mildest term—as we have shown that their Travelling Secretary indulges in. We observe that, carrying with him the weight of his official connexion with such men as the venerable

Mr Clarkson, Mr Pease, and Colonel Sykes, and gifted with that fluency of speech which has seduced even Lord Brougham into calling him 'the most eloquent man, and the most accomplished orator he knows,' Mr Thompson travels from one populous city to another, denouncing the Government of India in terms, of which we have given but an average specimen, both in respect to their vituperative nature and their truth. Are these the 'moral, peaceful' means by which the society has pledged itself exclusively to work? Are such means likely to attain the end which every benevolent Englishman must earnestly desire to compass? Has 'every doubt respecting the nature and 'extent of existing evils' been so 'entirely removed,' as to warrant the unqualified condemnation of the whole fiscal policy pursued by the many able and excellent men who have swayed the delegated sceptre of Hindostan, from Lord Cornwallis to Lord Auckland? Finally, are the society sure that they are in the right track, and that they have not been misled, to denounce unreal evils, and to ascribe real evils—famines, for example—to causes which have no other connexion with them than the accidental one of co-existence; whilst they neglect the field of true usefulness, and are wasting their energies, and injuring their character, in the estimation of all sober and well-informed men, by following declaimers to hunt chimeras?

We are persuaded, and we proceed to demonstrate, that this is the present position of a body, which might, under better guidance, render good service to humanity.

The system which obtains in India of raising the public revenue principally from the land, is the great bugbear of the society. To that system its organs ascribe, not only the poverty and degradation of the great body of the people; but—in a paper which it put forth in September last, entitled 'Reasons why it is 'the interest of every person in the United Kingdom to promote 'the objects of the Society'—the (alleged) unduly high prices at which we import the sugar, cotton, silk, tobacco, and other products of India, and the famines by which sometimes one, and sometimes another, of the provinces of our empire in that country have been visited. So strongly is the position, that what the society calls 'the land-tax' is the cause of the enhanced price which we pay for Indian produce, taken up, that it is stated in the paper above cited, that the whole revenue of India being about £18,000,000, and the whole charges about the same, 'if 'Great Britain defrayed the whole amount of those charges, 'paid the dividends on India stock, and the interest of about 'forty millions of debt owing in India,' (all which items, by the way, are included in the general calculation of charges,) 'leaving

'the natives, tax-free, to produce in return all that she requires 'for her commerce and manufactures, the clear gain to the coun-'try' (*i. e.* England) 'would amount to several millions a-year.'

Upon these allegations we join issue. We assert, and we will prove, that what is erroneously called the land-tax, is not a tax at all; but that the revenue is derived simply from the appropriation to the state, for public purposes, according to immemorial usage, of a large proportion of the rent of the land; and that this system, which the society denounces as the grand fountain-head of all evil, is not only not the cause of that evil, nor in any respect or degree the cause of what is deemed the factitiously high price which we pay for Indian produce, but that it is the best mode that could be devised of raising the funds necessary for the public expenses.

The late Mr James Mill is one of the highest authorities in all matters relating to India, and assuredly no mean authority upon a question of Political Economy. His testimony on the subject under discussion is as follows:—'I conceive that the 'peculiarity of India, in deriving a large proportion of its re-'venue from the land, is a very great advantage. Nine-'tenths, probably, of the revenue of the Government of India 'is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to in-'dividuals, and always considered to be the property of Go-'vernment; and, to me, that appears to be one of the most 'fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country; be-'cause, in consequence of this, the wants of the state are 'supplied, really and truly, without taxation. As far as this 'source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed. The 'wants of government are supplied without any drain, either 'upon the produce of any man's labour or the produce of any 'man's capital.' * Mr Holt Mackenzie states that 'the land-'revenue may, generally speaking, be considered as a share of 'the rent, not as a tax.' † The following is an extract from the chapter on 'the rent of land' in Mr Malthus's *Principles of Political Economy*:—'In most of the great Eastern monarchies, 'the sovereign has been considered in the light of the owner of 'the soil. This premature monopoly of the land, joined with 'the two properties of the soil and of its products, just noticed, 'has enabled the government to claim, at a very early period, a 'certain portion of the produce of all cultivated land; and under

* Evidence before Select Committee of House of Commons in August 1831. Answer to question 3134.

† Papers published by Select Committee, III. Revenue, page 424.

'whatever name this may be taken, it is essentially rent. It is 'an excess, both of the quantity and of the exchangeable value 'of what is produced, above the actual costs of cultivation.'

This 'monopoly'—as Mr Malthus correctly calls it, because all rent rises, first, from the appropriation of land, and secondly, from its limitation both in quantity and quality relatively to the consumers—may as he thinks, have been 'premature' in the first instance; because the state being the proprietor of all land, the monopoly which is, under other circumstances, the work of time, was, in India, effected at once and completely. But this primary period has long since passed away. It is, however, certainly possible that the state, just like any other landowner, may still demand and exact more than is properly rent, and may thus trench upon the remuneration of labour and the profits of capital; and it is to this contingency, undoubtedly, that Mr Holt Mackenzie intended to allude by the use of the qualifying phrase 'generally speaking,' in the passage above quoted; and to which Mr Mill more explicitly referred when he said, that 'the land-'revenue in India, as generally assessed, differs from rent only 'in respect to amount, according as it is less or more than exists 'after the cost of cultivation is replaced.'* Of course, whatever is taken in excess of the legitimate rent, is a tax upon labour and capital of the most mischievous description.

We now proceed to enquire whether the identity of the Indian land-revenue with rent be merely a theoretical opinion of certain writers, or a doctrine thoroughly understood, and practically acted upon, by the British Government.

That the revenue is only a part of the rent throughout the permanently settled provinces, admits of the easiest demonstration; for there the zemindars, (originally public officers employed in the collection of the revenue, and remunerated by a per centage upon it,) having been recognised as proprietors of the soil, or at least of the difference between the payments of the cultivators and the fixed demand of the state; the latter does not now probably exceed, on the average, half of the ryots' payments to the zemindars; which are as undeniably rents, as the receipts from his tenants of any landowner in Essex or Yorkshire. That a moiety is about the average ratio of the public demand to the entire rental of the permanently settled provinces, we judge from the statements which we have seen, showing the returns and outgoings of the numerous estates

* Papers published by Select Committee of House of Commons, III. Revenue, page 388.

managed by the Board of Revenue, in their capacity of Court of Wards, on behalf of minor or female zemindars; though sometimes the difference between the rent and the revenue is considerably greater, the former being to the latter, in one of the cases exhibited, as thirteen to one.

As regards the provinces where the land-revenue is not fixed in perpetuity, evidence might be given to any extent, to show that it has been long understood, throughout British India, that the rude principle of our predecessors, of claiming and levying, on account of the state, a certain share of the gross produce of the land, is liable to involve serious error, and to cause grievous consequent mischief; and that the only safe practical standard for the measurement of the public demand, is the rent which the cultivator is found actually to pay.

All the lamentations, therefore, which have been uttered, and by none more piteously than Mr Thompson—(who stated in his speech at the Freemasons' Tavern, that the 'Christian rulers' 'of India have made themselves masters and proprietors of half 'a million of square miles of territory, and levied a tax upon the 'land, which deprives the cultivator of from forty to ninety per 'cent of the entire produce,')—as to the enormity of taking this or the other proportion of the gross produce, are, happily, empty sounds. Mr Thompson had heard that the Government takes 'from forty to ninety per cent' of the *rent*,—(even that is true only in extreme and very rare cases,)—and confounding rent with '*entire produce*,' falls into the absurdity of asserting that the Government sometimes commits the impossible extortion of taking nine-tenths of the latter!

As to the views of the Government of India, in those parts of the empire where there are no parties intermediate between the state and the cultivator, they cannot be better stated than in the passage which the British India Society has selected from the orders of the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, dated 12th December 1821, in order to demonstrate the scandalous taxation of the people. To the matter of scandal we shall revert when we come to compare the appropriation of rent with the systems of taxation obtaining in other countries, as a mode of raising the necessary funds for public expenses:—premising, that what is laid down is explicitly the *maximum*; and that we believe, that in Canara, where the ryot war-system is best developed, the demand of the state does not exceed half the fair rent. 'We are aware,' (wrote the Court,) 'that the difficulty lies in 'ascertaining the degree in which, in all the variety of cases, 'the surplus produce already is, or is not, absorbed by the 'Government demand. But this is the difficulty which exists in 'forming or adjusting the settlement every where. Minute

'accuracy cannot be obtained; but in making the best approxi-
'mation to it in our power we shall avoid all material evil, if the
'surplus produce (*i. e.* the whole rent of the land) is, in all cases,
'made the utmost extent of our demand.'

The existing system of assessment, in the provinces where the agency of zemindars is employed, may be learned from the following extract from Lord William Bentinck's Minute of the 26th September 1832 :—

'It is impracticable also to fix an invariable standard of
'demand, even on net produce. In another place I observ-
'ed, that a maximum, however, might be fixed, and that the
'relinquishment by Government of thirty or thirty-five per
'cent of the estimated gross rent, would seem to be sufficient,
'under the most unfavourable circumstances, to serve as a re-
'munerating return, and to cover all expenses and risks of col-
'lection. By the term "gross rent," I explained that I meant
'the proportion of the produce, or the value of the produce re-
'maining, after defraying the wages of labour and profits of
'stock.

'By clause 2, section vii. reg. vii., of 1822, a profit of twenty
'per cent on the amount of the jumma (public revenue) is pre-
'scribed as the ordinary deduction in favour of the zemindars.
'To make this correspond with the maximum above indicated,
'it must be supposed that something, about ten or fifteen per
'cent on the gross, or cucha jummabundee (rental) is allowed
'for expenses of collection.

'It appears to me that the gross, or cucha jummabundee
'(rental) of an estate being once ascertained, the rule should be
'to assume, as the Government share, seventy or seventy-five
'per cent, leaving the remainder to cover all expenses of col-
'lection, all risks, and all proprietary profits.'

The circular order of the Board of Revenue, laying down rules for the assessment of the public revenue, and publishing the Governor-General's Minute, above quoted, for the information of the subordinate officers of the department, makes the point that that revenue is, as Mr Malthus states, 'essentially
'rent,' still more certain.

'It will be obvious,' (the Board write,) 'that, after the pre-
'cise area of the estate under assessment shall have been ascer-
'tained, the principal object of the collector should be to ascertain,
'by every available means, the rent actually received by the
'proprietor from his several tenants, of whatever class or de-
'scription. This is the only safe and practical foundation for
'the calculation of the public jumma, (revenue,) and no pains,
'therefore, should be spared to elicit the requisite information.
'Where it may be found impossible to obtain it, or where sus-

'picion may attach to the accounts rendered, the rent paid for 'land of the same quality, and under similar circumstances, on 'the adjoining estates, will afford the best criterion.'*

We have shown, we think, that it is the object, at any rate, of the Anglo-Indian Government to confine its demands of land-revenue, including the percentage assigned to the zemindars, within the legitimate rent. In former times the necessity of keeping carefully within such a bound was not so well understood; the Government undeniably manifested, in some instances, a shortsighted greediness; and its revenue officers were, therefore, tempted to seek to ingratiate themselves with their superiors by screwing up the assessment till it absorbed more than the rent, and, consequently, impoverished the tract of country so dealt with. But the folly as well as cruelty of over-assessment, —of 'the manifold and grievous evils' of which the Board of Revenue warn the collectors, in their circular order above quoted,—have long been felt; and it is evident that we ascribe no very romantic virtue, and even no very high intelligence, to the rulers of British India, when we merely assert that they have discovered that their own interest, and that of their agricultural subjects, are identical; and that, to take as land-revenue more than the legitimate rent, is to kill, by a slow but certain process, the bird that lays the golden eggs of a steady, and, under good management, increasing yearly income.

Having shown that the Indian land-revenue is rent, we presume that the authority of Mr Ricardo will suffice to establish the principle, that 'corn' (and it is exactly the same with regard to every other agricultural product) 'is not high because a rent 'is paid; but a rent is paid because corn is high: and that no 'reduction would take place in the price of corn, although land-'lords should forego the whole of their rent.'

Secondly, it is certain that where land is in a condition relatively to society to yield rent, rent will always be exacted by the party or parties at the head of the agricultural scale, be they the state or squires, zemindars or ryots; and that, consequently, if the Government of India were to abandon its land-revenues, the sole results would be, that its treasury would be so much the emptier; and that the zemindars, where there are zemindars, would be so much the richer; and that where there are no zemindars at present, the ryots, not, indeed, as a body, but the more

* The circular orders of the Board were published 'by authority' in 1838. The British India Society will do well to provide themselves with a copy. They will find the passages quoted above at pages 310–11, and 320–21.

intelligent and energetic of their number, would become zemindars.*

It follows, that, since only a small number of persons could become landholders, the condition of the great mass of the agricultural population would not be a whit improved by the abandonment of its land-revenue by the state. It follows, with still more absolute certainty, from both the foregoing axioms, that such an abandonment would in no wise tend to lower the market price of produce. It would, therefore, (as we hope even the Travelling Secretary of the British India Society will perceive,) be a most ruinous speculation for Great Britain to undertake, as the committee of that society has proposed, to defray the whole £18,000,000 annually expended by the Government of India; in the hope that we should thereby obtain a 'clear gain of several 'millions a-year,' by the process of leaving the natives of our eastern empire free from what is called 'the land-tax,' 'to pro-'duce, in return, all that we require for our commerce and manu-'factures.' Verily, the bursting of the South-Sea bubble would be as nothing in comparison with the consequence of suffering ourselves to be persuaded by the 'reasons' of the British India Society to take upon our own shoulders the charges of governing India!

Still, though apart from social circumstances not yet taken into consideration, the ryot of India is no worse off, whilst the zemindar is, by a considerable percentage, better off (even without the pale of the permanent settlement) than the tenant who pays a full rent to his landlord in any other country; it is undeniable that the condition of the ryot is, generally speaking, one of abject poverty and degradation:—and this as much, if not more, within as without the provinces permanently settled; as was proved by Raja Rammohun Roy's evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, and by other excellent testimony.†

It may easily, however, be shown, that though the rent is often unduly high, and though the actual cultivators of the soil are, partly from that cause and partly from other causes, kept in a state of depression and of liability to suffer, in bad seasons, from insufficient food, or from absolute famine—yet, what the British India Society calls 'the land-tax,' has just as little to do with the matter, when it does not exceed the rent, as Tenterden Steeple with the Goodwin Sands.

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* We shall show, in the sequel, that, as the charges of the Government must be defrayed, this mode of enriching individuals would greatly impoverish the community.

† Mr Mill says, in answer to question 3596, 'I have no reason to be-'lieve that the ryots generally, in Bengal, are not in as wretched a condi-'tion as any where else in India.'

That exactly the same state of things may exist, without a so-called 'land-tax,' the condition of the people in the south and west of Ireland, where the Government has no share in the rent of the land, abundantly demonstrates. In India, as in that part of Ireland, there is a dense population, almost exclusively agricultural; and, in both countries, what is called in the latter the Cottier system obtains. In both, there are, in frequent instances, several gradations of middlemen; in both there is the most eager competition for the immediate occupancy of the land; and in both, owing to that competition, the peasantry, as a body, are reduced to live upon the smallest share of the produce, raised by their labour, which will support life, and enable them to rear their families in wretchedness. The cottier of Ireland would not—could not—pay more, if the state took three-fourths, or the whole of the rent now enjoyed by his landlord; the ryot of India would not pay less, if the state were to reduce by one-half, or altogether to abandon, its land-revenue. He does not pay less where the demand of the state has been limited by the contract of the permanent settlement, under which, as we have shown, the zemindar enjoys half the rent; he does not pay less, nor is he in any respect better off, when he cultivates land exempt altogether from the payment of revenue.* In India, as in Ireland, there is a constant tendency in rent to be excessive—in other words, to swallow up part of the due wages of labour and profits of capital; because the people are practically tied to the soil, and outbid one another for the privilege of getting a bare subsistence out of it. But this state of things was neither caused by the land-revenue system, nor would it be remedied by its abolition.

The truths on which we have insisted are so elementary, that we feel almost ashamed to lay them down with such particularity. But much misapprehension obtains, and much false doctrine has been promulgated, on the subject; and it is greatly to be lamented, that those who profess a philanthropical desire to better the condition of our fellow-subjects in the East, should be so ill-informed in regard to the causes of that condition, as to turn away their own attention, and, as much as in them lies, that of others, from the real evils of India, and their remedies; to circumstances which, as we have said, have no other connexion with the wretched degradation of the community, than the accidental one of co-existence. But it is a simple

* When such land is brought under assessment, the ryots are always found to be paying a full rent, and the public settlement is always formed on the basis of that rent.

and compendious operation—to which every man is competent, —to vilify a government; and to ascribe all social evil to its maladministration: it is quite another thing to trace that evil to its various, many-concurring, and often remote sources, by that patient process of investigation which alone can conduct such enquiries to a successful issue.

The whole subject is much too vast for the limits to which we must confine ourselves; but it is something to lay open, by clearing away error, the real ground upon which improvement must be built. We shall only delude ourselves, however, if we do not constantly bear in mind that the work of regenerating a long and deeply-degraded people is one of intense difficulty, and of extreme slowness, under the most favourable circumstances; and that the situation of our fellow-subjects in India, both positively as regards their own institutions and actual condition, and relatively to their foreign and migratory rulers, is one which cannot but be considered as eminently unfavourable for that process of amendment, which must, nevertheless, be both earnestly considered, and energetically carried on.

Ignorance, of course, is at the root of the matter as regards general degradation,—ignorance originating in, or fostered by, the temporal and spiritual tyranny under which the people have groaned for centuries: in the former case, the yoke of rulers not a whit, speaking generally, in advance of their subjects; in the latter, the intolerable imposition of a hereditary priesthood,—placed, by the institution of caste, in a situation impregnable as long as ignorance endures,—fattening, in countless numbers, upon the best of the land and the first-fruits of every man's industry,—and administering the rites, and dictating the observances, (for moral commandments, worthy of the name, and known to the body of the people, there are absolutely none,) of the most unmixedly bad and demoralizing religion which the world has ever seen. Light must be let in upon this dark chaos of evil elements, before the task of regeneration can be even commenced. In this good work, the missionaries generally, but especially those deputed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, are labouring most diligently; and, in proportion to their means, with good effect. Something—far too little—has been done by the Government for the education of its subjects; but to that we shall revert in the sequel, pointing out, in the first instance, what appears to us to be the principal proximate cause of the poverty of India.

The superiority of England to France in agricultural wealth, has been correctly ascribed to the smaller amount of labour by which a given quantity of produce is raised in the former country. India is poor, chiefly on account of the enormous disproportion,

in this respect, of the means to the end. The whole face of the country under tillage is divided into cottier's tenures, often miserably small; each of which must necessarily support the family which cultivates it, before it can contribute any thing to general wealth. By this extreme subdivision of land and segregation of labour, five times more hands than need be are employed in cultivation. Each family scratches—for ploughing would be a misnomer—its own little croft; and not having employment, probably, for more than an hour out of every working-day of the year, the rest of the time of every agriculturist is spent in the process of dressing his meals and eating them—smoking, gossiping, and sleeping. For all practical purposes of general wealth, therefore, it is obvious that four-fifths of the agricultural population (which, again, is probably near upon nine-tenths of the whole labouring population) are altogether uselessly employed;—seeing that all the produce of their labour might be raised by a fifth of their number, if that fraction could be brought to work upon a proper system, and in an efficient manner. Further, the whole tribe of Brahmins, immensely numerous, are, with partial exceptions, drones in the hive—living in idleness by the sweat of other men's brows. But a population, however employed or not employed, must eat; and, in the present state of things, each family consumes a very considerable proportion of the food which it grows: so that the extremely high relation of the agricultural to the general population; the vast number of idle Brahmins, who are principally maintained by the agriculturists; and the very minute proportion of the whole produce of so fertile a country which is exported, being considered;—it is clear that the share of that produce which even reasonable men, who had no case of extortion to make out, (not to notice the 'from forty to ninety per cent' of Mr George Thompson's speech,) have assumed to be appropriated by the Government as revenue, must be greatly overestimated. For the produce, in average seasons, being of course only equal to the consumption, (the exportation being so small, in relation to the vastness of the quantity with which our calculation has to do, as not to deserve a place in it,) and nine-tenths of the consumers being agriculturists—or the priests, tradesmen, and artisans immediately employed by, and dependent upon them—it is evident that the Government, however rapacious, can take only what those parties do not eat; or, by the hypothesis, one-tenth of the gross produce. Even admitting—and certainly this is an extreme concession—that one-fifth of the whole population is non-agricultural, the available surplus is no more than twenty per cent. We are aware, of course, that this position is liable to be affected by such articles of produce as indigo, oil-seeds, and the like; but, in the first place, the aggre

gate value of such products is as nothing compared with that of the edible grains; and, secondly, there are vast districts in India where scarcely any thing but those grains is raised.

To return to our more immediate subject. A country where a hundred men do nothing but raise the grain which might very well be raised by twenty—in other words, where the labour of four-fifths of the agricultural, being four-fifths at least of the whole population, is absolutely thrown away—must necessarily be miserably poor; and this precisely the same, whether the pittance which, under the most favourable circumstances, remains, where such a state of things obtains as rent, (never, probably, exceeding eight or ten shillings an acre for the best land under ordinary tillage,) be appropriated altogether by the landholder; or divided, in whatever proportions, between that party and the government.

Such being the condition of the agricultural population, it is easy enough—for any one who will take the trouble to think, and who knows what the sufferings of the same classes in the south and west of Ireland have repeatedly been—to account for occasional famines, without ascribing them to the revenue system. The poorest classes, instead of being in the healthy situation of labourers for hire, and therefore certain of being supported by capitalists in seasons of scarcity, are all farmers, on a miserably petty scale, on their own account. Each family tills only a few acres at the utmost, often much less, and is absolutely dependent upon the produce of each harvest for its sustenance, until the next crop be reaped. All the cottiers—like ignorant cottiers every where—are improvident to a degree; and nineteen out of every twenty are in debt to the petty grain-merchants of their respective villages, from whom they borrow money for their marriages or other ceremonies, or to pay their rent, or corn for seed or food, at rates of interest such as no usurer in England ever dreamed of. They are often, consequently, through life, the mere milk-cows of these small, but comparatively intelligent, capitalists—always behind-hand with the world, and always obliged to sell their corn immediately after the harvest, when all their neighbours are also selling, and at their creditors'—the grain-merchants'—price. In the districts where indigo is grown, the native manager of the planter stands in the stead of the village corn-chandler; the ryot is always deep in the books of the factory; and is never, therefore, able to make a free agent's bargain, and to obtain for the use of the land exclusively, or almost exclusively, fit for the cultivation of so valuable an article, any thing approaching to what it ought to be,—to wit, a monopoly price. The consequence is, that the man who grows indigo is not at all better off than his neighbour who grows coarse rice. So little can the most favourable natural circumstances do for ignorance

and its invariable concomitant, want of forethought and self-denial.

To men so circumstanced, the total loss of any crop through a large tract of country, in consequence of such a failure of the periodical rains as that by which the north-western provinces was visited in 1837, must result in starvation. The ryot has no capital but his bullocks, (which no one at such a time would take for their keep,) his agricultural and household implements, (equally unsaleable,) and the petty silver ornaments of his wife and children. When the latter are expended, nothing but the bounty of the Government, or of wealthy individuals, can stand between the lower classes and the most horrible death, even though abundant grain for their support be in store on the spot, or be imported by speculators; simply because the failure of their own crops has rendered them penniless.

That the ryots of the lower provinces have not suffered of late years from famine, as their brethren in the north-west have recently suffered, they owe, not in any respect or degree to the permanent settlement—as the British India Society and Mr Crawfurd would wish us to believe—but solely to their more humid climate, and better natural means of irrigation. The visitations of Providence being the same—which God forbid—there is nothing in the condition of the lower classes of Bengal or Behar to stand between them and the same misery.

In almost every page of his work Mr Crawfurd rails or sneers at the Government of India for failing to discharge a landlord's duties, whilst it receives a large proportion of a landlord's rents. A few facts, showing the conduct of the Government during the late famine, will afford the best refutation of this misrepresentation.

Revenue—rent—has been suspended, and will, doubtless, be eventually altogether remitted, to the aggregate amount of £300,000. In the five districts composing the division of Agra, (to which our information on this head is confined,) the Government found work and pay for 257,725 men, women, and children, the local officers being directed to employ every applicant;—labour, or an attempt to labour, being insisted on merely to prevent imposition. The sums thus expended amount to L.135,343. No one perished who reached the places where relief was afforded before his strength was entirely exhausted; and the want of trustworthy agency alone prevented the multiplication of such places.*

* Many thousand pounds were raised by private benevolence, and dis-

In what country would individual landlords have done more? Ireland could relate hundreds of instances where they have done much less. We lately heard, on good authority, of a noble landlord of a parish in that country, where four or five hundred persons were starving, who, on being told by the officer deputed to visit the scene of famine, that he was empowered to add an equal amount to any sum that he would subscribe for the relief of the sufferers, put down the munificent donation of £25!

But the heaviest of the charges brought against the Government of British India, on the score of famine, remains to be told in the words of Mr Thompson. 'In the name of dying millions, 'I ask,' says the Travelling Secretary, 'how long shall India con-'tinue to be governed upon the present system? In this region 'of dearth, there are unmeasured tracts of land lying waste, 'tenanted only by the beasts of the jungle. Why, then, it may 'be asked, are not the famishing set to till the ground, and eat 'the fruit of their own industry? I ask the same question, and 'pause for a reply.'

Now we do not expect that Mr Thompson should know—though he might have known it for the trouble of enquiring—that, throughout the provinces of Bengal and Agra, the Government not merely permits, but anxiously encourages, the cultivation of waste land. But assuredly the Travelling Secretary of the British India Society ought to know, that it was the want of rain from heaven, not of sufficient land in cultivation, which occasioned the famine of 1837-38, and every other famine which ever visited India; that enough of corn is grown in India, as in every agricultural country, to feed the whole population in average seasons; that the drought which prevented the vegetation of the seed, and even in many places the ploughing of the land, in the reclaimed tracts, equally affected those 'tenanted by 'the beasts of the jungle;' and that, even had the case been otherwise, it would have been rather late in the season to begin to clear and plough the said jungle, (to say nothing of the prior process of dispossessing the beasts,) after the loss of expectation of crops from the old lands.

Ignorance being the great source of the evils under which

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tributed to those too weak to work; and of this fund there remained a considerable surplus on the restoration of plenty. Those who died, perished because the means of carrying relief to the doors of all the sufferers did not exist; and because many clung to their homes till inanition had gone too far to admit of recovery.

India labours, education is, of course, the one great specific for the disease:—Christian education as far as possible, but any light rather than the present afflicting darkness. The depth of that darkness will be shown by the following tables, the first and second of which are taken from Mr William Adam's able and interesting Report on the state of Education in Bengal and Behar, and the third from the report of the Agra School-Book Society:—

District.	Place.	Number of Children between 14 and 5 years of age.	Number of Children receiving instruction at school or at home.	Number of Children receiving no instruction.
Moorshedabad,	City of Moorshedabad,	15,092	1259	13,833
	Thana Dowlutbazar,	10,428	631	9,797
Beerbhoom,	Thana Nanglia,	8,929	724	8,205
Burdwan,	Thana Culna,	18,176	2919	15,257
South Behar,	Thana Jehanabad,	15,595	905	14,690
Tirhoot,	Thana Bhawara,	13,409	348	13,061

Place.	Total adult population.	Instructed adult population.	Uninstructed adult population.
City of Moorshedabad,	97,818	7355	90,463
Thana Dowlutbuzar,	42,837	1772	41,065
Thana Nanglia,	30,410	1613	28,797
Thana Culna,	81,045	7308	73,737
Thana Jehanabad,	57,573	2835	54,738
Thana Bhawara,	44,416	1033	43,383

Mr Adam states, that 'the instructed adult population is the 'total number of those who were ascertained to possess any kind 'or degree of instruction, from the lowest grade to the highest 'attainments of learning.'

Number of prisoners in the jails of the five Districts of the Agra Division.	Number of the prisoners who can read and write.
6054	76

But the minds of those who can read and write—the minds even of the highest classes—are very little more enlightened, for any practically useful purpose, than those of their utterly illiterate brethren. A knowledge of accounts is almost the only real distinction. Vernacular literature there is none; and the learned languages of the East—Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian—contain

nothing, or next to nothing, tending to make those who study them morally, or even intellectually, the better for their labour. What the people want is not vocables, nor elaborate systems of grammar, but knowledge. No men ever possessed that, who did not easily find symbols for its communication. English, therefore—the readiest and fullest vehicle of knowledge—must manifestly do for India what the languages of Greece and Rome did, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the Western world. The little that the rulers of British India have hitherto done in furtherance of this view, and the vast field of unspeakable good which lies before them, have been well displayed in the able and eloquent work recently published by Mr Trevelyan,—a gentleman who enjoys, in early manhood, the proud distinction of having laboured, with equal success, for the abolition, throughout Bengal and Agra, of the odious inland customs; for the deliverance of the people from the thraldom of a foreign language of justice and public business; and for the assertion of sound principles of national education. It is true, that the contest in the last arena is not yet at an end; for those who would flatter the prejudices, at the expense of the real interests, of the people of India, by encouraging them to follow their fathers round the objectless circle of Oriental learning, are, though few, powerful; but the contest is one between light and darkness, and it would be treason to the majesty of truth and reason to doubt the issue.

But to render that issue as beneficial as it ought to be to the millions whose best interests are involved in it, public education should be conducted on a large and really efficient scale. Hitherto the experiment has been starved. Public schools should be immediately established at the principal station of every district; and institutions of a higher order at all the provincial cities—such as Moorshedabad, Dacca, Patna, Allahabad, and Bareilly; there being already colleges at Calcutta, Hooghly, Benares, Delhi, and Agra. The same system should be extended to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Expense should not be spared to insure the greatest possible efficiency: the education of the people is the last and worst sphere for the exercise of a crippling economy. The supreme government should direct and superintend the whole machinery, through the instrumentality of a secretary in the department of public instruction; the business of which ought to be sufficient to employ the time and talents of one of its ablest functionaries. The first Report of the Medical College of Bengal, published in February last, now before us—an institution founded by that good and wise statesman Lord William Bentinck, (in whom the people of India lost one of their best friends;) and fostered and improved by Sir Charles Metcalfe

and Lord Auckland—affords the most satisfactory proof that our native fellow-subjects are eager for knowledge; and that the rising generation is willing to take the boon in that shape which we deem the best. The report shows that Hindoo youths of good caste—whose prejudices were long assumed to be insuperable—have been brought to pursue the study of anatomy in the dissecting-room; and the examiners, four of the most eminent medical men in Calcutta, altogether unbiased by connexion with the institution, certify, that 'the ordeal through 'which these young men' (those who obtained diplomas) 'have 'passed, is one of no common kind, and affords a very gra- 'tifying measure of capacity and acquirement. The result is 'such as to satisfy us that their average knowledge is of a solid 'and well-grounded character.' They say again, that 'in one 'year less than the period assigned in General Orders of 28th 'January 1835,' (by which, so new is the experiment, the college was established,) 'these young men have, by diligent applica- 'tion, as well as by the exertion of uncommon ability, acquired 'such a measure of general medical knowledge, as to bear them 'creditably through a very rigid examination.' Yet, with facts such as these before us, we are told that it behoves the British Government to apply a very large proportion of the miserable pittance assigned for the education of the people of India, to feeding and perpetuating the prejudices of the generation that is passing away, by instilling into the sons the Arabic and Sanscrit learning which has served but to make pedants and bigots of the fathers. But we trust that those who are responsible for the enlightening of India will remember, that the Brahmins and Doctors of Mahommedan law, cannot be more vehemently opposed to the substitution of useful knowledge for the absurdities of which they have a monopoly, than were the Monks of Russia and their bigoted followers to the reforms of Peter the Great;—that there is now no living soul, Russian or other, who does not applaud and honour Peter for making no concession to their prejudices;—that every day of perseverance in the course marked out by the resolution of Lord William Bentinck's government, dated in March 1835, will see some father of the old school pass from the scene, and some disciple of the new system take his place in society; and that every retrograde step now made is the gratuitous abandonment of ground already won, long after the first and keenest feelings of dissatisfaction must, in the nature of things, have subsided.

In one important respect, the Government of Bengal has hitherto signally failed to discharge its duty, not merely to the parties immediately concerned, but to the people in general; for

it is visionary to attempt more, at present, than to provide good leaven for the mass. Under a law enacted in 1793, the youthful heirs of landed property become the wards of the Board of Revenue. In Bengal, owing to the dissoluteness of the higher classes, minorities are both frequent and long; and during the past forty-five years many splendid estates have been well nursed by the Court of Wards, and handed over to their proprietors on their attaining their majority, with a large accumulation of ready money. But the young men, thus amply supplied with the means of doing good or doing mischief, have hitherto been turned loose to exercise their free agency, without any knowledge of right or wrong, or any principle to guide them,—not possessed by those of their countrymen who have never enjoyed a ward's claim upon their more enlightened rulers.

This should be amended. Measures should also be taken—such as, we believe, are in contemplation—by public examinations, the granting of diplomas, and ministerial employment, to train up a body of probationers for the supply of the judicial department; a measure of high moment, now that the principal native judges are competent to dispose of all suits in the first instance,—the jurisdiction of the English officers being, in practice, almost exclusively appellate.

We return to prove our position, that in a country where, as in India, though land, or the right to occupy it, may be private property, the rent has always belonged to the community, as represented by the Government; and that it affords a far better fund for the public expenses than could be raised by any system of taxation.

Matters being as they are, and as, apparently, they always have been in India, it might be sufficient to observe, with the late Mr Mill, 'that there is no other adequate source for supply-'ing the wants of the state. Another conclusive observation is, 'that the rent of the land is now the property of the state; that 'if the Government were to give it up, and supply the defalcation 'with taxes, it must bestow the gift upon certain individuals, 'and make up for the want of it by taxing others; it would be a 'plan to enrich a portion of the people, by impoverishing the 'rest.' But the point of abstract superiority is quite as clear.

Mr Crawfurd taunts the Government of Bengal with having implied, in its reply to certain petitioners, 'that the gain of the 'subject is the loss of the state; and the Indian Government' (he proceeds) 'seems here to be imbued with the frequent error 'of Indian legislators, that there neither exists now, nor ever 'can exist, any considerable subject of revenue, except the rent 'of land. It is no doubt quite true of all Indian and other Asiatic

'Governments, and this even in proportion to the joint amount 'of their own despotism, and degradation of their subjects, that 'the rent of land has been the chief source of revenue. It is, in-'deed, equally true of all rude European Governments; but it 'is not less true also, that, in proportion as countries improve in 'wealth and civilisation, the proportion becomes smaller.'

It is evident that the gain of the general body of its subjects cannot be the loss of the state; but it is just as certain, that the community may be deeply injured by that which is exceedingly profitable to some of its members. Mr Crawfurd is most unhappy in his reference to European Governments; for the melancholy truth of the maxim, 'humanum paucis vivit genus' cannot be better illustrated, than by the manner in which the possessors of land have contrived, throughout Europe, to shift the burden of the public expenses from the land, where it was originally fixed, on to the shoulders of the productive classes. All land in Europe was once held on condition of service of one kind or another,—of defending the state—of preserving the public peace—of administering justice:—and the chief fault of the system, owing to the rudeness of the times, was, that whilst the rent of land was assigned as the compensation for the performance of these duties, the state, or rather the community, was not represented by an agent sufficiently powerful or enlightened to compel the grantees—often very ill qualified—to perform their counterpart obligations. By degrees, the condition was got rid of; the land was held in absolute property; and the charge of maintaining the armies, the courts of justice, the police, and even the court of the monarch, (originally provided for by the crown lands,) was thrown upon the community in the shape of taxes, which always hamper and cripple, and sometimes altogether repress productive industry. Mr Crawfurd may consider this to be a matter of congratulation to the community, as their success in shuffling off their responsibilities, doubtless, was to the Bigods and Mowbrays of old, (though in this he will hardly persuade his intelligent anti-corn-law friends to agree with him;) but to us it appears to be a great calamity, now, of course, past redress.

In India, except in a few cases of grants on condition of service, or of furnishing troops, land has always been held on the 'fee' of a money payment; and it is to this circumstance that the happily continued integrity of this source of public expenditure is to be ascribed.

The rent of the land, every one knows, is equivalent to that part of its produce which remains, after all the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of the capital invested, have been replaced; and that this surplus produce has a value, and gener-

ally a high value, is a circumstance altogether extraneous to, and independent of, any exertions on the part of any party connected with the soil. It depends upon the demands of other parties. Mr Mill, therefore, was quite justified in stating, 'that 'as far as this source goes, the people of the country (India) 'remain untaxed. The wants of Government are supplied with-'out any drain, either upon the produce of any man's labour, or 'the produce of any man's capital.' They are supplied by the interception, on behalf of the community, of those payments, which elsewhere, in the words of the author of the 'Catechism of the 'Corn-Laws,' the cultivators of the soil make to 'a race which toil 'not, neither do they spin; and who cannot receive a farthing of 'rent, except in consequence of the spinners paying a higher 'price than is necessary to pay the expenses of cultivation, with 'a fair profit.'

It is in the nature of things, however, that in all settled countries, that 'higher price' (always excepting the factitious effect of taxing the importation of food) must be paid: as, therefore, there is confessedly no alternative to the appropriation of this society-created fund to the expenses of society, but the imposition of taxes, which undeniably do that which rent does not,—that is, not only interfere with the unshackled employment of capital, but diminish both the profits of capital and the wages of labour,—who can doubt that where, as in India, the choice is happily free, the rent of land ought to be applied to the payment of all public charges, and that all taxes and duties should, as soon as possible, be abolished?

The permanent settlement interferes, *pro tanto*, with this most desirable consummation. The public faith must, of course, be preserved inviolate: but every effort should be made to secure to the community the full rent of all land not within its pale; and enlightened sacrifices should be made, by long and judiciously favourable leases, and by giving up, liberally and boldly, those taxes or duties which most shackle the employment of capital in trade or manufactures; (and thus repress enterprise and industry, and bind down the great body of the people to till the ground, in vastly too great numbers, for a miserable subsistence,) in order to allow rent to rise to an amount which would admit of its supplying all the public needs. Then the salt monopoly might be abandoned, and all the ports of India might be declared free. But this blessed result will be indefinitely postponed by clinging, for the sake of paltry present profit, to such suicidal assessments as the inland customs; of which, as still retained at Madras, we shall presently have occasion to speak.

We now turn to examine the correctness of the assertion, that

'the Indian Government, under colour of law, is at present en-'gaged in carrying into effect a comprehensive system of dis-'turbance and real spoliation,' with which Mr Crawfurd opens his pamphlet.

We shall not attempt to follow that gentleman closely in his endeavour to establish this position; and, with every desire to treat him with fairness and courtesy, we must necessarily state why we have come to such a determination. Mr Crawfurd not being master of a subject, which with all, and more than all, his abilities, it would cost him years to comprehend in all its bearings, has fallen into so many and so great mistakes as to facts and first principles—vitiating, of course, all the conclusions drawn from such premises—that it would demand far more space than we are able to spare, merely to correct the blunders, and to expose the fallacies, packed into his fifty-four pages. But, in justice both to Mr Crawfurd and ourselves, we must give, with all brevity, a few specimens of his mistakes.

In his first page, he states, that 'the aim of the Indian 'Government is to impose a tax of eighteen shillings in the 'pound of the rack-rent; or to seize upon and confiscate nine-'tenths of every man's estate for the Exchequer.' Lord William Bentinck's Minute, quoted above, and the law which he cites, which has been enforced in the circular order of the Board of Revenue, will prove that Mr Crawfurd, misled by the theory of the permanent settlement, (how well known to be mere theory, parag. 109 of Mr Shore's Minute of June 1789, given at page 180 of the Appendix to the 5th Report, demonstrates,) has understated, by at least one-half, the share of the rent assigned, in all settlements of the present day, to the zemindar.

In the same page, Mr Crawfurd alleges that a 'rigid inquest' has been instituted into 'the title-deeds of the innumerable 'estates comprehended' in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares. But the fact is, that the measures which he calls an inquest, have nothing to do with the title-deeds of any estate included in the permanent settlement,—many thousands or hundreds of thousands in number, and composing probably nine-tenths of the area which he indicates.

He states, at page fifty-two, that most 'municipal expenses 'are allowed to shift for themselves, although a house-tax be 'levied in every town, and in the larger an *octroi* or town-duties.' But throughout the enormous provinces subject to the Governments of Bengal and Agra, (to which the quotation of Mr John Adam's Minute shows that the allegation mainly relates,) a house-tax is levied; the assessment being fixed by a committee of inhabitants, in those few towns only which are the actual

station of an English magistrate, that is, in about sixty or seventy; every farthing of the money so raised being expended in the payment of local watchmen; and no *octroi* or town-duties have been levied in any town, great or small, since 1835-36.

Mr Crawfurd is as unhappy, in his facts, when he praises as when he blames, though he never praises except with a view to add emphasis to his blame. He says—lauding the Permanent Settlement—at page twelve, that, for many years back, the sales of land for arrears of revenue have nearly ceased; the revenue has been punctually paid; and that, 'on the average of the 'three years ending 1830-31, the arrears were but £8282.' The facts of the case are, that the extreme want of punctuality in the realization of the land-revenue of the permanently settled provinces, has been, of late years, the chief cause of financial anxiety; and has occasioned much correspondence between the local government and the authorities in this country; that sales of land for arrears of revenue have become so frequent, that, partly to check them, and partly to secure punctuality of payment, a new sale-law has been prepared, and is on the eve of enactment; and that the arrears, at the close of the three years ending with 1830-31, instead of averaging only £8282, were (omitting the whole province of Benares, which Mr Crawfurd's statement includes) as follows:—

1828-29,	£936,846
1829-30,	956,578
1830-31,	979,180*

We will now describe, in a manner as popular as the subject will permit, the true nature and object of those measures which Mr Crawfurd represents as 'a comprehensive system of disturb-'ance and real spoliation.'

We have already shown that the state has been, from time immemorial, the great proprietor of the rent of the land. But, (as stated in the preamble of one of the laws which Lord Cornwallis enacted in 1793, regulation xxxvii.,) 'under the native 'governments, grants were occasionally made of the Govern-'ment's share of the produce of lands, for the support of the 'families of persons who had performed public services, for reli-

* This mistake is so gross that we are utterly unable to account for it. From an authentic analysis before us, we find that the short collections of the years mentioned by Mr Crawfurd were severally £335,594, £345,431, and £379,298. The differences between these sums and the sums-total given in the text, are the unrecovered balances of former years.

'gious or charitable purposes, for maintaining troops, and for 'other services.' When the government of the day was weak or careless, such grants were also made, though in defiance of the fundamental principle of the revenue constitution, 'not only by 'the zemindars, but by the officers of Government appointed to 'the temporary superintendence of the collections of the revenue, 'under the pretext that the produce of the land was to be ap- 'plied to religious or charitable uses. Of these grants,' (the preamble of regulation xix. of 1793 proceeds,) 'some were 'applied to the purposes for which they were professed to have 'been made; but, in general, they were given for the personal 'advantage of the grantee, or with a view to the clandestine 'appropriation of the produce to the use of the granter, or sold 'to supply his private exigencies.'

The common law of the land, before the date of British supremacy, was, as to royal grants, that no sovereign could give away that which belonged indefeasibly to the state for a term extending beyond his own life. The grants of zemindars, or of subordinate revenue-officers, were always regarded as abuses, and were never, when known, permitted to stand, if the government was powerful enough to maintain its rights.

But these abuses, as well as reckless royal grants, were naturally most rife—to an extent beyond all parallel—in the troubled times when the Mogul dynasty was falling; and immediately before and after the acquisition of civil power by the Company in 1765. The sovereigns who were losing, or had actually lost, their hold on the revenue, were not scrupulous about alienating it; and during the 'regni novitas,' the struggles, the ignorance, and the corruption of the early years of British ascendancy, it is no marvel that grants by zemindars and native revenue officers were greatly multiplied.

The statesmen who formed the Permanent Settlement of the Land-Revenue being well aware of the existence of these abuses, and being also determined that no misapprehension should obtain as to their resolution to reform them, enacted as follows, in the two principal confirmatory and explanatory statutes of that great fiscal arrangement:—'The Governor-General in Council will 'impose such assessment as he may think equitable on all lands 'at present alienated, and paying no public revenue, and which 'have been, or may be, proved to be held under illegal titles. 'The assessment so imposed will belong to Government, and 'no proprietors of land will be entitled to any part of it.' Clause 3, sect. viii. reg. i. of 1793, 'The assessment is also to 'be fixed exclusive and independent of all lakhiraj lands, whe-

'ther exempted from the khiraj' (or public revenue,*) 'with 'or without due authority.' Sect. xxxvi. reg. viii. of 1793.

The government of Lord Cornwallis passed, on the same day, two other laws, (reg. xix. and xxxvii. of 1793—from the preambles of which we have already quoted,) the former relating to grants by other than royal authority; and the latter to royal grants, defining what titles should be held to be legal, and therefore exempt from assessment for ever;—confirming certain tenures for life, but prohibiting the then possessors from selling, or otherwise transferring them;—declaring that 'no lapse of time should 'be considered as a bar to the recovery of the public dues from 'such lands' as might be proved to be liable to the payment of revenue;—requiring the registration of all tenures;—giving up, in favour of the zemindars of permanently settled estates, the claim of the Government to revenue from lakhiraj lands within such estates, not exceeding one hundred beegahs in extent, (varying, according to the size of the beegah in different districts, from acres 30 to 80;) and prescribing the terms of assessment of illegal tenures, which are much more favourable, in some instances, than those accorded to ordinary zemindars.

We have been thus particular in recapitulating some of the principal provisions of the law of 1793 which relate to the matter under discussion, because misrepresentation has been most reckless in declaring that the measures now in progress for carrying those and later enactments into execution, are repugnant to the principles of the Permanent Settlement, and to the intentions of the government of Lord Cornwallis. Thus, for example, Lord Brougham had been instructed to state, (for his speech proves that he had not examined the subject for himself, an occurrence very unusual with him,) that these measures, which he supposes to have been commenced no more than 'three years ago,' are 'disturbing' and 'opening the arrangement' of the land-revenue, settled in perpetuity by Lord Cornwallis. Thus, again, Mr Crawfurd states, at page twelve, that 'against the state no 'period of prescription was distinctly indicated;' at page twenty-eight, that 'the virtual prescription as against the state, esta-'blished by the laws enacted by Lord Cornwallis, was of twenty-'eight years, that is, the period which had elapsed between 1765 'and 1793;' and, at page forty-two, that 'the laws of 1793 'are to the same purport as the limitation law of 1805;'—the

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* *Khiraj* is the same as the Turkish *Harich: la* is the Arabic privative.

fact being, that twice in regulation xix. of 1793, (sect. 10 and 12,) and once in regulation xxxvii. of that year, (section 7,) the 'nullum tempus' principle is most unequivocally declared applicable to every invalid claim to hold land free of assessment.

Of the unfairness with which present proceedings have been contrasted with the laws of 1793, one specimen will be enough. At page forty-four, Mr Crawfurd speaks of a 'jaghire' as 'the 'very form of grant which we are now torturing our ingenuity 'to make out to be a grant for life only.' But thus enacted Lord Cornwallis: 'jaghires are to be considered as life tenures 'only, and, with all other life tenures, are to expire with the life 'of the grantee, unless otherwise expressed in the grant.' (Section xv., regulation xxxvii. of 1793.)

Such was the law of 1793—the charter of the lakhirajdars; (who previously held their tenures at the mere pleasure of the ruling power,) of whose pretensions, as well as of the conduct of the British Government in relation to them, the Marquis of Hastings (whom Mr Crawfurd must regard as an unexceptionable evidence, since he calls him 'a generous and high-minded gover-'nor,') thus speaks in his revenue Minute of 21st September 1815.* 'Of all subjects of taxation, I should conceive the profits of 'the rent-free lands the most legitimate. The holders of land 'of this description are at present exempted from all contribu-'tions, whether to the local police or government by which they 'are protected, or to the public works, from which their estates 'derive equal benefit with the rest of the community. They are 'indebted for the exemption either to the superstition, to the false 'charity, or to the ill-directed favours of the heads of former 'governments, and other men in power; and have little personal 'claim upon ourselves for a perpetual exemption from the obli-'gations they owe as subjects. Most of the tenures may be con-'sidered invalid. Indeed, the scruples which have saved the 'whole of these lands from indiscriminate resumption, have given 'cause to admire, as much the simplicity as the extreme good 'faith of all our actions and proceedings.'

It is evident from this passage, that, in the opinion of Lord Hastings, the character of the law of 1793, in its bearing upon the parties claiming to hold lands exempt from the payment of revenue, was one of hyper-indulgence. Yet that statesman's representation of the case is too favourable to those parties in two important respects:—he did not sufficiently exhibit the enor-

* See Appendix to Report of Select Committee of 1832, III. Revenue, pages 119-20.

mity of their pretensions; and he did not state with the emphasis warranted by the facts of the case—not, indeed, as well known at that time as at present—the utter want of any even plausible foundation, in the great majority of instances, for the claims set up.

The pretension of the lakhirajdar—in a country where the rent of land has been appropriated, from time immemorial, as the great primary fund for defraying all the expenses of the state—where there is no excise, nothing at all resembling what we call assessed taxes, and now happily, since the abolition of the inland transit duties, no customs worthy of mention as affecting the great body of the people—is to absolute exemption from all taxation, except a trifling contribution to the salt monopoly, and the occasional cost of a stamp, for himself, for his heirs for ever, and as a transferable property. He claims also, that this immunity from contributing to maintain the army, courts of justice, the police, roads, bridges, canals, and the like, shall remain undisturbed, however greatly circumstances may increase the necessary charges of Government, and consequently, the burdens of those who defray them; and that this privilege of enjoying all the advantages of society gratuitously, shall be so completely property, that it shall not be liable to lapse, even on the failure of the family of the original grantee.

The claims of the lakhirajdar may be described, with perfect truth, in these terms; because, even while the profitable monopoly of opium was yielding its best returns, the revenue derived from the appropriation of the rent of land constituted little less than three-fourths of the whole net income of the Anglo-Indian Government. When the monopolies of salt and opium have fallen, or have been greatly modified—the latter of which is already, we are rejoiced to believe, at its last gasp—and when the remaining inland transit duties of Madras and Bombay have, happily, followed to extinction the corresponding cesses in Bengal and the north-western provinces, the land-revenue will bear a still higher proportion to the aggregate receipts of the treasury. He, therefore, who holds land without contributing to the public purse any portion of its rent, pays, and will pay, next to nothing; for though Mr Crawfurd speaks with great confidence of the practicability of opening other sources of revenue,—stating that 'a nation that has wealth, possesses, of course, the material of 'taxes; nor have the financiers of any age or nation ever wanted 'the ingenuity to get at them, when the funds existed to yield 'them,'—he seems to have forgotten that one of those schemes of ingenuity (the inland transit duties) has just been got rid of as an intolerable curse; that a system of excise, another device of

financiers, would be a dreadful engine of oppression to the timid official-ridden people of India; and that any general tax that could possibly be superimposed, must necessarily maintain the existing inequality, by taking as much out of the pocket of the man who hands over to the state three-fourths of the rent which he receives from his ryots, as from the lakhirajdar, who appropriates the whole rent to his own benefit.

To revert to Lord Hastings' Minute: We have said that his lordship did not sufficiently state—probably was not aware of—the utter groundlessness of the great majority of the claims set up. Very few tenures have, in truth, so respectable an origin as he has assigned to them. Most of the grants have been made by zemindars, by the agents and managers of those parties, and even by temporary farmers of the revenue; each of whom had just as little right, and were universally known to have as little right, to alienate what the law of 1793 calls 'the Government's 'proportion of the produce of land,' as to give away in charity or otherwise, to the gods or the Brahmins, the property of other individuals. But whilst individuals took care of their own, the public revenue was alienated; because the native governments were miserably weak and disorganized in the years immediately preceding their downfal: and because, during the early period of our rule, the local officers, who ought to have guarded the public purse whilst their superiors were struggling for the very existence of their recently acquired power, and often for their own lives, were always ignorant, often, it must be feared, corrupt, and most frequently betrayed by the native underlings whom they were compelled to trust. But surely the ignorance or neglect of such an epoch—much of which was necessarily inherent in the position of the infant British Government—ought not, in common sense and equity, to be regarded as a sufficient reason for subjecting the community to the great and perpetual wrong involved in the appropriation, by individuals, of a considerable part of the legitimate land-revenue. There is no punishing what Mr Crawfurd terms 'the laches' of the Government in this matter, otherwise than by fining the public; for as it is clear to demonstration that armies, courts of justice, officers of police, and the like, must be maintained,—the share of the expense of those indispensable wants of society, from which the lakhirajdars claim to be exempted, must be made good by others; and that, too, under the actual circumstances of the case, at grievous detriment to the general stock of wealth and well-being.

Owing, in a great measure, to the alienations enjoyed by the lakhirajdars, the land-revenue is altogether insufficient to cover the public expenses. Hence the necessity for monopolies and

taxes, some of which are of the most mischievous description. The millions subject to the presidency of Madras still groan under inland transit duties, levied on the principal necessaries and luxuries of life;—not merely on their importation from foreign territories, but on their passing from the districts of our own provinces in which the articles are severally grown, into those districts where the surplus produce is consumed, or from which it is exported. In a country generally open, and where, when the crops are off the ground and the weather is dry, traffic is not necessarily confined to roads, immense establishments are indispensable for the collection of these duties; and every sort of mercantile despatch is subjected to search, and their conductors to plunder, extorted more or less decently, under the pain of cavil and delay. Thus, not only are the native consumers compelled to pay much more than the natural price of all articles not grown at their own doors, but foreign trade and domestic industry and enterprise are alike checked and destroyed, and, directly or indirectly, twice or three times as much as finds its way into the public treasury is taken out of the pockets of the community—and this at the same time that minor abominations of a like nature have been got rid of, or greatly abated, under the presidencies of Calcutta and Bombay—solely on account of the larger amount of revenue at stake in the case of Madras, or, in other words, of the enormity of the evil.* The hateful tax upon justice which obtains throughout India—no plaints, pleadings, or copies of documents being received in the courts of law, except upon stamped paper—is another heavy and demoralizing burden, which might most beneficially be taken off, by the re-annexation to the public rent-roll of all lands, the owners of which do not hold them free from assessment under the positive guarantees of the laws of 1793.

Those guarantees, as well as that afforded by the limitation law of 1805, however unwise and unjust towards the great body of the people, must unquestionably be respected; for it is more important that the public faith of the British Government should be preserved inviolate, than that the indefeasible right of the community to enjoy the fund afforded by the rent of the land, and to be exempted, to the full extent of that fund, from all

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* Cloths, tobacco, betel-nuts and leaves, oils, ghee, (clarified butter,) tamarinds, castor-oil seeds, sugar, cocoa-nuts, indigo, iron, saltpetre, grain, (on exportation,) timber, cotton and cotton thread, (on exportation,) silk, pepper, cardamoms, and hides, are only some of the articles subject to those most vexatious and ruinous duties.

taxation, should be rigidly maintained. But it appears clear to us, that no mere prescription, apart from distinct legislative pledges, can equitably or reasonably be held to void that right;—the alternative to its assertion being the continued subjection of the community to duties and taxes, from which the appropriation of the rent of land to public purposes ought to have absolved it; and from which it might now be relieved, without any breach of faith on the part of the Government, by the recovery of the alienations of that fund.

To such relief the revenue, recovered by the measures which Mr Crawfurd denounces in such unsparing language, ought most undoubtedly to be devoted. Such a course—urged in 1834 by the Board of Revenue—would be the best refutation of all injurious misrepresentations of those particular measures, and of the general spirit in which the revenue department of the Anglo-Indian Government is conducted; and, what is far more important, the best vindication of that Government to the understandings of the few of its native subjects who are as yet able to form a sound judgment on any point of political wisdom or morality. Those few, in common with all enlightened Englishmen who will take the trouble to acquaint themselves with the real merits of the case, will then be made sensible, that the community has been delivered from taxes, iniquitous, like those on justice and wealth—destroying, like the transit duties; at the expense of the comparatively small body which had long embezzled the public funds,—a measure in unison with the sentiments of every one deserving the name of a statesman—from Warren Hastings to Lord Auckland, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Mr Ross—who has ever exercised rule in Bengal, and fully sanctioned by the laws of 1793. It is not to be expected that such considerations will satisfy those who have been thrown into a frenzy of philanthropy, by the steps which have been taken to rescue the public revenue from the hands of the individuals who have for many years diverted it to their private benefit; whilst they have never even whispered dissatisfaction against those existing taxes, which we have shown to be most unsound in principle, and oppressive in practice; nor that the lakhirajdars of Bengal will care whether the people of Madras are, or are not, continuedly oppressed by the inland customs. But those who are responsible for the just administration of an empire, the interests of which are one and indivisible, will betray their duty if they suffer the clamours of either of those parties to drown the modest claims for relief of those who have real fiscal grievances to complain of; and whom the long endurance

of the burden, and hopelessness of being listened to, have alone kept comparatively silent.

It is necessary that we should dispose in a few words, before we leave Mr Crawfurd's pamphlet, of the principal objections which have been raised against the proceedings which we consider to be wise and just; first, on the ground of the long prescription under which it is alleged that the lakhirajdars enjoy their immunities; and secondly, because special tribunals have been constituted for the adjudication of the matter at issue between those parties and the community.

On the first point, we maintain that no length of prescription can give any class of men a right to enjoy the expensive benefits of society, at the cost of their fellows; that not even Mr Burke demurred to the abrogation of the analogous and older, but much smaller, fiscal privileges of the *noblesse* of France, (many of whom had even purchased those privileges;) and that the proceedings of the Indian Government (shackled by legislative pledges) go no farther than those by which the great Colbert, more than a century before, compelled those who, 'under the 'pernicious system which exempted the nobility from payment of 'direct taxes, had fraudulently assumed titles, and claimed rank,' to bear their share of the public burdens, on their failure to make out a legal claim to immunity.

Further, we maintain that the lakhirajdars have had the most ample warning of the intention of Government to enforce the rights of the community, by investigating their titles, not only in the laws of 1793, which we have quoted, but by other enactments of the same, and consecutive date, ending with regulations ii. of 1819, and iii. of 1828; since the promulgation of the former of which, all prescription has undeniably ceased, and every precedent is in favour of the community, and against the claim of exclusive privilege.

Thirdly, it is certain that not a single case has been brought forward, even by those who have most vehemently insisted on the argument of prescription, and talked, in vague and general terms, of transfers of property, tacit recognition of rights, and the like, to show that in any instance, under the sense of security alleged to have been created in the minds of the lakhirajdars and the public in general, any thing approaching to a fee-simple price has been given for land held exempt from the payment of revenue, previously to the confirmation of the tenure by competent authority. Nor, indeed, is it credible that any such transactions should have taken place, since the Government of 1793 availed itself of every opportunity of declaring—as in the general law, (reg. xlv.,) which prescribes rules for disposing of lands at

public sales in pursuance of decrees of courts of justice, and which is most familiar to every man of landed property or of business—that 'the purchaser of lands held exempt from the payment of 'revenue to Government, is to be considered to have succeeded 'only to the rights of the former proprietor, and that the transfer 'is not to bar any claims of Government to the recovery of the 'public dues from such lands.'* The utmost that the lakhirajdars can reasonably claim, on the score of their long immunity, is indulgent terms of assessment, and those should, we think, be accorded to them.

But it is asserted that special, and therefore unfair tribunals, (why more so than the Exchequer Court in England?) have been constituted for the trial, in each case, of the question whether, under existing laws, the assuming lakhirajdar is entitled to hold his land free from the payment of revenue for ever. As an *argumentum ad captandum*, it is also objected that the officers who try these cases hold their situations at the pleasure of the Government, by which, also, they may hope, if they give satisfaction, to be promoted.

To dispose of the last point first:—The judges of the ordinary courts, who have been relieved from jurisdiction in the cases in question, (which is the change complained of,) are precisely in the same predicament in relation to the Government as the functionaries who try those cases. They are all brother servants, have all the same to hope and to fear; and great pains have been taken to assign to the special tribunals at least an equal proportion of the ability and integrity at the command of Government.

Every one at all intimate with the Judicial pages of the Fifth Report, and with later evidence on the state and efficiency (as regards their adequateness to the amount of the litigation to be disposed of) of the regular courts established by Lord Cornwallis, will easily understand why—upon the breaking down of the attempt made in 1819 to effect the matter in hand by means of their agency—a division of labour has been resorted to. 'Since '1793,' wrote Sir Henry Strachey, the highest authority, in 1813, 'things have grown worse and worse,—causes have conti-'nued to accumulate, the channels of justice are choked, and the 'judges are overwhelmed with business.' He says, in another place, that the Fifth Report 'conveys an imperfect notion of the

* Mr Crawfurd is pleased to sneer at this law as 'six-and-forty years 'old.' It is so, but it has been in force ever since. Would he think the argument which it affords against his position stronger, if it had been enacted more recently?

'actual state of things. If there were twice as many courts, 'there might probably be twice as many causes; and if all ob- 'stacles of delay and expense in obtaining a hearing were done 'away, if the tribunals were really open to all, the number of 'suits would certainly for a time at least be very much augmented.'

From 1814, down to the present day, the Government of Bengal has been earnestly, and, especially of late, in some degree successfully, striving to render the general administration of justice commensurate with the wants of the people and its own obligations. It is now made matter of complaint, that the Courts, barely equal, notwithstanding the heavy expense incurred, to cope with the ordinary business, have not been again overwhelmed by crowding their files with all the litigation between the Government, on behalf of the community, and the lakhirajdars; and that distinct means have been provided to dispose promptly of the latter, instead of allowing it to remain festering for an indefinite term of years.

The real grievance is, that a system which works, has been substituted for one under which—because the Government of 1793 misconceived the facts as to the extent of the abuse, and miscalculated the means (in the powers of the regular courts) of dealing with it—every man calling himself a lakhirajdar would have retained for ever his privilege of enjoying the benefits of society at the expense of the community.

Art. IV.—*An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, by* Adam Smith, LL.D.; *with a Life of the Author, an Introductory Discourse, Notes, and Supplemental Dissertations.* By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. A New Edition, in One Volume, Octavo. London: 1838.

There are so many advantages attending the communication of knowledge, in its several branches, by the republication of standard works, with such corrections as the subsequent advances of science may have rendered necessary, that it is, perhaps, a subject of wonder that it is so little adopted in the present day. We fear that the true reason is to be found, not in any decay of taste or deficiency on the part of the public in estimating the value of those models, but in the superior attraction, both to vanity and indolence, which is afforded by the position of an author to that of an editor. It is not only much more dignified, but much easier to produce a substantive essay, than an

adjective commentary. Any one ordinarily informed on the subject of Political Economy, at the present day, knows many facts of which Dr Adam Smith was ignorant; and has acquired from others juster views of some elementary principles than Dr Smith had attained by his own enquiries. And it is natural enough, if he seeks to enlighten the world on the subject, that he should prefer to do so by reconstructing the whole science on a new ground, rather than condescend to the task of pointing out the errors, or adding supplements to the discoveries, of an older writer. He finds, too, no doubt, considerable facilities in adopting the more systematic form. It is more condensed, more artificial, and enables him to place all the points of his theory before the reader in such order as he may deem most convenient. Yet if he wishes to become popular, and to ensure a general reception for the theories which he advances, it would be as well to reflect on the real advantages which attend the other course.

'The Treatise on the Law of War and Peace, the Essay on 'the Human Understanding, the Spirit of Laws, and the Inquiry 'into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations,' says Sir J. Macintosh, 'are the works which have most directly influenced the 'opinion of Europe during the two last centuries. They are 'also the most conspicuous landmarks in the progress of the 'sciences to which they belong.' Now it is certain that, in order to have acquired the proud position thus described, these works must possess certain other qualities besides those of original thought and soundness of reasoning—qualities still more essential to immediate and striking success, and to the full as essential to permanent reputation. Nothing is easier than to point out the errors of Grotius, Montesquieu, Locke, and Smith; but their standard excellence as authors remains unimpaired by the detection of faults or deficiencies in their respective systems. They must have added to their stores of thought and knowledge a peculiar felicity of genius in communicating them; or, although spoken of with respect and admiration, they would never have been extensively read. They each possessed the art of seizing the attention of the general reader, the more, perhaps, from that absence of studied regularity discernible in them all. As the same writer has very profoundly remarked, the apparent defects common to all the four, of want of arrangement and want of precision, 'have perhaps contributed in some degree to the specific useful-'ness of their works; and, by rendering their contents more 'accessible to the majority of readers, have more completely 'blended their principles with the common opinion of mankind.' And the same qualities will be found more or less to characterise standard works in general. Unless, therefore, the modern en-

quirer, who finds much to supply and much to refute in them, is certain also of possessing that power of communicating his knowledge which has rendered their authors immortal, it must always be a question whether a commentary will not serve his purpose better than a dissertation.

We are sure, at all events, that it will often serve infinitely better the interests of the public. There are limits, no doubt, to the profitable admiration and imitation of great models; but the sin of the present age certainly does not lie in exceeding them. There was a period when the highest ambition of every philosophical student was to add one more name to the enormous muster-roll of commentators on Aristotle. This pedantic fancy of the middle ages has long been a favourite subject of derision with modern wits; and, undoubtedly, much acuteness and intellect were hopelessly lost in the prosecution of that favourite task of centuries. But this arose less from the method which these commentators pursued, than from the unfortunate principle on which they proceeded. Instead of criticising their authority, they treated him as infallible; and this on all the subjects of which he had treated—on physics, of which his knowledge was necessarily small; on metaphysics, where his meaning was unintelligible. But on those topics which the great philosopher of Greece had mastered, and where he had communicated his knowledge successfully, it is doubtful, at least, whether this system of commentary, such as it was, has not been serviceable rather than injurious to the progress of the human understanding. Take, for instance, the Aristotelian logic; considered, not with any reference to those higher pretensions which its admirers advanced for it, but merely as a compendious art of reasoning—a technical mode of arranging arguments and detecting fallacies. Can it be doubted that the faithful preservation of this system, until it became part and parcel of the reasoning process to which the mind was trained throughout the European commonwealth of learning, has been of greater service to education than if each successive commentator had done, as with less reverence for established authority he would, strained his faculties to invent an art of logic of his own; and left the enquirer to choose between a multitude of ingenious and extraordinary systems.

The practical usefulness of Dr Smith's work is undoubtedly no longer what it was. The principles which he advocated with such force of reasoning and illustration, have, to a great extent, passed into axioms in political science; and form the general basis of commercial legislation in Europe. Nothing more strongly shows the advance of those principles than the mode in which the application of them to any particular subject-matter

is still resisted, by those who have an interest in opposing it. Instead of condemning them in the lump, as heretofore, the anti-free-trade reasoner is now almost always employed in discovering ingenious reasons for making this or that species of industry an exception to the common rule. And although it is often complained, with justice, that economical science has had, as yet, very imperfect results, because the advance of governments towards liberal systems of *external* trade is so precarious and interrupted; yet we are apt to forget how great a mass of far more oppressive restrictions on *domestic* commerce and the rights of industry have been removed, in almost every part of Europe, since the appearance of Dr Smith's Essay;—a great work, of which no one has so much right as he to enjoy the honour. But his very success has proved an obstacle to the continuance of his popularity. Much of his reasoning is no longer needed, and the greater part of his illustrations antiquated; while, on other parts of his subject, he has been superseded as an authority by newer writers. Yet, since Dr Smith, we have had no popular writer on political economy. Mr Ricardo investigated the fundamental truths of the science with singular profoundness; his theories, while they have led many followers astray, have nevertheless penetrated thoroughly into all subsequent lucubrations on the subject; and he may be regarded, more justly than any other, as the real founder of the school which at present exists in England. But he is not read, nor expected to be read, except by the few who master him for the sake of the subject: his dry and abstract disquisitions have no attraction whatever for the general reader. Mr Malthus, in his first great work, became popular, not merely from the bold truths which he announced, but from the interesting nature of many of the subjects collectively treated in it. His later works, in which his original doctrines are modified by the results of experience, and his errors corrected, wanting all extrinsic aids to popularity, are hardly known at all out of a small circle of students. Besides these, we have had many acute and able writers; abundance of ingenious essayists, each contributing something to our general stock of truth, and exposing some preceding error; but for the most part so conflicting in principle, so dry in style, so devoid of all outward attraction, as to have made absolutely no impression whatever; except the indirect and circuitous one which a good thought, however unfavourably launched, is pretty sure to produce in time, when it finds at last an appropriate vehicle. Speaking, therefore, with a view to literary popularity only, the science is now far more unfavourably circumstanced than when the great work of Smith was new. It was then (as far as

England was concerned,) the only text-book on the subject; it was full of inaccuracies; not free from fundamental errors; loose and vague both in style and ideas: but it had the great requisites of popularity; it was soon in every hand, its truths made rapid way, and the science which it inculcated was favourably received through the general admiration for the work itself. Now, the writers in vogue among scientific readers are as unknown in ordinary circulation as authors on algebra and mechanics. The common style of treating the subject is cold, harsh, repulsive. Smith is no longer read, because he is known to be an unfaithful guide in many particulars; his successors are not read, because, however faithful they may be, the bulk of mankind will not, and cannot read them; and the result is not only a dislike for the subject, when brought before the general reader at all, but a sort of vague suspicion that speculations so distasteful are altogether unfounded and trivial. How far the result might have been apparent, if the *one* good book had been preserved and carefully adapted to subsequent exigencies—if Smith had been treated as the Aristotle of the science of wealth —it might be curious to conjecture.

It is true that one cause, and that a most powerful one, of the popularity which his great work so rapidly acquired, has ceased to exercise the same influence as heretofore—namely, its accordance with the spirit of the time at which he wrote. He was in truth one of the most active and efficient instruments in doing the great work of that age; the work, namely, of destruction;—of clearing away the encumbrances of ancient systems of which the vitality was gone, and the ponderous and inanimate remains encumbered the earth. In every shape of society, there is an appointed end towards which almost all the intricate tendencies of social thought and action are converging, although there are but few whose vision is clear enough to perceive it;—still fewer to whom it is given to see yet farther, and to speculate on what lies beyond that temporary end, the *novus seclorum ordo* which is to succeed. So in Burke's age of sophisters and calculators—the eighteenth century—there were not many who clearly perceived the end towards which the united efforts of sovereign and people, philosophers and politicians, were then so unanimously leading—the abolition, namely, of feudality, and the severing of the thousand ancient ties by which the frame of society that had grown up under the reign of feudality was connected; fewer still, or none, who could obtain any distinct prospect of that reconstructed commonwealth, founded on new principles, under which our post-revolutionary generation lives. Adam Smith was none of these. He had few deep or far-sighted

views of social philosophy. What he saw, he saw clearly and described well; but his knowledge was limited to an acute observation of the present, and an extensive rather than profound acquaintance with the past. He approved and heartily entered into the projects of reform which were afloat in his own day; he communicated the impulse of reform to innumerable minds, but there his vocation ended. How much of the work in which his contemporaries had engaged was destined to be permanent, and how much was to perish along with other dreams of human self-will and ambition, it did not lie within his province to calculate.

His was an age in which the favourite exercise of the understanding, and the most popular mode of treating all political subjects, was to bring customs and institutions to the test of immediate practical expediency; as contradistinguished from that more remote and comprehensive expediency which men often loosely call by the name of principle. Imperfect as that narrower test may be, we must divest ourselves of modern experience and of modern prejudices; and place ourselves again in the position of those whose mental development took place in the first half of the eighteenth century; in order to perceive how important and necessary to the well-being of society its application had become. When the spirit of feudalism had disappeared, the body long lingered behind, and the form yet longer. Society throughout Western Europe was harassed and cramped by restrictions for which the reasons had ceased to exist. The nobility were no longer the exclusive defenders of countries, the wielders of political power above the sovereign; yet they retained their rigour of caste, their anti-social principles, their power of oppressing those below them, and impeding the motion of the machine of government which they could no longer control. The citizens in the middle ages had found their strength in union, and had won exclusive privileges for their own protection, from the favour or fear of their sovereigns. The danger had ceased; but the privileges were maintained more zealously than ever, and had degenerated into mere commercial monopolies. In like manner, the association and correspondence of members of the learned classes, had been of essential service in the infancy of modern learning; they were now comparatively of little utility, and individual liberty was the great requisite for its progress; its bonds of union had become chains; societies, academies, and universities, more numerous and powerful than ever, wove round it a complication of minute and vexatious fetters. Pedantry and love of form had become the presiding deities of society. The great practical object of life, to do well and quickly what must be done, seemed utterly lost sight of in the desire to do it according to rule

and precedent. In the etiquette of courts and the usages of the world, in arts and in learning, in external commerce and internal industry, in religion, law, medicine, war—in brief, all the occupations and interests of life—a wearisome, oppressive, and endless formality was weighing down all mental activity; and, were it not for the spirit at work beneath the surface, Europe might have been in danger of degenerating into a commonwealth of Chinas. Even England, notwithstanding her free constitution, and France, notwithstanding the untameable energy and volatility of her people, felt in no slight degree the benumbing influence of the times; but, in the rest of Europe, its leaden reign was almost unbroken.

When once a few of the more adventurous had begun to raise the question, what was the use of these things—what particular object was sought or attained by each of those restrictive institutions with which all polity was encumbered—it is no wonder that it was soon re-echoed from a thousand different points; and that the roused spirit of enquiry engendered a rapid and sweeping spirit of destruction. Still less is it matter of surprise, that the prevalent scepticism extended from form to substance;—that from criticising the trappings of a court, men proceeded to question the utility of courts themselves—from the privileges of nobility, to its existence—from the show and ceremony of religion, to its reality. The traders in wit and sagacity eagerly sought so easy an opportunity of parading those qualities. The multitude rejoiced in having the absurdities of all established institutions exposed, because they felt the oppression of some, and were easily induced to regard them all as a connected mass of deceit and injustice. And (which was the most ominous circumstance of all) kings became the foster-fathers, and queens the nursing-mothers of the new social philosophy, because its attacks were mainly directed against those relics of olden times which afforded the greatest impediments to the exercise of their arbitrary will. Nobility and clergy, corporations and trades, all independent bodies, were obstacles in their way. Whether or no they were useless or mischievous to those below, to those above they were stumblingblocks of offence. Then the great discovery was made, not only that the forms of established reverence were unnecessary to support authority, but that authority could reign far more compendiously and directly without them. Frederic II., the real hero of that age, who by his genius had abolished for ever the pedantry of war, pointed out also to monarchs the mode of reigning without encumbrance, by breaking down whatever authority was left to all intermediate bodies between himself and his people. Catharine II. was the other great utilitarian sovereign of the time;

and Joseph II. the imitator and caricaturist of both. Then sneers at noble birth, at the pomp and splendour of religion, the point of honour, and the relics of chivalry and court ceremonial, and all the fair establishments of past times, began to be encouraged in quarters where such sentiments would have been esteemed little better than blasphemy in a former generation. Then sovereigns openly acknowledged, with some ostentation, that they reigned for the good of their subjects; and pretended that it was only with a view to that end that administration was simplified, authority centralized, municipalities exchanged for police establishments, corporate revenues absorbed in the national income, authority stripped of its decorations to build barracks and equip soldiers, courts abandoned by the great officers of state, the professors of learning, the dignified leaders of church and law, who were wont to haunt them, and their places taken by generals, ministers, and diplomatists—the dependants and instruments of the Crown. Thus arose the great portents of our times, the military monarchies, far more powerful in their simplicity than the most gorgeous despotisms of old;—more strictly utilitarian, in creed and practice, than even the model republic which grew up by their side in another hemisphere. All this was only another manifestation, under different circumstances, of that same tendency of the last century, which elsewhere overturned the throne itself, together with all the minor bulwarks of the state, under the feet of the populace; and destined, perhaps, to prove the more durable result of the two.

England, from the greater freedom and expansiveness of her institutions, had to endure less of actual change from the prevailing tendency of things than other countries; the spirit of change was as active, but circumstances were less favourable to that activity; and the maxims of social philosophy which proceeded from our country, produced, perhaps, greater results abroad than at home. Dr Smith, as we have already said, was naturally led to take his part—a very important one—in the great movement, by pointing out the impolicy of restraints, such as existed in the shape of time-honoured institutions in all European countries, on the free exercise of industry by individuals. The immediate result of their removal, he plainly showed, would be an increase in the wealth and physical well-being of the community. Beyond this *ultimatum* his views did not extend; and, in full accordance with the philosophy of his time, he regarded all other institutions merely from the same point of view;—as they affected the order of the community, the interests and security of prosperity and industry. For most of the great social controversies which had agitated mankind in earlier days, and which now

agitate it, he cared nothing; and wondered, with philosophical composure, how subjects so unproductive of tangible results should ever have moved men to such acts of extravagance. For religious establishments he professed a gentlemanly respect, perfectly in keeping with the sentiments of the school of Montesquieu and Hume. He thought an established clergy useful, because it discountenanced fanaticism, and fanaticism rendered people disorderly and discontented; otherwise, the matter was one with which political society had, in his view, little or no concern. He saw little practical good in the public education of his time; and he concluded that institutions for such a purpose were very superfluous;—that were there no such institutions, 'a gentleman, 'after going through with application and abilities the most com-'plete course of education which the circumstances of the times 'were supposed to afford, could not come into the world com-'pletely ignorant of every thing which is the common subject of 'conversation among *gentlemen and men of the world*;' and that academical honours and degrees were altogether 'mere pieces 'of quackery.'* He regarded nobility as a mere relic of barbarous ages;—the custom of primogeniture as one of those 'laws 'which frequently continue in force long after the circumstances 'which first gave occasion to them, and which alone could ren-'der them reasonable, are no more.' His famous division of the classes of society into productive and unproductive, (of which the fallacy has been better exposed by no one than by his present editor,) though not perhaps intended with that view, had great influence in encouraging the fashionable contempt for aristocracy and admiration of the useful. He was favourable to free political institutions; but merely, as it should seem, as the best guarantee for that freedom of individual action which he conceived

* In the present edition of the Wealth of Nations, Mr M'Culloch has published a letter from Dr Smith to Dr Cullen, on the subject of Academical Degrees; written in 1774, two years before the appearance of his great work. It is in his liveliest and most characteristic manner; but chiefly remarkable as showing how easily and how deliberately he had arrived at the same conclusion which is there repeated as to the little value of such institutions. Smith's dislike for the English universities was partly formed on what he had himself observed there. In Mr M'Culloch's account of his life, prefixed to the present publication, he mentions the following fact as resting on unquestionable authority. 'The head of his college having entered his apartment without his being 'aware, unluckily found him engaged reading Hume's Treatise of Hu-'man Nature. The objectionable work was of course seized, the young 'philosopher being at the same time severely reprimanded.'

essential to the economical progress of society. A good despotism of the utilitarian sort, with the abolition of privileges and monopolies, would have served his purpose quite as well.* In short, he made it his rule to judge of all things alike, according to what may be termed their *first intention*, and to interpret all problems by the aid of common sense;—a guide often put in requisition out of the boundaries with which he is familiar, and whose short cuts to truth are sometimes as misleading as the most devious intricacies of philosophical subtlety. He had nothing of the petulant vanity of his co-philosophers of the French school. Unlike his fellow-labourer in the same field, the Abbé Raynal, who inserted in every fresh edition of his work more and more violent abuse of existing authorities, in order, if possible, to procure himself the honour of persecution, he used no stilted invectives or laboured ridicule. He did not go out of his way to attack established institutions; but when he found them *in* his way, he disposed of them as encumbrances by summary reasoning, or with a slight touch of sarcasm, which is agreeable because it is neither studied nor habitual, and suits well with the natural simplicity of his style.

All this, we repeat, was in the natural order of things, and marked that point at which the progress of social philosophy had arrived when he wrote. He was the man of his own age, and fitted to make the greatest impression on the minds of his own contemporaries. And, probably, even those parts of his speculations which are most superficial,—such as those already mentioned on church establishments, education, and primogeniture, (for even those who most fully agree in his views would be ashamed, at the present day, of such a vague line of argument as that by which he has supported them,)—were calculated, when his work appeared, to attract the public mind; and to promote the success of these really valuable portions in which he exposed the injuries done by commercial restrictions to the progress of national wealth. Then, he had to oppose, not merely the ordinary prejudices in favour of existing institutions, but those of self-interest, and of plausible but fallacious reasoning. Had he attacked them alone, his success might have been less decisive. By connecting them with others of a widely different nature—

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* We do not know, however, whether it has been observed that Smith, no theorist in politics, has incidentally refuted, in the fullest manner, Hume's well-known paradox, so often and complacently repeated since his time, that the colonies of free states are always worst administered. See Book iv. c. 7.

by classing together as monopolies all exclusive privileges, whether of birth, or rank, or academic distinction, or commerce—he enlisted against all alike the reforming spirit of his time. Not that the whole of his views of social philosophy were of what at the present day would be termed of a liberal cast. Not looking far below the surface for reasons, he adopted at once the most plausible and obvious arguments which are rife in the mouths of men of common sense; and which enable them to dispose, quite to their own satisfaction, of the most abstruse problems of political philosophy. Thus he had, like most reasoners of that class, a very contemptuous opinion of the capacity of the lower classes to be entrusted with any degree of political power, and especially in rich and populous communities. He thought that the tendency of the division of labour, while it advanced the productiveness of industry, was to degrade and stupify the mind of the labourer; and, by necessary consequence, that the progress of civilisation tended to sink the artisans deeper and deeper in barbarism. He was not aware of the elastic nature of the mental powers. He had not adverted to the important truth, that the very monotony of employment which that division produces, by forcing the mind to seek for external subjects whereon to exert its surplus activity, not unfrequently leads to superior diligence in the acquisition of knowledge. These popular opinions, too, were mixed up in his mind with some favourite paradoxes of his own. While he combated with such distinguished success the scientific errors of the French school of Economists, he had, as Mr M'Culloch remarks, imbibed many of their prejudices; and hence originated the loose and unfounded statements which abound in his work about the superior productiveness of agricultural labour, the greater intelligence of agricultural labourers, the better morality of landed proprietors. But such exceptions as these slightly affected the general character of the impression produced by the arguments contained in his work, and still more by its prevailing tone—that of respect for authority when founded on obvious utility, and utter disregard of it whenever that utility was not clear and apparent; a philosophical slighting of all form, observance, and social hierarchy; a sort of tacit assumption that the whole machine of society is moved by the main principle of self-interest, and its order only disturbed by the occasional eccentricities of popular passion and fanaticism.

In all these matters, the prevalent disposition of the present age seems to be the very reverse of that which preceded it. It appears strange and almost pedantic to speak of a writer who flourished only sixty years ago as antiquated, and of the society

in which he lived, and for which he wrote, as bygone, its opinions defunct, its spirit worn out. And yet such is the feeling irresistibly forced upon us by the comparison of that recent day with our own. The principle of utility, in matters of government and social regulation, seems to have been nearly worn threadbare, both in theory and practice. Aristocracy and hierarchy have been cried down, and the emptiness of forms exposed, and the anti-social nature of all privileges demonstrated, until the world is weary of truisms which it once admired as paradoxes. The solemn wisdom and more solemn wit of the utilitarian school has ceased to charm us; their arguments have palled on us by repetition, and they have as yet no results of experience to point to, except the short madness of France, and the unenvied democracy of America. All that very large portion of mankind, especially the younger part of it, whose delight is to appear to stand somewhat in advance of the age in which they live, have gone over to the other side. The laughers are now repaid in their own coin. Voltaire sneered at the Jesuits, and the disciples of the modern mystical school indulge in graver and more pedantic sneers at Voltaire. The great exercise of modern ingenuity is to find out cloudy *a priori* reasons in behalf of every thing which is old, venerable, and, to profane eyes, unmeaning; and, all such absurdities apart, the honest and eager search of the present day after principles to be loved and cherished, and the recurring attachment to thoughts and symbols of thought, which were then stigmatized as superstition, and which the hasty violence of reform would have destroyed as idols, have done much towards rendering such writers as Smith and his school distasteful to this generation. Thus the science itself which he taught, has had to brave the vicissitudes of that theory of social philosophy with which he connected it, and with which it has, in the necessary order of things, no real affinity.

So imperfect are our views, and so strong our prejudices, that the warmest advocates of the interests of humanity in one age, scarcely ever do justice to the exertions or the intentions of their predecessors, as sincere as themselves, but guided by the light of a different philosophy. When the appointed era of destruction arrives, (to borrow the language of the Saint Simonian school,) all the accumulated wisdom of the long centuries of construction which had preceded it, is consigned to contempt and oblivion, together with the overthrow of their social establishments. And when the close of that era is at hand, and men are awakened afresh to the ancient feelings of reverence and faith, and begin to long anew for positive objects of veneration, they, too, forget that the time before them had its appointed work to perform;

that there were abuses to be removed and iniquities to be avenged; that the renovation of society, and its adaptation to another stage of progress, was to be prepared by the great movement then accomplished. One age builds cathedrals; another demolishes or desecrates them; a third anathematizes the destroyers, and is lost in admiration of the munificent devotion of the builders. Yet how much of the most grovelling superstition—how much of the most degrading motives which can actuate human nature—were mixed up with the general impulse which covered the land with those splendid edifices! Of how many a wealthy sinner were the terrors and remorse taxed, to supply the means for their erection! What pandering to vice and immorality, what encouragement to bestial ignorance, were occasioned by the promises and indulgences, through which the commonalty were induced to contribute their efforts towards it! How many a widow and orphan groaned under grievous exactions, to gratify the pride of some haughty founder, who wished thus to perpetuate his name and his ostentatious piety! The iconoclasts of the Reformation had seen and felt all these things; their backs were yet sore with the burdens laid upon them; their indignation fierce at the impostures and rapine which they had actually witnessed: theirs would have been a lukewarm zeal indeed, had it not urged them to abolish even the innocent memorials of that wickedness which had been wrought in their eyesight on every hill and under every tree. Another period succeeds, in which the vices of a system of superstition are no longer distinctly remembered, and contemplated only through the softening medium of antiquity. Men are wearied of what they esteem the selfishness and egotism of a society, in which the gods of earlier idolatry are no longer recognised. They endeavour to put their own minds in communion with those of the constructors of the ancient system, and imagine that they have succeeded in the effort;—a vain imagination, for the real character and sentiment of a bygone age may be called up as phantoms, but can never revisit the earth as living agents; and the services rendered by the iconoclast, and the motives on which he acted, are all forgotten; and he is regarded with mere horror as an incarnate spirit of destruction. So it has been with the intellectual image-breakers of the last century, who shattered the idols of public veneration, in order to set up the goddess Utility in their stead. The crying necessity for reform, which first actuated their exertions, is no longer thought of. The mass of useless and corrupt encumbrances which they swept away, is no longer in sight. The good they did is interred with them; the failure of their experiment to do better is alone remembered.

Hume, Smith, and Voltaire, are set down as shallow, mischievous coxcombs by the philosophers of the third generation after them; who are, to say the least, as much their inferiors in taste, liveliness, and practical ability, as they boast to be their superiors in profundity of thought. The Lucians and Montaignes of our days, see in all this only tokens of the incessant ebb and flow of the human mind;—ever active and agitated, and yet in each successive tide only reaching the point which it had already attained in some former movement. More hopeful speculators may believe that the more violent the oscillation, the more steady and certain the advance, although scarcely perceptible to ordinary observation.

We are not, however, called upon to enter into a formal defence of the great economist against such objections as mere prejudice or fashion may raise, whether directed against himself or against his science. Undoubtedly the general principles of his political philosophy are of a superficial character; nor can we quite agree with his editor, that in treating 'the most important 'points in the whole range of moral and political science,' he displayed 'all that comprehensive sagacity which formed the 'distinguishing feature of his mind.' But this detracts in no degree from the value of his speculations, wherever that test of immediate utility, which he applied too indiscriminately, is the real touchstone of the value of institutions; and one reason, among others, for which we should wish to find his work more generally read than it is at the present day, is, that his clear good sense and attractive style are likely to furnish better antidotes against the theories of such writers as M. Sismondi, who would subject the progress of national wealth again to the fetters of the middle ages, than the abstract reasonings of later writers.

With respect to what Mr M'Culloch terms the 'perplexed 'and illogical arrangement' of the 'Wealth of Nations,' which is one of the most common objections urged against it by a different class of critics, (a defect rather remarkable in an author whose turn of mind and professional habits would have rather led him, it might be thought, into too strict an adherence to form and order,) we have already seen that Sir James Macintosh regarded it as having in some measure contributed to its great popularity. Undoubtedly there is truth in the remark; yet Smith, perhaps, abused the privilege of genius to be discursive. His wanderings are so very extensive, his involutions of digression within digression so very complex, that it is next to impossible to read his work in any other way than as a series of slightly connected essays on a variety of interesting topics. It must be

remembered, however, when he is blamed for introducing so wide a range of subjects within his limits, that his purpose in the composition of his treatise was very different from that of constructing a mere system of abstract Political Economy. The work on the Wealth of Nations formed, in fact, a portion only of a very comprehensive course of lectures on moral philosophy. According to Professor Millar, this course was divided into four parts; the first embracing natural theology, the second ethics, the third jurisprudence; while 'in the last part he examined 'those political regulations which are founded, not upon the 'principle of justice, but that of expediency, and which are cal-'culated to increase the riches, the power, and the prosperity of 'a state. Under this view he considered the political institu-'tions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and 'military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects, 'contained the substance of the work he afterwards published 'under the title of an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of 'the Wealth of Nations.' Thus it will be seen that his scope fairly included a much larger portion of the *quicquid agunt homines*, than if it had been wholly devoted to the strict science of catallactics. But it may be justly noticed as a defect in his method, that he nowhere lays down with any degree of distinctness the real province of that science; so as to distinguish it from political economy in that wider sense which he attaches to the word. Hence arises much of the confusion and want of order which distracts the attention of the reader throughout it. This objection, however, applies only to the work considered as a whole. Regarded with a view to its several parts, we agree with Sir James Macintosh, that the digressive mode in which it is written constitutes one of the principal charms of the composition. Smith's method of teaching was essentially analytical, and possesses all the attractions, together with the necessary imperfections, of that mode of instruction. He rarely states principles by way of themes for discussion and illustration; but generally lays before his readers a series of facts in commercial history, and proceeds to develop these in such a manner as to lead them, almost unconsciously, towards those general truths which it is his object to instil. No more agreeable mode of conveying information can be devised; but it may be doubted whether it is calculated to leave any very distinct impression on ordinary minds, which are apt to retain the examples without following the reasoning; nor is Smith himself always clear or consistent, where he endeavours to deduce similar principles from different serieses of facts. In the quick and powerful grasp with which he seizes on illustrations, and the ready manner in which he puts them for-

ward at once, so as to insure the reader's attention at the outset, he resembles no writer so much as Paley; but he has nothing of that somewhat formal and pedantic mode of argument which characterises the latter. Thus, in his very first chapter on the division of labour, instead of commencing by a disquisition on that important principle, he begins by taking the reader with him to a pin manufactory; and when his attention has been sufficiently drawn to the subject, by observing the curious process carried on there, he next leads him, by analogy, to similar instances, and finally to the governing principle of the whole subject. But Paley had, what Smith had not, the genius of arrangement; hence, in the former, the illustration never occupies the place of argument, but serves only as an introduction to it. In the pages of the Wealth of Nations example often succeeds example, and thought calls up thought, until the point which it was intended at first to elucidate is lost sight of by the reader; and sometimes, it would seem, by the author himself. There is not a more entertaining nor more unsatisfactory chapter in the work than the well-known one on the rent of land; in which there is scarcely a trace of any thing like the development of a general law or principle. Instead of it, the reader is treated to a most amusing series of disquisitions on the price of corn and butcher's meat; the economy of Holland; the ancient state of Italy; Columella, and the extravagant notions of Roman gentlemen-farmers; kitchen-gardens, vineyards, sugar-colonies; the growth of tobacco, rice, and potatoes; and the effect of these last on the breed of Irish porters and town-ladies.

These peculiarities, however, need not, in any degree, impair the utility of the work as a text-book for students at the present day; because a few judicious notes, calling his attention at intervals to the fundamental truths which are exemplified in this rich profusion of illustrations, are all that is necessary for the purpose; and these are furnished in the edition before us. A more important and difficult duty imposed on the commentator is to supply the deficiencies, and correct the mistakes into which Smith has fallen, as to the theory of the science itself.

'The principal defect of the Wealth of Nations,' says Mr M'Culloch, 'and the source from whence most of the errors that 'infect it seem to have been derived, consists in the erroneous 'doctrines advanced with respect to the circumstances which de-'termine the value of commodities, and the rise and progress of 'rent. Dr Smith has truly stated, that in the remote period 'which preceded the accumulation of capital, and the establish-'ment of a right of property in land, the quantities of labour re-'quired to produce commodities, determined their exchangeable

'value or worth, as compared with one another. But he supposed that after capital had been accumulated, and workmen were employed for the benefit of others, and land had been appropriated, and rent began to be paid, the value of commodities no longer depended wholly on the labour required to produce them, and bring them to market; but that it partly depended on it, and partly, also, on the amount of profit, wages, and rent; and that, supposing one or other of these elements to remain constant, their value would fluctuate according to the variations in the others, rising when they rose, and falling when they fell.'

Mr M'Culloch proceeds to refute this undoubtedly fallacious position, by arguments familiar to those who are acquainted with the works of Ricardo and his followers; and to show that the value of all commodities is determined by the quantity of labour required for their production. But he has not, perhaps, distinctly pointed out (although in other parts of this edition he has returned more fully to the subject) in what way these opinions followed from Dr Smith's original positions respecting the effect of competition among capitalists. He thought 'that profits are lowered through the competition of capitalists; that when capital increases, the undertakers of different businesses begin to encroach upon one another; and that, in order to attain their object, they offer their produce at a lower price, and give higher wages to their workmen.' And at the same time that he ascribed this influence to competition in particular employments, he evidently did not always advert to the general truth, that the competition of capitalists in *all* employments must necessarily render the rate of profits in any species of productive industry nearly the same.

It was this last error which influenced his views of the exchangeable value of commodities. If it were true, as he supposed, that capital employed in one species of industry was more productive than in another—that the grower of corn, for example, realized, in a natural state of things, a higher profit than the manufacturer—it is clear that corn, and manufactured articles, would not exchange against one another in the proportion of the quantities of labour respectively expended in the production of each. Corn would bear, relatively to labour, a higher value than manufactured articles. Arguing on the same assumption, he was perfectly consistent in supposing that a high rate of profits was injurious to the wealth of a community, inasmuch as it necessarily raised the price of commodities; in defending the usury laws, and in contending, by a doubly erroneous process of reasoning, first, that the profits of the colonial trade were permanently greater than those of the home trade; and secondly, that

because the profits of the colonial trade were higher, therefore that trade was not to be encouraged. And it is impossible not to observe throughout a great part of his work, the struggle between his inclination to liberal principles of commerce, and the cogency of some of his opinions in the other direction. For it was certainly difficult to maintain, in the same breath, that the employment of capital in different branches of industry was more or less advantageous to the community; and at the same time that it is impolitic and unjust that government should interfere to direct its employment.

But it is not clear to us that Mr M'Culloch, and other writers since Ricardo, have done sufficient justice to what there is of truth in Smith's views of the effect of competition among capitalists in the reduction of profit. That he had no distinct conception of the mode in which that competition acted, is undeniable; because he had not noticed the fact pointed out before him by Dr Anderson, and since by West and Malthus, that increase of population compels society to have recourse to soils of less fertility, upon which industry is less productive. Supposing the productiveness of industry always to remain the same, it is, as Ricardo and his followers truly state, inconceivable that any increase of capital can diminish the rate of profit on its employment, unless through a rise of wages. But it must surely be remembered, that although the inferior fertility of the newly-cultivated soil be the immediate cause of the diminution of the rate of profits; it is nothing but the competition among the capitalists which drives capital to seek the inferior soil, and induces its owner to be content with a lower rate of profit. When population has increased so far as to demand the cultivation of fresh soil, from whence is the capital derived which is to be employed upon it? From the accumulations made by capitalists at the old rate of profit. What, then, induces the capitalist to be content with a lower rate of profit from his new investment? The fact that he cannot otherwise employ his savings at all. He is content with a lower rate of profit rather than consume them unproductively. It is competition which drives him to have recourse to the fresh soil.

It may be answered, no doubt, that the capitalist could not be driven to employ his savings in this manner until the demand for food rose so high, in consequence of the pressure of population, that the amount which would come to the capitalist, in the shape of profit, from the cultivation of the fresh soil, should equal in value the amount which he obtained before. In this case, although the rate of profit would fall, (in Mr Ricardo's sense of the word,) the value of the capitalist's share would remain the

same. But it is evident that this is not the natural course of things, It is admitted on all hands, that, along with the continued resort to poorer soils, the rate of profit does continually fall (under ordinary circumstances) not in proportion to wages only, but in actual amount; that the capitalist does actually obtain less and less value by the employment of the same amount of stock. This is the meaning of all economists when they speak of the tendency of advancing population to force down profits, until, in the words of Ricardo, wages rise so high in consequence of the rise of necessaries, and so little consequently remains for the profits of stock, that the motive for accumulation ceases.

Competition does not make the soil ungrateful, but it drives capital to that ungrateful soil which otherwise it would not have reached. It does not diminish the productiveness of industry, but it forces industry to employ itself in a less productive manner. If, finding no more eligible investment open, a person employs his money in some way which returns a less profit than that obtained by his neighbour for the use of his, the other is correct in attributing that inferiority of profit to the inferior productiveness of the investment; but the original cause which reduces the first to be content with it, is the accumulation of capital and the difficulty of finding a use for it; in other words, competition. When, therefore, Mr M'Culloch says, in his supplemental note on the 'Rate of Profit,'—'Competition cannot affect the pro-'ductiveness of industry, and *therefore has nothing to do* with the 'determination of the common and average rate of profit,' he is surely employing language, which, though true in a given sense, is, like many other dicta of economists, calculated to mislead, because, in another sense, it is altogether fallacious.

For it is almost unnecessary to add, that practical opinions have been deduced from the language of Mr Ricardo, on this subject, which seem at variance both with experience and reason. It has been contended that, however low the rate of profit and abundant the mass of capital, the abstraction of a portion of it cannot in any way raise the rate of profit, *because* it cannot increase the productiveness of industry. And yet, if all the capital employed on the worst soils in cultivation were removed, it is plain, on Mr Ricardo's own showing, that the productiveness of industry would be *increased*. Nor is this all. Even in a country freely importing food, additional capital may be thrown into the business of manufacturing for the foreign market, through the force of competition, while the foreign market does not extend proportionably. Then, if the supply of labour should increase at the same rate, although the price of the manufactured articles in the foreign market will fall, the rate of profit will not. But

if the capital so employed should increase for the time more rapidly than the supply of labour, both the amount and the rate of profit will fall. Thus there is, at all events, a theoretical case in which competition will reduce the rate of profit. Ricardo treats it as almost an impossible one. Malthus considers it very probable. On the whole, therefore, however defective Smith's view of the effect of competition on profits may be, from his not having adverted to the *modus operandi*, we doubt whether the language of later writers is not still more incorrect, when they treat the *modus operandi* as if it were the efficient cause itself.

But we have not space, on the present occasion, to enter on the discussion of these complicated questions. It is sufficient to point out what are the principal notions of an erroneous character which pervade the whole of the great work of Dr Smith, against which it is necessary that the student should be guarded. This is accomplished in Mr M'Culloch's edition; partly by foot-notes, referring the reader throughout to passages of the commentary in which the subject is fully discussed; partly by a series of supplemental essays, which form by far the most valuable part of the additions. These comprise, in fact, a pretty complete body of elementary economical science, in a form which, to us at least, appears more attractive and not less useful than that of a systematic treatise. Some of them relate to the fundamental subjects of labour, value, rent, profits, and so forth; others are of a miscellaneous character—relating to topics suggested by the numerous digressions of the original work. Among these may be especially mentioned the very interesting dissertations on the banking system, the corn laws, and on the government, revenue, and commerce of India. These are subjects on which, it is our belief, few men or none have so much contributed to form the *deliberate* opinions of the present time as Mr M'Culloch. Theorists enough have enjoyed their day, and expended their brief influence in the discussion of all of them. His peculiar merit has lain rather in exposing the hollowness of their speculations, and laying the foundation of a sound but moderate scepticism; which is perhaps the safest guide for conservators as well as innovators. Those who are familiar with his views on these questions, will not perhaps find much of novelty in the manner in which they are here treated; but we must repeat, that the present mode is perhaps the best he could have chosen at once to disseminate and make popular his own opinions, and to direct the student in making the most beneficial use of the work of the great founder of the science, and estimating his discoveries at their proper value.

ART. V.—*England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; with the Contemporary History of Europe: illustrated in a series of Original Letters never before printed. With Historical Introductions, and Biographical and Critical Notes.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq., Author of the 'History of Scotland.' 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1839.

MR TYTLER'S object in the present work is to present to his readers a series of notices, historical or biographical, of various important events, and prominent characters, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; arranged in chronological order, and illustrated by previously unpublished documents, principally derived from the State Paper Office. This, it will be seen, is a new and slightly varied attempt to do what has never yet been accomplished,—to popularize, that is, historical documents, and render a collection of letters three centuries old a book for the drawing-room and the circulating library. All such attempts are founded upon a mistake, and aim at uniting history and materials for history, things in themselves not only distinct but incompatible. History should be addressed to the people; it is worthless if not written in such a manner as to interest and instruct; but the documentary materials out of which it is woven, are rarely calculated for popular reading. Much preliminary information is necessary before they can be correctly understood,—a dissertation is required to explain the full bearings of every document; and when, by means of these aids, their utility and value are made manifest, it becomes obvious that the same end might have been arrived at in a simpler, a more agreeable, and, as far as the great mass of readers is concerned, in a more effectual way, by an original narrative, containing the pith and marrow of the documents—in one word, by a history.

We would not be understood to object to the publication of historical documents. Far from it. They are the tools with which the historian works: tables are not more necessary to the mathematician, maps to the geographer, collections to the naturalist. Let as many of them be published as can be useful to any class of enquirers; but they should be sent forth into the world with all the simplicity of books of science; and to seek to make them popular, or to publish only such of them as can be introduced into a book which aims at popularity, are errors of the same kind as it would be to set forth tables of logarithms illustrated and ornamented with a similar view.

Mr Tytler has further aimed at making his book popular by

modernizing the orthography of its documents. With a view to his object, it was probably right to do so; but the practice is dangerous and objectionable. It destroys identity, takes away one evidence as to the education and character of the writer; fosters ignorance of the progressive changes in the orthography and pronunciation of our language; and increases the liability to errors in transcription and printing.*

Having stated the objections to which Mr Tytler's publication is liable, with a freedom which we are quite sure he will not dislike, we shall point out what are the principal historical questions to which his new documents relate.

During the short reign of Edward VI., our attention is principally attracted to the great change which was then in the act of being effected in the religious opinions of the great majority of the people. The disputes of the selfish men into whose hands the government was thrown by the will of Henry VIII.—the plottings of brother against brother, and friend against friend,—acquire importance only in consequence of their connexion with that great struggle which the principles of the reformers

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* It is no doubt owing to this cause that we have found considerable variations between Mr Tytler's printed letters and the originals, whenever we have had an opportunity of comparing them. Thus, vol. i. p. 75, after 'understood,' add '*from you*;' ibid. p. 239, instead of 'for the King's Majesty,' read 'for the King's *Majesty's and the realm's more safety*;' ibid. p. 231, instead of 'lost the letter out of his packet,' read 'pocket;' p. 222, for 'he *myndeth* no hurt,' read 'he *meaneth* no hurt;' vol. ii. p. 192, for 'and of my doings,' read 'and *declaration* of my doings;' for 'whereof *the* witnesses,' read 'whereof *be* witnesses;' for 'two of my *suite*,' read 'two of my *servants*;' p. 194, for '*set me* to flee,' read '*determyn* to flee;' p. 195, for 'them *who* I served,' read 'them *with whom* I served;' for 'Justus adjutorius meus Dominus, qui salvos facit rectos cord (corde),' read 'Justum adjutorium meum *a* Domino, qui salvos facit rectos corde;' ibid. p. 124, for 'all Sunday,' read 'all *the day being* Sunday;' for 'fair as *nead* be with needle,' read 'fair as *might* be with needle;' p. 125, for 'yet they came to [view],' read 'yet they came to *mass*;' p. 126, for 'as great states *are there* in England,' read 'as great states *be* in England;' after 'all their caps,' insert ; The say given, they depart;' for 'the Lady Elizabeth's my mistress,' read 'the Lady Elizabeth's my mistress's *service*;' p. 127, for 'I marvel that *Tongres* hath not the like,' read 'I marvel that *Thames* hath not the like;' p. 128, for 'corn every where,' read 'corn *enough* every where;' for 'labour and continuance of men,' read 'labour and continence of men;' p. 131, for 'the *bringing* thither of *these* three kings,' read 'the *coming* thither of *those* three kings;' p. 132, for 'they were not all maids,' read '*they say* they were not all maids;' and so in many other instances.

were then waging against deep-rooted superstitions. In the history of that struggle, few things are more remarkable than the manner in which the vices of the men in power became conducive to the success of the Reformation. Their cupidity stood in that place which, during the late reign, had been occupied by the tyrannical disposition of the monarch. He promoted the Reformation to secure the gratification of his inclinations; they to acquire a share in the plunder; whilst, in both instances, better men aided in the work, in the full belief that light would produce light; and that truth once sent forth, though it might wander abroad for many days, would sooner or later return, and bear the olive-branch along with her.

The cupidity of the Protector and his party made its appearance at the very moment of their accession to power. The will of Henry VIII. contained a direction, that all such gifts as it should appear to his executors that he had promised, 'in any 'manner wise,' should be perfected after his death. Acting upon this conscientious direction, the scrupulous executors called before them three witnesses, who deposed to certain intentions of the King to confer various titles and grants of lands upon *the principal executors themselves*, upon *the witnesses*, and upon some few other persons. This determined them. 'Both out of con-'science to the King's will, and for their own honour,' they proceeded to fulfill the pious intentions of their late master, and their duty to his successor, by parcelling out the royal domains amongst themselves. The following letter, which Mr Tytler informs us is one of many of a similar kind, written about the same time by the same nobleman, who was afterwards Duke of Northumberland, explains the nature of the first business transacted by these conscientious guardians. It is addressed by the Earl of Warwick to Paget, and was written in March 1547:—

'Master Secretary—Perchance some folks will allege considerations concerning the not assignment of the Lordship of Warwick, saying it is a stately castle, and a goodly park, and a great royalty. To that it may be answered—the castle of itself is not able to lodge a good baron with his train; for all the one side of the said castle, with also the dongeon tower, is clearly ruinated and down to the ground; and that of late the King's Majesty that dead is, hath sold all the chief and principal manors that belonged unto the said earldom and castle; so that at this present there is no lands belonging unto it, but the rents of certain houses in the town, and certain meadows, with the park of Wegenock. Of the which castle, with the park, and also of the town, I am constable, high steward, and master of the game, with also the herbage of the park, during my life; and because of the name I am the more desirous to have the thing;

and also I come of one of the daughters and heirs of the right and not defiled line.

'I will rebate part of my fees in my portion, to have the same castle, meadows, and park; wherein I pray you to show me your friendship, to move the rest of my lords to this effect; and further to be friendly to Mr Denny, according to his desire, for the site and remains of Waltham, with certain other farms adjoining unto Jeston; wherein, as for the site of Waltham, I suppose it shall grow to a commonwealth to the country thereabouts to let him have it.

'And in case that they will not condescend to me for the lordship of Warwick, as is aforesaid, I pray you then let me have Tunbridge and Penshurst, that was the Buckingham's lands in Kent, as parcel of my portion, with also Hawlden, that was my own; and whether I have the one or the other, let Canonbury be our portion.

'The Master of the Horse would gladly, as I do perceive by him, have the Lordship in Sussex that was the Lord Laware's, which, in my opinion, were better bestowed upon him, or some such as would keep it up, and serve the king in the country in maintaining of household, than to let it fall to ruin as it doth, with divers other like houses; being a great pity, and loss it will be at length to the king and realme.'—*Tytler*, i. 28.

But Warwick, Tunbridge, Penshurst, Lord Delaware's lordship in Sussex, and all the other disposable properties, were not enough—the Crown was not rich enough—to satisfy these disinterested men. Henry, according to the testimony of the witnesses, had in view, when making these 'promises,' the princely estates of the Howards, but that source had failed; his prodigality, 'like sandy ground,' had 'suddenly sucked up the large 'shower of Abbey lands.' Of all the former confiscations nothing was available but the precedent; and that was determined to be applied to the lands of those superstitious endowments termed *Chantries.* The lands of chantries attached to the dissolved monasteries were given to the Crown by Henry VIII.'s last Parliament, to defray the expenses of the recent wars with France and Scotland. Now the incomes of all the remaining chantries, the number of which was very great—for there was not a parish-church of any note throughout England that had not some of them attached to it, and many had four, five, or more—St Paul's had forty-seven—were poured into the Treasury; and to swell the amount still higher, guilds, hospitals, free chapels and colleges, with the exception of those in Oxford and Cambridge, were added to the parliamentary grant. The act was put forth with the professed design of converting the confiscated property to the erection of grammar-schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the better provision of the poor. In their own private consultations the council treated it

simply as a means of increasing the royal revenue;* and no sooner was the act passed, than grammar-schools, universities, the poor, and the royal revenue were all forgotten, and the proceeds parcelled out amongst the council and their adherents. 'The King 'bore the blame,' exclaimed an indignant preacher, in 1550, 'the 'poor felt the lack, and all the world saw that the act made for 'maintenance of learning and relief of the poor, had served *some* '*men* as a fit instrument to rob learning and spoil the poor.'

But even chantry lands, although pleasant morsels, especially when lying contiguous to other properties already obtained, were of themselves quite inadequate to satisfy the cravings of the royal executors. The following characteristical conversation between the boisterous Seymour of Sudeley, the Lord Admiral, and one of his retainers, gives an apt illustration of the eagerness with which they availed themselves of any opportunity of proceeding more vigorously towards the satisfaction of 'the promises' of their deceased master.

'He (the Lord Admiral) was in a great heat, and, amongst many other things, said, "By God's precious soul! my lord my brother (the Protector Somerset) is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right saving me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the Queen's jewels, which you see by the whole opinion of all the lawyers ought to belong unto me; and all under pretence that he would not the King should lose so much—as who (should?) say it were a loss to the King to let me have mine own? But he maketh nothing of the loss that the King's Majesty hath by him in his Court of First-fruits and Tenths, where his revenue is abated, as I have heard say, almost ten thousand pounds a-year."

'I told him, that I thought it was not so much; for the whole land that had been surrendered since the King's death was by all men's guesses far under that sum.

'"Well, well," said he, "they are at this point now that there can neither bishoprick, deanery, nor prebend fall void, but one or other of them will have a *fleece* of it."

'Indeed I did in this point both grant his saying to be true, and aggravate the matter to confirm his opinion, with naming the Deanery of Wells, the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and others, which I told him had been *sore plucked at.*

'"It maketh no matter," said he, "it will come in again when the King cometh to his years, as he beginneth to grow lustily. By God's precious soul!" said he, "I would not be in *some of their coats* for five marks when he shall hear of these matters. For mine own part, I will not have a penny after that rate, nor they shall not all be able to charge me with the value of a farthing."—*Tytler*, i. p. 170.

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* Harl. MS. 6195, fo. 6.

A few years afterwards, Sir William Petre writes to his co-secretary Cecil, the future Burghley, upon a desirable vacancy taking place at the Savoy, as follows:—

'I doubt not but there be, as you write, good, or rather great plenty of anglers for it. . . . . At the beginning, the Apostles left their fishing of fishes, and became fishers of men; and now we, which talk much of Christ and his holy word, have, I fear me, used a much contrary way, for we leave fishing for men, and fish again in the tempestuous seas of this world for gain and wicked mammon.'—*Ibid.* i. p. 427.

Mr Tytler gives a curious explanation of the secret arrangement for remodelling the bishopric of Durham. It was suggested that it would be equally advantageous to the people and to the Crown—that Durham would be better and more godly furnished than it ever was, and that the royal revenue would be greatly benefited—if the castle, and the other houses which the bishop had, with £2000 a-year of the best lands within the north parts of the realm, were transferred to the Crown. The scheme was approved and carried into execution; but no sooner were the temporalities of the bishopric vested in the Crown, than they were granted out again to the disinterested proposer of the arrangement by which they had been acquired.

The first leader of these worthy guardians—who, it will be seen, watched over the state like unclean birds over a field of slaughter, fixing an eager gaze upon every thing that fell—was the Protector, Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset, a weak, vain, pompous man, ruled by an ambitious wife. Mr Tytler gives a more favourable view of his character than most of our recent historians. His arguments are ingenious and interesting, but we cannot coincide in his conclusions. It is told of some one, we forget whom, that, after listening to a dexterous special pleading in behalf of Mary of Scotland, he drily asked the advocate—'Can you prove that she did not marry Bothwell?' We say to the defenders of the Protector Somerset—'Can you 'make it appear that he did not sign his brother's death-war-'rant?' Mr Tytler says his signature was 'a miserable neces-'sity, arising out of his office as Protector.'—Alas! if Milton is an authority, Somerset is neither the first nor the greatest potentate on whose behalf 'necessity—the tyrant's plea,'—has been alleged as a defence.

Somerset's elevation to the Protectorate raised him above himself. Although bound, by the conditions imposed upon him at his appointment, to consult with his co-executors, and abstain from acting upon his own authority, he soon assumed the airs of a dictator; gave way to 'great cholerick fashions;' insolently rebuked persons who differed from him in opinion;

procured a stamp of the King's signature, which he affixed to whatever documents he pleased; * and kept the King in such close ward, that he was never for 'half a quarter of an hour' alone, (i. 111;) and was driven to communicate with his nearest relations by stealth, writing to them 'small lines of recommendation' upon 'minute, torn, and shabby scraps of paper,' (*ibid.* 112.) Of his imperious behaviour to those about him, and to his fellow-councillors, there exists undeniable evidence in an extraordinary letter addressed to him by Sir William Paget, one of the secretaries of state.† After reminding him of his pettish conduct in council, and his snapping at those who contraried any thing he had conceived, so that no man dared speak to him; and stating how heavily a gentleman whom he had rebuked that afternoon had complained of his treatment, seeming almost out of his wits, he tells him—'A King which shall give 'men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject 'in great authority, as your Grace is, using such fashion, is like 'to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that 'to the commonweal; which, for the very love I bear your 'Grace, I beseech you, and for God's sake, consider and weigh 'well. And also, when the whole council shall move you, or 'give you advice in a matter, like as they did of late, for sending of men to Bulloygn, to follow the same, and to relent 'sometimes from your opinion. Your surety shall be the more 'and your burden the less.'

We have evidence to the same effect, although not so explicit, in a letter from Sir Thomas Smith, almost the only thoroughly honest man of the time, published in the present work. His feelings of gratitude compelled him to adhere to the Protector throughout his troubles; but he was fully alive to his faults. 'For my part,' he writes, 'I am in a most miserable case. I 'cannot leave the King's Majesty, and him who was my master, 'of whom I have had all; and I cannot deny but I have misliked also some things that you and the rest of my lords there 'did mislike, as ye know, no man better, yourself.'—Vol. i. 229.

His impatience of advice, and uncontrolled irritability of temper, were united with an evident bankering after popularity, scarcely less likely to make him obnoxious to his equals; and, when coupled with his treatment of the King, calculated to give

* Kempe's Loseley Papers, p. 8. Tytler, i. 159.
† Strype's Memorials, vi. 417. Edit. 1816.

rise to suspicions of the purity of his intentions. His anxiety to be regarded as 'the Good Duke,' was manifested in many ways. He had no ear for the advice of those who stood but one step lower in the state than himself; but to the people he was a very 'king of smiles,' and every complaint of a poor man was welcome. He set up a Court of Requests in his own house, to administer or procure justice for mean suitors; interfered by extraordinary means in the course of justice, (i. 120;) calling persons even of the highest rank to account, in an unusual and extrajudicial manner, (i. 75;) and even when cases were remitted to the ordinary tribunals, sending with them a letter of explanation and recommendation, which procured him the credit of whatever benefit resulted to the suitor. So, in the great question of inclosures, misled by his love of popularity, he weakly argued with men who broke the peace and defied the law. He gave them good words, and made them promises—and what was the result? They were unconvinced by his arguments, and unsatisfied by his promises, whilst his weakness of conduct led them to over-estimate their strength; other questions were mixed up with the original causes of complaint; all the dissatisfied united, and it was not without incalculable loss of property, and much bloodshed, that two dangerous insurrections were suppressed.

The first person who set himself in opposition to the Protector was his brother the Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudeley; the same gentleman of whose emphatic style of conversation we have given a specimen. Their quarrel originated in a dispute between their wives upon a point of precedence; and the breach was widened by the detention of some jewels claimed by the Admiral's wife. There is no doubt that he meditated the removal of his brother from the Protectorate, and his own succession to that authority. With that view, he courted the young King with secret gifts of money; instilled into his mind dissatisfaction with Somerset's treatment; and, upon the death of Queen Catharine, was anxious to strengthen his interest by a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. His intrigues were of a dangerous character, and might have led to treason; but the conduct of the administration, of which his brother was the overbearing leader, in procuring him to be attainted in his absence, and unheard, has made him an object of general pity. Slender proofs of actual treason, conjoined to the Protector's popularity, would have been sufficient to secure the verdict of a jury; but, by taking what was thought a nearer and safer way to his death, his accusers have sent the proofs down to us, with this blot upon them—that they were not thought sufficient to secure a conviction in the ordinary course of law.

Several of the examinations of witnesses against him have been published in Haynes's State Papers; and Mr Tytler has brought to light some others. The following is not only the most important, but, as Mr Tytler remarks, is 'interesting from the [almost] dramatic form into which it is thrown.' It is entitled 'Certain Communications betwixt the Lord Privy-Seal '[Lord Russell] and the Lord Admiral.'

'Riding one day together with my Lord Admiral, as we followed my Lord Protector towards the Parliament House, I said unto him, "My Lord Admiral, there are certain rumours bruited of you, which I am very sorry to hear."

'My Lord Admiral demanded what the same should be.

'I showed him I was informed he made means to marry either with my Lady Mary, or else with my Lady Elizabeth. And touching that, I said, "My Lord, if ye go about any such thing, ye seek the means to undo yourself and all those that shall come of you."

'He asked me who informed me thereof, desiring earnestly to know the authors of that tale to me.

'I showed him "I heard it of divers of your near friends, and such as bear you as much good-will, and wish you as well to do as I do myself.

'At that time he seemed to deny that there was any such thing attempted of his part, and that he never thought to make any enterprise therein.

'I answered, "My Lord, I am glad to hear you say so;" and, giving him exhortation not to attempt the matter, we finished our communication in that behalf for that present.

'Riding in like sort together, within two or three days following, from my Lord Protector's house unto the Parliament House, my Lord Admiral said unto me, "Father Russell, you are very suspicious of me; I pray you tell me who showed you of the marriage that I should attempt, whereof ye brake with me the other day?"

'I answered, he should not know the authors of the tale; but that I understood it by such as bare him right good-will, and said therewithall, "My Lord, I shall earnestly advise you to make no suit for marriage that way."

'He replied, saying, "It is convenient for them to marry; and better it were that they were married within the realm than in any foreign place, and without the realm. And why might not I, or another, made by the King their father, marry one of them?"

'I answered, "My Lord, if either you, or any other within this realm, shall match himself in marriage, either with my Lady Mary or with my Lady Elizabeth, undoubtedly, whatsoever he be, shall procure unto himself the occasion of his utter undoing; and you especially above all others, being of so near alliance to the King's Majesty."

'And he being desirous to know the cause, I alleged this reason—"You know, my Lord, that although the King's Majesty's father was a prince of much wisdom and knowledge, yet was he very suspicious, and much given to suspect. His grandfather, also, King Henry the Seventh, was a very noble and a wise prince, yet was he also very suspicious.

Wherefore it may be possible, yea, and it is not unlikely, but that the King's Majesty, following therein the nature of his father and grandfather, may be also suspicious. Which, if it shall so prove, this may follow, that in case you, being of alliance to his Highness, shall also marry with one of the heirs of the crown by succession, his Highness may perhaps take occasion thereof to have you hereafter in great suspect, and as often as he shall see you, to think that you gape and wish for his death; which thought, if it be once rooted in his head, much displeasure may ensue unto you thereupon." I added also, "And I pray you, my Lord, what shall you have with any of them?"

'He answered, that he who married one of them should have three thousand a-year.

'I answered, "My Lord, it is not so; for ye may be well assured that he shall have no more than only ten thousand pounds in money, plate, and goods, and no land." And therewithal I asked him, "what that should be to maintain his charges and estate, matching himself there?"

'He answered, "They must have the three thousand pounds a-year also."

'I answered, "By G—d! but they may not."

'He answered, "By G—d! none of you all dare say nay to it."

'I answered, "By G—d! for my part I will say nay to it; for it is clean against the King's will."

'Riding together another time, in like sort, toward the Parliament House, my Lord Admiral said unto me, "What will you say, my Lord Privy-Seal, if I go above you shortly?" I answered, "I would be very glad of his preferment; and, concerning going above me, I did not care, so that he took nothing from me." Which my Lord Admiral's saying, and my answer, I declared to my Lord Chancellor immediately the same morning.—J. RUSSELL.'—Vol. i. 142-146.

The Protector was freed from apprehension of the machinations of his brother, only to fall an easy prey to Dudley Earl of Warwick—a more wily and dangerous antagonist. That crafty man has been accused of urging on the prosecution of the Admiral, as a step towards the ruin of the Protector. The fact may have been so, but there is no proof of it; and the catalogue of his crimes is long enough without being eked out by an imaginary, or at any event a doubtful, offence. The Protector's unnatural share in that act of judicial murder must have lowered his popularity; and probably Warwick's advancement received aid from that circumstance, and still more from the contrast between the Protector's want of vigour and his rival's promptitude in the suppression of Cade's rebellion. Warwick returned from Norfolk about the middle of September; and his determination to depose the Protector was formed immediately, and executed with equal secresy and effect. Wrapped up in a fancied security, founded upon a popularity which had waned, if not vanished, and

depending upon that tower of strength—the possession of the person of the King—Somerset was taken completely by surprise, when the Lord Chancellor, and all the influential members of the council, except Cranmer, took the extraordinary step of seceding from their accustomed place of assembly, and meeting apart at Warwick's house. The Protector, who was with the King at Hampton-Court, instantly took alarm; and, contrary to the advice of the few friends who were about him, endeavoured to crush the rising schism by force. The Lieutenant of the Tower being amongst the dissentients, Somerset's first step was to secure that important fortress, (i. 249;) he then issued a proclamation for a general muster at Hampton-Court, to defend the King and the Protector, (i. 205;) he wrote also to the city of London, and all the principal towns, and the most influential individuals, requesting immediate assistance. These prompt measures urged forward the Lords. They professed that their intention was simply to prepare a remonstrance to the Protector upon the state of affairs; but, denounced as public enemies, they determined to defend themselves, and their first step was to secure the city of London. The mayor and aldermen were summoned to Lord Warwick's house, and the Chancellor declared to them their causes of complaint against the Protector. Wardmotes, and a common-hall were held immediately; the latter was attended by the Lords; the citizens' hearts were won, and they remained unshaken; notwithstanding Somerset's attempts to rouse them by proclamations and handbills, two of which are printed by Mr Tytler, (i. 208, 210.) The Protector now withdrew the King by night to Windsor Castle; both parties mustered their friends, and a civil war seemed impending; when, at the eleventh hour, the country was saved by the firmness and good sense of two English gentlemen, whose conduct can scarcely be too much applauded.

A considerable army had been raised for the suppression of the rebellion in the west; and a large body of that army, under the command of Lord Russell—the *Father Russell* of our last extract—and Sir William Herbert, was marching up towards London through the western counties. Upon these gentlemen the fate of the Protector and the welfare of the country depended, and each party sought to interest them in its behalf. The Protector's letters, addressed to them, both in the King's name and in his own, urged them to advance instantly for the defence of the person of their sovereign. His importunity increased with his necessities; and ultimately his son, Lord Edward Somerset, was dispatched with further and more urgent entreaties. He found Lord Russell and his coadjutor at Wilton; and instantly,

in obedience to the royal summons, they advanced, with the Protector's son and a small body of gentlemen, as far as Andover. As they proceeded, they found the country 'in a roar,' the summonses directed to the gentry, and the bills thrown abroad amongst the Commons, having excited universal confusion; but it was not until a letter reached them from the Lords, that they became fully aware of the actual position of affairs. Russell's previous official acquaintance with the character of Somerset, then threw light upon the whole proceedings; their eyes were opened, and, instead of yielding farther obedience to the Protector's mandate, they sent back his son with the following admirable letter:* —

'Pleaseth your Grace—We have received your letters, not without our great lamentation and sorrow to perceive the civil dissension which has happened between your Grace and the nobility. A greater plague could not be sent unto this realm from God, being the next way to make us, of conquerors, slaves, and to induce upon us an universal calamity and thraldom, which we pray God so to hold his holy hand over us, as we may never see it.

'And for answer, this is to signify, that so long as we thought that the nobility presently assembled had conspired against the King's Majesty's person, so long we came forward, with such company as we have, for the surety of his Highness, as appertaineth. And now, having this day received advertisement from the Lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt nor displeasure is meant towards the King's Majesty, and that it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his Highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so as, in conclusion, it doth also appear unto us, that this great extremity proceedeth only upon *private causes* between your Grace and them, we have therefore thought most convenient, in the heat of this broil, to levy as great a power as we may, as well for the surety of the King's Majesty's person, as also for the preservation of the state of the realm, which, whilst this contention endureth, by factions between your Grace and them, may be in much peril and danger.

'We are out of doubt the devil hath not so enchanted nor abused their wits, as they would consent to any thing prejudicial and hurtful to the King's most noble person, upon whose surety and preservation, as they well know, the state of the realm doth only depend; and having consideration of their honours' discretions, and their continual truth unto the Crown, we believe the same so assuredly as no other argument may dissuade us for the contrary. And for our own parts, we trust your Grace doubteth not but that as we have, and will and must have, a special regard and consideration of our duties of allegiance unto the King's Ma-

* The substance of this letter was given by Fox in his 'Martyrology,' and was transferred from thence into Hollinshed; but we believe it has never been published at full length before.

jesty, so shall we not be negligent to do our parts, like faithful subjects, for the surety of his Highness accordingly. Beseeching your Grace that his Majesty in anywise be put in no fear, and that your Grace would so conform yourself as these private causes redound not to an universal displeasure of the whole realm.

'Would God all means were used rather than any blood be shed; which, if [it] be once attempted, and the case brought to that misery that the hands of the nobility be once polluted each with other's blood, the quarrel once begun will never have end till the realm be descended to that woeful calamity that all our posterity shall lament the chance. Your Grace's proclamations and billets sent abroad for the raising of the Commons, we mislike very much. The wicked and evil-disposed persons shall stir as well as the faithful subjects; and we, and these other gentlemen who have served, and others of worship in these countries where the same have been published, do incur by these means much infamy, slander, and discredit.

'Thus we end. Beseeching Almighty God the matter be so used as no effusion of blood may follow, and therewithal a surety of the King's Majesty and of the state of the realm.—From Andover, the 8th of October 1549. Your Grace's loving friends, 'JOHN RUSSELL,' 'WM. 'HERBERT.'—Vol. i. 217, 219.

This letter determined the contest. Deserted by the city, and refused support by the leaders of the army, there was no resource for the Protector but submission. His friends procured a promise of his life; and, that point being settled, he allowed himself to be dealt with at the pleasure of those over whom he had so lately tyrannized. After a short confinement, the imposition of a fine, and upon a formal submission, he was restored to a place at the council board. Mr Tytler thinks he discovers traces of perfidy on the part of the Lords towards their late superior; but, upon reconsideration, he will find that he has overrated them. He has evidently a very friendly feeling towards the Protector, and quite the reverse towards the *faction* of Warwick;—that *faction* comprehending all the privy counsellors except Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, whose official positions sufficiently account for their not having given active support to their brethren of the council.

The removal of Somerset left the road to honour and power open for Warwick, and he advanced along it rapidly. He endeavoured, indeed, to maintain a show of friendliness towards the late Protector; he even procured an alliance of their families by marriage, but

> ——'Never can true reconcilement grow
> Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.'

Nor was the conduct of Somerset calculated to close the breach.

He still foolishly attempted to overrule the council, as if he aspired to regain his office of Protector, (ii. 22.) A new collision with Warwick, now become Duke of Northumberland, was the result; and a few months brought the tragedy to its close, in the conviction of Somerset of a felonious conspiracy to procure his rival to be imprisoned, with a view to his removal from the government. Mr Tytler has devoted a considerable space to the consideration of Somerset's conviction, which he strongly reprobates; holding 'that he fell an almost innocent victim to the craft 'and ambition of Northumberland and his faction,' (ii. 73.) That the Duke was not guilty of deeds 'worthy of death' may be easily admitted. His execution was an act in its character singularly upon a par with his own condemnation of his brother. Both were men dangerous from their position in society, both anxious for advancement, unscrupulous as to the means by which it was to be attained, and actually engaged in practices of a dangerous character. Both aimed at effecting changes in the administration by violent means, and both fell into the pits they were digging for others. They were unlike in two respects: Somerset was heard in his defence; his brother was condemned unheard: Somerset was a weak, unstable man, inflated with vast notions of his own importance, and a tool in the hands of others; the Admiral was bold and peremptory, and ready either to devise or act mischief without a prompter.

Somerset's legal guilt depends upon two points: first, The sufficiency of the evidence; secondly, Whether an attempt to procure others to assemble, with intent to take and imprison one of the Privy-Council, constituted a felony. Now, if the evidence is to be believed—and Mr Tytler leaves it unscathed in its most important features—there can be no doubt upon the first point; and upon the second, notwithstanding some technical objections of Coke, lately revived by Sir James Macintosh with more courtesy than they deserved, we cannot think there is much question. The 10th section of the 3d and 4th Edward IV., (not the 2d and 3d, as erroneously printed by Sir James Macintosh—*England*, ii. 265,) exactly provides for the case. That Act made it treason for twelve persons to assemble with intent to take and imprison a privy-councillor; and felony in any one to stir up others to assemble with intent to do so. The Duke was acquitted of the treason; there being no proof that he and others actually did assemble for the purpose alluded to—and found guilty of the felony; there being proof that he had moved others to join with him in assembling for that purpose. The two crimes are obviously distinct; and an acquittal of the first was not, as

Sir James Macintosh seems to have supposed, a denial of the intention to take and imprison, but simply of the fact of assembling to do so. But then, again, remarks Sir James, 'it is a 'condition of the felony that the unlawful assemblies shall con- 'tinue their meetings after they have been legally commanded 'to disperse. In this case no such command or disobedience was 'pretended,' (*England*, ii. 265.) Certainly not, because this was not a case of actual assembly, but merely of conspiring to assemble. This excellent historian has here been misled into confounding the felony created by the second section, which relates to persons actually assembled for certain particular purposes with that created by the tenth section, which relates to persons stirring up others to assemble. It was upon the latter section that the Duke was found guilty.

Mr Tytler's comments principally affect the historical question of what were Somerset's real intentions; and he seems to prove that the design to assassinate the Duke of Northumberland, which was popularly attributed to Somerset, had no existence. That was not, however, part of his legal accusation, (State Trials, i. 518;) and the establishment of his innocence upon that point, although very important in the consideration of his character as a man, does not prove the injustice or illegality of his death. The following, which is the most important of Mr Tytler's new documents upon this subject, discloses as much of the actual design as could be drawn from one of the principals—a very unwilling witness. It is entitled, 'Confession of the Earl of Arun- 'dell.'

'At such time as the Duke of Northumberland and the Lord Marquis of Northampton were appointed by the King's Majesty's commandment to hear the confession of the Earl of Arundell in the Tower, of whom, when he was brought before them, and demanded what he had to say, they declared also, how, upon his own suit and request, they were sent unto him for that purpose. Who, after some protestations, with much difficulty, as a man loath to say any thing that might touch himself, finally confessed these words hereafter following, or the like, to the very same effect.

'"My lords, I cannot deny that I have had talk and communication with the Duke of Somerset, and he with me, touching both your apprehensions; and, to be plain, we determined to have apprehended you, but, by the passion of God!" quoth he, "for no harm to your bodies." And when they asked him how he would have apprehended them, he said, "In the Council." And when he was demanded how oft the Duke and he had met together about these matters, he said, "But once."

'And after they had showed him, (which was known by the Duke's own confession,) that the Duke and he met sundry times together for that

purpose, as well at Sion as at Somerset-place in London; with that he sighed, lifting up his hands from the board and said, "They knew all."

'And being demanded whether he did, at any time, send any message to the Duchess of Somerset by Stanhope, the effect whereof was, that she and the Duke should beware whom they trusted; for he had been of late at Barnard's Castle with the Earl of Pembroke, and did perceive by his talk that he had some intelligence of these matters; but, if they would keep their own counsel, he, for his part, would never confess any thing to die for it? he seemed to be much troubled with this demand, and with great oaths began to swear that he never sent no such message to the Duchess by no living creature. And being answered, it might be that he sent the message to the Duke, he sware faintly, "By the passion of God, no!" But being farther charged by the said Duke and Marquis with the matter, he, perceiving that they had some knowledge of it, finally confessed that he did warn the Duke of the premises by Stanhope, but not the Duchess.

'And afterwards, when Hampton, one of the clerks of the Council, was sent unto him to write all the whole matter, he would in a manner have gone from all again, and, in especial, from the last, saying, he did not will Stanhope to warn the Duke, but only told it to Stanhope. Whereupon the said Duke of Northumberland and the Marquis were eftsoons sent to him again, in the company of the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of Pembroke; at which time he did, by circumstances, confess the whole premises, saving the sending of Stanhope to the Duke; but, nevertheless, he said that he declared it to Stanhope, to the intent he should warn the Duke of it; but in no wise he would confess again that he sent him.'—'NORTHUMBERLAND,' 'J. BEDFORD,' 'WM. NORTH-'AMPTON,' 'PEMBROKE.'—Vol. ii. p. 43.

The period between the death of Somerset and that of the youthful sovereign was, in fact, the reign of Northumberland. He assumed a sort of regal state; acquired immense wealth by grants of the crown lands; travelled about with a train too great to be accommodated in any friend's house, (ii. 111;) and ruled that same council whom he had taught to revolt against the assumption of superiority by Somerset, in such manner that his tyranny over them passed into a proverb, (ii. 345.) His violence of disposition is strikingly exemplified by two facts, amongst many, in these volumes; one, his conduct towards the Chief-Justice, who refused to prepare Edward VI.'s settlement of the Crown—'He burst into the council-room, pale and trembling with anger, and, amongst other outrageous talk, called the Chief-Justice 'traitor,' and swore that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel,' (ii. 167)—the other, Cecil's emphatical expression in his submission to Queen Mary—'I did refuse to sub-'scribe the book, when none of the Council did refuse; in what

'peril I refer it to be considered by them who knew the Duke.'* (ii. 192.) This period was principally occupied in the conception and gradual development of the plot for diverting the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey. Mr Tytler details the circumstances, and produces some new documents which illustrate the characters of the principal actors; but without throwing much new light upon the facts. His comments are occasionally rather hasty; and those upon the conduct of Cecil are more than needfully severe. We doubt whether the documents yet published tell the whole truth respecting that distinguished man. If they do, the future Lord Burghley, although apparently conscious that to do an act of gross injustice was not the way to advance the interests of Protestantism, showed no heroism in defence of his principles. Still the hard words which Mr Tytler has applied to his conduct are overstrained, (ii. 206.) The details will not bear abridgement.

The documents during the reign of Mary are full of interesting anecdotes. The best of them are extracts from the despatches of Simon Renard, the Emperor's ambassador in England in 1553 and 1554; a transcript of which, procured by the late Record-Commission, during their searches on the Continent for papers relating to English history, is now lodged in the State Paper Office. Renard was a man of a bitter spirit, a good hater of heretics, and his statements ought not therefore to be indiscriminately relied upon; but a few extracts from Mr Tytler's translations will exhibit the nature, and prove the value of his despatches better than any description. The following is his account of the arrival of Elizabeth in London, when arrested on suspicion of being cognisant of Wyatt's rebellion:—

'The Lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great assemblage of the servants of the Queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. Her countenance was pale; her look proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful; an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt. Mary declined seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a quarter of her palace from which neither she nor her servants could go out without passing through the guards. Of her suite, only two gentlemen, six ladies, and four servants, are permitted to wait on her; the rest of her train being lodged in the city of London.

* This word stands in the original 'knew,' and not 'know,' as printed by Mr Tytler. The difference of tense is important, as it proves that the paper was not written until after the death of Northumberland.

'The Queen is advised to send her to the Tower, since she is accused by Wyatt, named in the letters of the French ambassador, suspected by her own councillors, and it is certain that the enterprise was undertaken in her favour. And assuredly, sire, if now that the occasion offers, they do not punish her and Courtenay, the Queen will never be secure.'*—Vol. ii. 310, 311.

Renard was present at the ratification by Mary of her marriage-contract with Philip.

'On the following Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Earl of Pembroke and the Admiral came to bring us to the Queen and her Council; here, in a chamber where was the blessed host, the ratifications of her Majesty and his Highness were delivered, and the oaths taken by both the one party and the other; but before this the Queen fell on her knees, and called God to witness that this marriage was not in her the result of any carnal affection; that it did not originate in ambition, or any motive except the good of her kingdom and the repose and tranquillity of her subjects; that, in truth, her single intention in all she did, was to prove faithful to the marriage and oath which she had already made to the crown; expressing this with so much grace, that those who stood round were in tears. . . . . After this her Majesty, as she had already done, dropped upon her knees, and requested us to join our prayers with hers, that God would be pleased to give her his grace to fulfill the treaty to which she had sworn, and that He would make the marriage fortunate. Upon which the Count Egmont presented to her the ring which your Majesty has sent, and which she showed to all the company; and, assuredly, sire, the jewel is a precious one, and well worth looking at. After this we took our leave, first enquiring whether her Majesty had any commands for his Highness; to whom she begged to send her most affectionate regards, begging us to assure him that, for her part, as long as she lived, she would, by all dutiful obedience, endeavour to vie with him in mutual love and good offices. She added, that, *as his Highness had not yet written to her*, she deferred writing to him till he began the correspondence.'—Vol. ii. 326–328.

The following contains some new particulars relating to Elizabeth's committal to the Tower, and the composition of the indignant letter of remonstrance which she addressed to Mary upon that occasion. The letter itself is printed in Sir Henry Ellis's Second Series of 'Original Letters.' (ii. 254.)

'It was only because no one could be found upon whom to impose the task of guarding the Lady Elizabeth, that they resolved she should be sent to the Tower on Saturday last, by the Thames, and not through

* These despatches have hitherto been known only through the medium of Griffet's *Eclaircissemens sur l'Histoire de Marie, Reine d'Angleterre.* He made use of a transcript in the Public Library at Besançon. The originals are at Brussels.

the streets. This, however, did not take place on that day, and the reason was, that, at the hour when the tide served, she besought an interview with the Queen, affirming that this [her being sent to the Tower] was not done with her knowledge, but solely by the anger of the Chancellor. If she was denied to see the Queen, she wished to be permitted to write a letter to her; this was allowed, and when she was writing, the hour of the tide, which alone would have served for her passage below the bridge, elapsed, and they were obliged to wait till yesterday.

'The Queen was much incensed with her Council for this, and told them plainly that they were not travelling in the right path; *that they dared not have done such a thing in her father's lifetime, and she wished he were alive again, were it but for a month!*'—Vol. ii. 342–3.

Mary appears to have been well satisfied with her reception by her first Parliament, or anxious to make it appear that she was so. The following is dated 6th May 1554:—

'This morning the Queen sent me word by Basset that the Parliament finished yesterday, much to the contentment of the Estates, the reputation of her Majesty, and the satisfaction of all; that the ancient penalties against heretics were assented to by all the Peers; that it was reported publicly and expressly; that they considered heresy as having been extirpated as well as punished—the same Basset adding, on his own part, that never did Parliament end with a better grace; that when the Queen made her speech, she was interrupted five or six times by cries of "God save the Queen!" and that the most part wept at the eloquence and goodness of her Highness; that she has every hope that God will restore matters to tranquillity; that the Peers especially have spoken with her, and promised all obedience; and that I ought to dismiss all fear and suspicion from my mind. . . . . Paget (the Queen added in her message) had repented of having behaved himself so ill in her service; but that it was impossible she could ever rely on him, or resume her good opinion of his constancy.'—Vol. ii. 388-390.

The last sentence relates to the disputes in the Council, which were far from appeased by Paget's submission; for three weeks afterwards the Ambassador writes thus:—

'The parties which divide the Council are so many, and their disputes so public, they are so banded the one against the other, that they forget the service of the Queen to think of their private passions and quarrels. Nothing is done but what the Queen expressly orders: Paget, with the heretics, is leagued against the Chancellor and the Catholics; the Queen has information that he and his party are arming themselves; and, if they could be beforehand, that they would make the Chancellor prisoner, who, with the knowledge of her Majesty, is also arming with his adherents. Gardiner, meanwhile, counsels the Queen to leave this city with all speed, and to clap the Earl of Arundel and Paget in the Tower, as they have private information that he (the Earl) is fortifying a castle of his near the sea-shore. They hear, also,

that he is raising horse without the leave of the Queen ; and that from day to day soldiers, by four and five at a time, come into London, whilst Paget does all he can to estrange several noblemen from their affection to the Queen.

'I learn, moreover, that strange words are uttered about the coming of the Alcaldé, and we have information by our spies that a great revolt is brewing; so that, sire, it is impossible that these parties can be appeased without great trouble; and, if such is the case, it is better that we should have it before the coming of his Highness than after.

'The inconstancy of the people here is incredible, and equally so their power of inspiring confidence when they wish to deceive you. It is the subject of religion, debated in the last Parliament, which is the cause of these troubles; and the Queen is reduced to such a state of perplexity, that she knows not what advice to adopt, understanding well that all is done in favour of the Lady Elizabeth. They have removed Courtenay from the Tower, and taken him to a castle in the north. Your Majesty may well believe in what danger the Queen is, so long as both are alive; and when Paget, in whom she has so much confided, has so far forgot himself, and proceeded to such an extreme, that, to revenge himself of the Chancellor, he professes himself a heretic, and neglects the service of her Highness.'—Vol. ii. 398-401.

Our extracts have sufficiently exemplified the historical value of the documents in Mr Tytler's work, and proved its importance as a collection of materials for English history. All enquirers respecting the two reigns to which it relates, will do well to consult it; and we shall be glad to find that he is encouraged to continue his researches, at any rate through the reigns of Elizabeth and James. They are fruitful in unpublished materials, which his industry and intelligence could not fail to turn to good account.

ART. VI.—1. *Eloge Historique de James Watt. Par* M. ARAGO. *Lû à la Séance Publique de l'Académie des Sciences du* 8 *Decembre* 1834. *Annuaire pour l'An* 1839.

2.—*Life of James Watt. By* M. ARAGO, *Perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Sciences.* 8vo. Third Edition. Edinburgh: 1839.

3.—*Historical Eloge of James Watt. By* M. ARAGO, *Perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Sciences. Translated from the French, with additional Notes and an Appendix, by* JAMES PATRICK MUIRHEAD, Esq. A.M., *of Baliol College, Oxford, Advocate.* 8vo. London: 1839.

WERE we to inscribe on two separate tablets the distinguished names which adorn the history of our intellectual and social progress, it might be a matter of national controversy who should take the precedence on the one; but there would be no hesitation in determining who should be placed at the head of the other. England, and France, and Italy, and Germany, might contend about their Newtons, their Laplaces, their Descartes', their Galileos, and their Keplers; but Europe and America would simultaneously pronounce the name of Watt as the most illustrious of the benefactors, whose inventive genius has administered to the luxuries and wants of mankind.

Nor was this enviable pre-eminence the result of any brilliant conception, or of any felicitous creation of the mind, to which the name of invention or discovery could be distinctively applied. Mr Watt was the improver, not the inventor of the Steam-Engine. He found the crazy machines of Savery and Newcomen labouring and creaking at our mine-heads, and occupying the same rank as prime movers with the wind-mill and the water-wheel; and by *a succession of inventions and discoveries*, deduced from the most profound chemical knowledge, and applied by the most exquisite mechanical skill, he brought the steam-engine to such a degree of perfection as to stamp it the most precious gift which man ever bequeathed to his race.

Whether this wonder of mechanism is presented to us in the form of a model, with the feeble power of an infant's arm, or as a gigantic machine, wielding the strength of a whole squadron of horse, the elegance of its form, the harmony of its movements, and the ingenuity of its details, never fail to command our admiration. But the sentiment thus excited is not very different from that with which we view a piece of exquisite clockwork, or a machine of great power; whether it is driven by wind, or

water, or animal exertion. It is only when we see the steam-engine in its *applications*, and recognise *its capacity of adaptation to all the mechanical arts*, that we can form a just idea of its value, and rightly appreciate the debt of gratitude which it should inspire.

In employing wind and water as the first movers of machinery, they are available only in particular localities, where the wind blows or the water falls; and in serene weather, or in dry seasons, the powers on which we rely altogether fail us. The steam-engine, on the contrary, serves us at all times and in all places. We can erect it on the arid heath, on the loftiest ridge, at the bottom of the deepest mine, or in the heart of the most crowded city; and when it has performed its functions in any of these localities, we can send it elsewhere on another errand.

But while the steam-engine thus surpasses all other prime movers as a *stationary power*, it rises infinitely above them all as *an organ of locomotive force*. On a level surface, or even a gentle acclivity, it outstrips the antelope in its speed, and it propels, with almost equal velocity, *a hundred loaded waggons*, or carries along with it the whole rank and file of a regiment.

But it is on the boundless ocean—

> 'Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
> Deep-heaving'——

that its triumph is most complete; and, were we to replace the gods of antiquity by modern sages, James Watt would be our Neptune, the column of vapour his trident, and the steam-ship his throne and his footstool. And yet the sceptre thus wielded over the deep is but a bucketful of its own waters, whose elastic breath defies tide and tempest,—thus contracting the aqueous dimensions of the globe, wafting to the remotest shores the truths of reason and inspiration, and hastening that era of peace when the philosopher and the savage shall be united in the same brotherhood of faith and charity.

The history of inventions which have produced results like these, and of the individuals to whom society owes them, must ever excite a deep interest throughout every class of the community. To gratify a curiosity so laudable, volumes have been written on the history of the steam-engine; and the records of ancient and modern times have been ransacked for the earliest traces either of a toy or of a machine in which the impulse or the elastic pressure of steam had been employed. Facts the most frivolous and insignificant have thus been treasured by national partiality as the basis of serious claims to the invention of the steam-engine! Hero of Alexandria, for example, produced a rotatory motion by the reaction of steam issuing from an aperture.

About A. D. 997, Gerbert sounded the pipes of the organ at Rheims by a current of steam in place of air. Previous to 1629, Brancas, an Italian architect, drove a wheel by directing a current of steam upon its vanes; and before 1653, *Jack of Hilton*, a brazen figure, performing the part of an æolipile, was used to blow the fire (and no doubt also to *consume the smoke*) with a current of steam from his mouth! The elastic force of steam, too, was not unknown to the ancients, who attributed earthquakes to the sudden conversion of water into vapour. In 1605, Florence Rivault, preceptor to Louis XIII., discovered that a bombshell, enclosing water, exploded when brought to a high temperature; and in 1615, Solomon De Caus, who, though generally resident in England, seems to have been a native of Dieppe, carried the idea suggested by this experiment still farther, by proposing to insert a tube in the bombshell, and to raise the water enclosed in the tube by the pressure of its own steam. The Marquis of Worcester proposed a machine similar to that of De Caus; but it is a matter of doubt whether he or De Caus ever constructed the apparatus which they contrived.

In these rude experiments and speculations we may have recognised the *ovarium*, but we have neither seen the egg nor the *germ* of the steam-engine. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, however, its embryo form may be detected in the albuminous mass; and henceforth the organs of life and motion are gradually developed. Denis Papin, a Frenchman by birth, but an Englishman by a better tie, proposed, so early as 1690, *to raise a piston, fitted into a cylinder, by the elastic force of steam*, and then to condense the steam by withdrawing the fire with which it had been generated, in order that the pressure of the atmosphere might force the piston to the bottom of the cylinder. That this *proposal* involves the general idea of a modern steam-engine, both in its form and principle of action, cannot be doubted; but notwithstanding this admission, and with every anxiety to throw off the incubus of national prepossessions, we cannot award to the French physician the high merit which M. Arago has so skilfully claimed for him. When we first hear of the upright cylinder—its nicely fitted piston—the introduction of the steam beneath it—the subsequent rise of the piston—the condensation of the steam, and the consequent descent of the piston in the cylinder—we are misled by a succession of words and ideas before we have formed a just estimate of their *historical* meaning. But when we recollect that Otto Guericke had, previous to 1672, used an upright cylinder with a packed piston and piston rod; and that he actually raised heavy weights with this apparatus, by means of the pres-

sure of the atmosphere rendered effective by the extraction of the air beneath the piston, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that the apparatus of Papin is the apparatus of Otto Guericke; in which he substituted the elastic force of steam, and its subsequent condensation, in place of the exhaustion of the air beneath the piston. But as the elastic force of steam was not a new invention, Papin can claim no other merit than that which belongs to the *idea* of forming a vacuum, by condensing the steam after it had elevated the piston;—an *idea*, too, which he carried into effect with so little ingenuity, that we are led to view the whole proposal as a speculation on which its author placed but little value.*

The *true inventor* of the steam-engine was Captain Savery.† The first steam-engine that was ever made was made under his direction. The first steam-engine that ever performed really useful work, performed it at his command. Previous to 1691, he had not only carried into effect the crude ideas of De Caus and extended those of the Marquis of Worcester, but he constructed a real steam-engine, in which the pressure of the atmosphere, and the elasticity of the steam, acted in succession as moving powers. We owe to him, also, the two great improvements of generating the steam in a separate vessel; and of condensing it in the cylinder by the injection of a jet of cold water. One of Savery's engines was exhibited to King William III. at Hampton Court, and also to the Royal Society, and to the leading proprietors of English mines; and such was its excel-

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* We regret that we cannot view the labours of Papin so favourably as M. Arago has done. We admit that he made a *real step* in the march of invention; but this step has been amply acknowledged by *three* English authors, namely, Stuart, Farey, and the author of the article *Steam-Engine* in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia—the last two of which have given Papin's own drawing descriptive of his contrivance. In these views we have the support of Mr Muirhead, the very intelligent translator of M. Arago's Memoir.

† 'Une autre preuve que cette machine a pris sa naissance en Angleterre, et qu'elle l'importe sur tout ce que a été tenté en France et en Allemagne à cette occasion, c'est que toutes les machines à feu qu'on a construites ailleurs que dans la Grande Bretagne ont été executées par des Anglois.'—Belidor, *Architecture Hydraulique.* Tom. ii. p. 211, § 1281. M. Gensanne, too, a French inventor, describes an apparatus of his own as an improvement on a machine 'which, he remarks, every 'one knows was invented by M. Savery, and executed on a great scale 'in London and in other parts of England.'—*Machines approuvées par 'l'Académie*, tom. vii. p. 201.

lence, that Mr Farey justly declares, 'that it was nearly as perfect 'in its contrivance as the same kind of engine has ever been made 'since that time.'

The proposal of Papin, to introduce the steam beneath the piston of a cylinder, seems to have excited little attention. Even he himself abandoned it for other principles of construction; but though it thus remained in abeyance for many years, it was destined to reappear in a new and a better form. In 1705, Thomas Newcomen and John Cawley, of Dartmouth, took out a patent for a new steam-engine, in which steam, generated in a boiler beneath an upright cylinder, was employed to raise the piston of the cylinder, and thus to give motion to one end of a large beam moving upon a fulcrum. When the piston reached the top of the cylinder, the expanded steam, with which the cylinder was filled, was condensed by a jet of water descending from a cistern above the beam—the water from the condensed steam, and that which condensed it, passing downwards by a pipe into another cistern. A vacuum being thus created in the cylinder, the piston descended by the pressure of the atmosphere. Various improvements were made upon this engine by Newcomen, Beighton, Desaguliers, Rigley, and Smeaton; but it remained nearly half a century without any essential improvement, till Mr Watt was led to give it that new form and that permanent character which it now bears.

Exactly one hundred years ago, the celebrated French engineer Mons. Belidor pronounced the steam-engine of Newcomen to be 'the most wonderful of all machines.' Had he seen the engines of Watt, in all their elegance of construction, and in all their fertility of application, his astonishment and admiration would have been increased; but he could not have added to the beautiful description which he has given of them. 'Behold,' says Belidor, 'the most wonderful of all machines! Its mechanism 'resembles that of animals. Heat is the principle of its motion. 'It produces in its different tubes a circulation like that of blood 'in the veins, having valves which open and shut on purpose. 'It feeds itself. It frees itself from its food at regulated times, 'and it derives from its own labours every thing that is necessary 'for its subsistence.'*

From this brief chronicle of the steam-engine, our readers will be able to follow with a deeper interest the condensed narrative which we shall now proceed to give of the life and inventions of Mr Watt. That the Memoirs of so distinguished an individual,

* *Architect. Hydraul.*, tom. ii. p. 324, § 1323.

and an authenticated account of the great services he performed to his country, should have been so long withheld from the public, has been a subject of frequent complaint, and a source of serious disappointment to his friends. Nor have these feelings been wholly subdued by the publication of his Memoirs twenty years after his death, in a foreign land, and by the delineation of his character by a stranger, necessarily unacquainted with the institutions under which his mind was trained and his powers developed—with the friends by whose counsel and in whose society his aspirations were fostered and matured—and with those local and national peculiarities, by whose form and pressure our physical as well as our intellectual character is moulded. His grateful countrymen, and his attached friends, would doubtless have hung with a more intense interest over the events of his life, had they been delineated by one who had watched him in the domestic sanctuary, and enlivened the same social board, and shared the same duties of the magistrate and the citizen, and humbled himself at the same altar, and breathed the same national enthusiasm.

It may be urged as an apology, and it is certainly true, that the life of Newton was first published in France, from the eloquent pen of Fontenelle, the secretary of the Academy of Sciences, and from authentic details communicated by his nephew Mr Conduit. But this took place in the very year after his death, and was considered only as an introduction to a more extended biography. The practical effect, however, of this injudicious measure, was to gratify the curiosity of the hour, and to prevent the distinguished contemporaries of Newton from undertaking a detailed account of the life and discoveries of their master.

We have not made these remarks with the view of disparaging the admirable Memoir of Mr Watt, which we owe to M. Arago. We know of no other foreigner who could have done such ample justice to the memory of our countryman—who could have urged with such force of eloquence the claims of his genius—or who could have touched with so delicate a hand the sensitive chords of personal and national feeling. In every part of his interesting Memoir, we are struck with the varied learning and profound knowledge which it displays—with the force and beauty of its composition—with the ardour which it breathes throughout for the moral and political advancement of our species—and above all, with that noble admiration of intellectual pre-eminence, and that powerful assertion of the rights of genius, which is indigenous in the breast of the patriot and the sage. As a people, we have

reason to be proud of the willing tribute which M. Arago pays to our national greatness; and as the countrymen and friends of Mr Watt, we cannot fail to cherish a warmer sentiment for his interesting history of his scientific labours, and his affectionate appreciation of his moral worth.

James Watt, whose inventions and discoveries we are about to describe, was born at Greenock on the 19th of January 1736. Owing to his extremely delicate constitution, he received the elements of his education from his parents, though he occasionally attended the parochial school. At the early age of six years, he was occasionally found stretched on the floor, delineating with chalk the lines of a geometrical problem. At other times he was occupied in making and repairing toys; and before he had reached his seventeenth year, he amused his companions with the wonders of the electrical machine, and instructed himself by making experiments on the steam of a tea kettle. In seeking health on the banks of Loch Lomond, and among the picturesque mountains which surround it, the attention of our young invalid was directed to the plants and minerals which lay in his path; and to the poetry and superstitions of the Highlanders among whom he sojourned; and when ill health or the inclemency of the seasons drove him back to his paternal roof, he stored his mind with the wonders of physics, chemistry, and medicine. In the nineteenth year of his age he went to London, to place himself under a mathematical instrument maker of the name of Morgan; and after acquiring the knowledge of his profession which a year's instruction could afford him, he returned to Glasgow in 1757, with the intention of commencing business as a mathematical instrument maker. Our young artist, however, had not acquired the privileges of a burgess; and the Incorporation of Trades, in conformity with their rules, prohibited him from establishing a shop within the limits of the Burgh. The University of Glasgow thus became the sanctuary of Mr Watt; and, having found for him a shop within its walls, they employed him in fitting up the instruments in the Macfarlane Observatory, and honoured him with the title of their mathematical instrument maker. In this hallowed retreat, the exile from the burgh was patronised by Adam Smith, Joseph Black, and Robert Simson—names immortal in the scientific annals of Scotland; and he was frequently visited by John Robison, then a student at college, whose name is as indissolubly connected with the future renown of his friend, as it ever will be with the glory of his country.

Among the numerous subjects of science and of art which were discussed in this little academy, that of the steam-engine did not escape their notice; and Mr Watt himself assures us, 'that 'his attention was first directed to steam-engines in 1759, by

'Dr Robison,' who had thrown out the idea of applying them to wheel-carriages, and to other purposes. This scheme was not matured, in consequence of its author being invited to St Petersburg; but the proposal left its impression on Mr Watt's mind; and he was led by it, about the year 1761 or 1762, not only to make some experiments on the power of steam, but to invent and construct, on a small scale, a new steam-engine, driven by the expansive power of steam, which, after performing its work, escaped into the atmosphere. This model was constructed by fixing in a Papin's digester a syringe with a solid piston, and a cock for admitting and shutting off the steam at pleasure. When the cock was opened, the steam, rushing from the digester, raised the piston loaded with fifteen pounds. The communication with the atmosphere was then opened, the steam made its escape, and the weight descended. The danger, however, of bursting the boiler, the difficulty of making the joints tight, and the loss of a great part of the power of the steam, in consequence of the vacuum being formed to assist the descent of the piston, induced Mr Watt to relinquish the idea of constructing an engine on this principle; but such was the value he attached to it, that he described it in his patent of 1769, and also in his patent of 1784; where he explains a method of applying it to the moving of wheel-carriages, which was the result of Dr Robison's conversation with him on the construction of locomotive steam-carriages; and though this is the first and perhaps the most interesting chapter in the history of Mr Watt's inventions,* yet neither M. Arago, nor any of his commentators, have taken the slightest notice of it, but, omitting it altogether, have ascribed the origin of Mr Watt's discoveries to another incident, which we shall now proceed to narrate.†

Among the apparatus belonging to the Natural Philosophy Class at Glasgow, was a small model of Newcomen's steam-engine, which would not work satisfactorily. Dr Anderson, the Professor, sent it to Mr Watt to be repaired, and from his skilful treatment it was made to perform its annual reciprocations in the class-room. At this epoch, Mr Watt derived his knowledge principally from Desaguliers, and partly from Belidor; and he informs us that 'he set about repairing the model *as a mere* '*mechanician.*' When it was repaired, however, and set to work, he was surprised to find that its boiler, though apparently large enough, could not supply it with steam. It soon occurred to Mr

* Dr Robison has committed the same mistake in his Preface to Dr Black's Lectures. See Vol. i. p. xliii.

† See Dr Robison's Works, Vol. ii. p. 117.

Watt that this was partly caused by the little cylinder exposing a greater surface, in proportion to its contents for condensing the steam, than the cylinders of larger engines; and partly by the cylinder being made of brass, which was a better conductor of heat than the cast-iron cylinders of larger engines, which were generally lined with a stony crust. The *first* of these evils he corrected by shortening the column of water in the pump, which enabled the boiler to supply the cylinder with steam, and made the model work regularly; and, with the view of finding the means of correcting the second, he constructed a small engine, with a cylinder six inches in diameter, and twelve inches stroke, made of wood soaked in linseed oil, and baked to dryness. Mr Watt made many experiments with this engine; but he found that the wooden cylinder was not likely to prove durable, and that the steam condensed in filling it, still exceeded the proportion of that required for larger engines. He now attempted to produce a more perfect vacuum by throwing in more injection water; but finding that this caused a disproportionate waste of steam, he ascribed this result to the fact recently discovered by Dr Cullen, that water and other liquids boiled in vacuo at temperatures below 100° Fahr.; from which he inferred that, at greater heats, the water in the cylinder would produce a steam which would resist the pressure of the atmosphere.

In order to ascertain the amount of this resistance, Mr Watt began a series of experiments for determining the temperatures at which water boils under different pressures, greater than that of the atmosphere; or, in other words, the elasticity of steam at various temperatures. The general result afforded by this enquiry was, that *when the temperatures increased in an arithmetical ratio, the elasticities followed some geometrical ratio;* and, projecting his results, he obtained a curve which gave him the particular ratio, 'near enough for his purpose.' It appeared also, from these experiments, that any approximation to a vacuum could be obtained only by condensing the steam with a large quantity of injection water, and thus cooling down the cylinder to such a degree, that it required quantities of steam to heat it again out of proportion to the power gained by the more perfect vacuum. As Dr Desaguliers, in employing the experiments of Beighton, had obviously formed a very mistaken estimate of the bulk of steam yielded by a given quantity of water, Mr Watt set himself to obtain a more correct result; and after several simple and ingenious experiments, repeated at various times, he found that water was expanded 1800 times by its conversion into steam of the temperature of boiling water—a result which, from practical experience, he regards as rather erring in defect.

Mr Watt was now desirous of ascertaining the quantity of steam used in every stroke of his experimental engine; and with this view he constructed a boiler which showed, by inspection, the quantity of water evaporated in a given time. In this way, by counting the number of strokes which corresponded with the evaporation of a given quantity of water, he found, that in every stroke of the engine several times the full of the cylinder was used. In these experiments, made in the summer of 1764, he was astonished at the quantity of water required for condensation, and at the great heat it had acquired; and in this way he was led to the experimental result, 'that water converted into steam can heat 'about *six* times its own weight of well water to 212°, or till it 'can condense no more steam.' Struck with this remarkable fact, and not knowing its cause, he mentioned it to his friend Dr Black, who then explained to him, for the first time, his *theory of latent heat*, which he had taught some time before.

With these facts before him, Mr Watt soon perceived that, in order to economize steam, *two* things were necessary: first, to keep the cylinder as hot as the steam which entered it; and secondly, to cool down to 100° or lower, the water from the condensed steam, and the injection water itself. In considering the means of accomplishing these objects, it occurred to Mr Watt, in 1765, that if a communication were opened between a cylinder full of steam, and *another vessel* exhausted of air, the steam would, in virtue of its elasticity, rush into the empty vessel, and continue to rush into it till an equilibrium was established. But if this vessel were kept cool by injections, or otherwise, more and more steam from the cylinder would continue to enter it till the whole was condensed. Both the vessels being thus exhausted, it now became a matter of grave consideration how to remove the injection water, the condensed steam, and the air that had entered. *Two* methods presented themselves to Mr Watt, the most efficacious of which, and the one always used, was to extract both the air and the water by a pump. In this manner did Mr Watt complete his invention of a *separate condenser*.

Before the steam-engine, however, was complete, other inventions were still necessary. The piston in Newcomen's engine was kept tight by water; but this fluid was inapplicable to the new engine; as the introduction of any of it into a partially exhausted and heated cylinder, would not only prevent the production of a vacuum by its ebullition, but would also cool the cylinder by evaporation during the descent of the piston. Mr Watt, therefore, was led to substitute tallow or other grease for lubricating and tightening the piston. As the air which entered the open mouth of the cylinder, if made to act upon the piston,

would cool the cylinder, and condense some of the steam when it was again filled, Mr Watt proposed to put an air-tight cover on the cylinder, having a hole and *stuffing-box* for the piston to slide through, and also for admitting steam above the piston in place of air. The next and the last improvement which Mr Watt now made, was to prevent the cylinder from cooling, by means of an external cylinder containing steam, and surrounded by another of wood, or of a more slowly conducting substance.

No sooner were these inventions completed in Mr Watt's mind, than he commenced an experimental verification of them; and by means of a large model, with an outer cylinder and wooden case, which he fitted up at the Delft House in Glasgow, he verified all his expectations, and thus placed the advantages of the invention beyond the reach of doubt.

Having thus completed his grand improvements on the steam-engine, Mr Watt now looked for the reward of his labours. He applied, in 1768, for letters-patent for *Methods of lessening the consumption of steam, and consequently of fuel in fire-engines.* The patent passed the Seals on the 5th of January 1769, and the specification was enrolled in Chancery in the month of April following. In this specification he describes *three* grand inventions—*first*, the steam-engine, with all the improvements which we have mentioned; *secondly*, the high-pressure engine, which works with the expansive power of steam alone; and *thirdly*, the rotatory steam-engine, in which the steam is admitted into hollow rings or circular channels, mounted on horizontal axles, like the wheels of a water-wheel.

We have not been able to learn what was the expense of Mr Watt's patent, nor how he was enabled to raise so large a sum as he must have required. It appears, however, that in 1767, two years nearly before his specification was enrolled, he was occupied in surveying the Forth and Clyde Canal, and in other public works; though Dr Cleland informs us that in 1768 he gave up his shop in Glasgow, and next year, that is in 1769, commenced business as a civil engineer. It is not improbable that he devoted himself to these more lucrative occupations with the view of defraying the heavy expenses of his patent, and of enabling him to bring his great inventions successfully before the public. Notwithstanding this confusion of dates, which M. Arago's Memoir does not help us to clear up, there seems to be little doubt that Mr Watt was actually employed as a civil engineer of the Carron Ironworks, by Dr Roebuck, who at that time rented the extensive coal and salt-works at Kinneil, belonging to the Duke of Hamilton. Dr Roebuck thus became acquainted with Mr Watt's improvements, and proposed to enter into a copartnership with

him, and to obtain a patent for a steam-engine, on the principle of the model fitted up at the Delft House. With the view of realizing this project, Mr Watt constructed an engine on a larger scale, with an eighteen inch cylinder, and fitted it up in the offices of Kinneil-House. At its very first trial this engine exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and we have no doubt that Dr Roebuck then entered into partnership with Mr Watt, and, on condition of receiving *two-thirds* (a most exorbitant share) of his patent, paid at least his share of its expenses. The unexpected difficulties which occurred in working and raising the Duke of Hamilton's coal, compelled Dr Roebuck to give up his refining work at Birmingham, his vitriol work at Prestonpans, and his ironworks at Carron; and the share which he held in Mr Watt's patent thus became the property of his creditors. In giving an account of these transactions, which M. Arago does very briefly, he has been led, by imperfect information, to represent Mr Watt as giving up his invention, and changing his profession, in consequence of Dr Roebuck's failure.

'Two years,' says M. Arago, 'pass away, and he hardly makes any progress in attempting the trial of it on a great scale. His friends at last put him in communication with Dr Roebuck, the original founder of the vast ironwork at Carron, which is still so famous. The engineer and the projector go into partnership; Watt gives up to his partner a two-thirds share of his patent; an engine is constructed on the new principles; it fulfills all the expectations which the theory had led them to entertain; its success is complete. But while this was going on, Dr Roebuck met with some reverses of fortune; Watt's invention would most undoubtedly have repaired them; all that was required was to go and borrow some money; but our fellow-member found it wiser to give up his invention and change his course.'—MR MUIRHEAD'S *Translation*, p. 69.

M. Arago then goes on to detail the occupation of Mr Watt as a civil engineer from 1767 to 1773, describing him as 'bearing 'without a murmur the ignorant neglect of capitalists, and for 'eight years bending his lofty genius to a succession of plans 'and minute levellings,' until his indifference is overcome, early in 1774, by the aid of his friends, who brought him into connexion with Mr Boulton of Soho.

Now, it was in consequence of Mr Watt's change of profession in 1767, that he was employed by Dr Roebuck; and the delay which took place in bringing his patent into practical use, was not from want of money, and still less from indifference, but solely from *two-thirds* of his patent right belonging to Dr Roebuck's creditors. The delay in settling such complicated transactions as those of a sequestrated estate, necessarily put a stop to

Mr Watt's progress, however ardent he might have been; and it was by the transference of Dr Roebuck's share of the patent to Mr Boulton in 1773, brought about no doubt by Dr Small and others, that this celebrated partnership was constituted.

It is impossible, however, to read these details, without sharing in the feeling of sorrow so eloquently expressed by M. Arago, 'that the inventor of an engine destined to be the beginning of a new era in the annals of the world, should for eight years have bent his lofty genius to a succession of plans and minute levellings, and the most wearisome estimates of excavations and embankments, and courses of masonry.' And may we not add our astonishment, that civilized states should still persist in shackling, by bad laws, the freedom of inventive genius, and in withholding from the best benefactors of their country, those inalienable rights which are conceded to every other member of the community? Had Mr Watt been able to communicate his inventions to the public, and yet retain the same right to them that an author does to the productions of his pen; or could he have confided in the generosity of the state, and surrendered his inventions to public use, our country might have stood even higher than she does in the scale of nations.

But there is another lesson which we are called upon to read to the supporters of our patent laws, and the despoilers of our patentees, even when they have purchased by massive gold an impression in wax of the Great Seal of England. Had the pirates of Mr Watt's day—the Cornish miners, and their obsequious engineers, had the sagacity to see the infinite value of Mr Watt's inventions, when they were embalmed in parchment in the Rolls' Chapel, or when they lay in abeyance among the bankrupt affairs of Dr Roebuck—when the proprietor of *two-thirds* of the golden mine had not a farthing to defend it, and the holder of the other *third* no funds at his command, and probably no heart for an encounter with the quibbles of the law, we should have seen the beautiful inventions we have described—the *disjecta membra ingenii*—lying mangled and disfigured at the mine-beds of Cornwall, as miserable appendages of Newcomen's engines. Improved perhaps in their minor details, as Mr Watt might have improved them, no court of law could have recognised their identity with the original. The subsequent inventions of Mr Watt would never have been heard of, and his great mind would have sunk amid the 'levellings and excavations of the Carron and Caledonian Canals.'

It was fortunate, however, for Mr Watt and the world, that things were otherwise arranged. Two-thirds of the property of the new steam-engine was one of the items in the *cessio bonorum*

of Dr Roebuck! and it fell, as we have already stated, into the hands of Mr Boulton. In this manner commenced that renowned copartnery, which will form so memorable an epoch in the history of civilisation. But great toils were yet to be endured before its advantages were to be secured to the inventor; and great difficulties to be overcome before the public were to enjoy its benefits. The imagination of the poet far outstripped the march of the inventor, in Darwin's celebrated prediction—

> '*Soon* shall thine arm, unconquer'd steam, afar
> Drag the slow barge, and drive the rapid car.'

At this eventful period of Mr Watt's life, and before the commencement of his copartnery, domestic affliction had laid its leaden hand upon his affectionate heart. On the 24th September 1773, while he was surveying the Caledonian Canal, Mrs Watt, (his cousin Miss Miller,) whom he had married in 1764, and by whom he had two sons and two daughters, died in childbed of a still-born son. At this very time, however, Mr Boulton had purchased Dr Roebuck's share of the patent; and the impulse thus given to Mr Watt's mind, and the new demands made upon his intellectual efforts, were doubtless kind auxiliaries in assuaging the deep grief which had overwhelmed him.

In 1774, when the copartnery commenced, the patent had only *nine* years to run, and they were not prepared either to issue a license or to sell an engine. Mr Watt had transported to Soho the experimental engine erected at Kinneil; and he successively altered and improved it till he had brought it to a high degree of perfection. The great difficulty which he experienced was to make the piston steam-tight; and he soon saw that his cylinder must be bored perfectly cylindrical, and highly polished. The invention of Mr Watt, indeed, went beyond the state of the mechanical arts in England; and it was not till 1775 that John Wilkinson, the celebrated iron-master, introduced the new method of boring large iron cylinders. In 1776, however, this enterprising individual had supplied Messrs Watt and Boulton with several cylinders almost without error; and in one of these, fifty inches in diameter, erected at Tipton in Staffordshire, the error did not exceed *the thickness of an old shilling* in any part of it.

Having now overcome the principal difficulty which beset them, Messrs Watt and Boulton petitioned Parliament for an extension of their patent; and after a violent opposition, sustained by the most powerful talents in the House of Commons, an Act was passed in 1775, vesting in Mr Watt the property of his engines for *twenty-five* years.

'It seemed to me,' says M. Arago, 'matter of curious enquiry to discover to what class in society belonged the parliamentary personages of whom Watt here speaks, and who refused to the man of genius a small portion of the riches which he was about to create. Judge of my astonishment, when I found at their head the celebrated Burke! Was it, then, possible that a man might be devoted to deep study, might be learned and upright, might, in an eminent degree, possess those oratorical powers which move and carry away political assemblies, and yet might at times be destitute of the most ordinary good sense? But now, since the wise and important changes which Lord Brougham has introduced into the law relating to patents, [the extension of patent rights,] inventors will no longer suffer those numerous annoyances to which Mr Watt was exposed,' (p. 76.)

Mr Muirhead has attempted to find an apology for Burke's conduct, in the fact that he had no hostility to Mr Watt or his patent, but opposed it simply from a sense of duty to the real or supposed claims of a constituent! But such a motive is, in our opinion, the greatest aggravation of his error. Had he opposed the patent, as some weak men oppose all patents—as a monopoly injurious to the interests of the community—we might have respected the motive, however much we must have bewailed the ignorance which it disclosed; but he did it to gratify the illegal cupidity of one man, and that man, too, a fraction of the constituency that made him a legislator. Let our statesmen beware of following such an example. Even at the present period, questions are in agitation, in which the intellectual rights of mankind are deeply staked; and it is time that public men should know that they are the guardians of interests higher than those of their immediate political supporters; and that, should they yield to the pressure of vulgar clamour, or the impulse of selfish ambition, posterity will impannel a stern jury for their trial, and fix upon their names a stigma which no temporary political measures ever can efface. With what different feelings will they cherish the names of Brougham and Talfourd, the champions of the mechanical and the literary genius of their country!

Looking back as we do to these events, and acquainted as we are with the result of Mr Watt's labours, we naturally suppose that his anxious mind would henceforth be relieved of its burden; and would be left to pursue the grand purposes of its being, with wealth and immortality full in the distance. This, however, was not the case. Even in April 1776, he complains in a letter to Dr Black of having been 'tormented with exceeding bad health, resulting from the operation of an anxious mind, *the natural consequence of staking every thing on the cast*

'*of a die;* for in that light,' he adds, 'I look upon every project 'that has not received the sanction of repeated success.'

It seems to have been the original design of Messrs Watt and Boulton to derive no profits from the manufacture of steam-engines, but solely from the saving of fuel. Their principle of dealing with their employers was most honourable and correct, and could not fail to inspire all their customers with confidence in their integrity.

'We do not aim (says Mr Boulton, in a communication to the Carron Company in 1776) at profits in engine building, but shall take our profits out of the savings of fuel; so that if we save nothing we shall take nothing. The terms are as follows: We will make all the necessary plans, sections, and elevations for the building, and for the engine, with its appurtenances, specifying all cast and forged iron-work, and every other particular relative to the engine. We will give all necessary directions to your workmen, which they must implicitly obey. We will execute for a stipulated price the valves, and all other parts which may require exact execution at Soho; we will see that all the parts are put together and set to work properly; we will keep our own work in repair for one year, and we have no other objection to seven years than the inconvenience of the distance. We will guarantee that the engine so constructed, shall raise at least 20,000 cubic feet of water 24 feet high, with every hundred-weight of coals burnt.

'When all this is done, a fair and candid comparison shall be made between it and your own engine, or any other engine in Scotland, from which comparison the amount of savings in fuel shall be estimated, and that amount being divided into three parts, we shall be entitled to one of those parts, in recompense for our patent license, our drawings, &c. &c. Our own share of savings shall be estimated in money, according to the value of your coals delivered under the boiler; and you shall annually pay us that sum during twenty-five years, from the day you begin to work, provided you continue the use of the engine so long.* And in case you sell the engine, or remove it to any other place, you must previously give us notice, for we shall then be entitled to our third of the savings of fuel, according to the value of coals at such new place. This is a necessary condition, otherwise the engine which we make for you at an expense of £2000 may be sold in Cornwall for £10,000.

'Such parts of the engine as we execute at Soho, we will be paid for at a fair price. I conclude, from all the observations I have had an opportunity of making, that our engines are four times better than the common engines. In boilers, which are a very expensive article, the saving will be in proportion to the savings of coal. If you compare our engine with the common engine, (not in size but in power,) you will find

* This payment was to be redeemable, in the option of their employer, at *ten* years' purchase.—*Mr Watt's Letter to Smeaton in* 1778.

the original expense of erecting one to be nearly the same.'—(FAREY *on the Steam-Engine*, p. 327.)

With such favourable terms, it was not to be wondered at that many new engines should be ordered. Between 1776 and 1780, several very large ones were sent to the mines of Cornwall. One was erected in the mine of Niort in Brittany; and previous to 1770, they were employed in the water-works of London and Paris. The great advantage of contracting with Messrs Watt and Boulton now became apparent to every adventurer. In the Chace water mine alone, the proprietors purchased the inventor's right to *one-third* of the annual savings for L.2500 per annum; thus proving that in their own opinion these savings amounted to L.7500 annually.

The proprietors of mines, however, and others who had expended capital in the erection of Newcomen's engines, were naturally unwilling to abandon them as useless; and were therefore anxious to apply Mr Watt's inventions as far as they could be done to existing engines. With these views, the proprietors of the Wheal virgin mines in Cornwall, and others, applied for licenses to use his *separate condenser*; and in 1778, Mr Smeaton made a similar application. To this request of Mr Smeaton, Mr Watt returned the following answer:—

'I have several times considered the propriety of the application of my condensers to common engines, and have made experiments with that view upon an engine at Soho, but have never found such results as could induce me to try it any where else; and in consequence, we refused to make that application to the Wheal virgin engines in Cornwall, and some others. Our reasons were, that though it might have enabled them to have gone deeper with their present engines, yet the savings of fuel would not have been great, in comparison to the complete machine. By adding condensers to engines that were not in good order, an engine would have been introduced into that country (which we look upon as our richest mine) in an unfavourable point of view, and without such profits as would have been satisfactory either to us or to the adventurer; and if we had granted the use of condensers to one, we must have done so to all, and thereby have curtailed our profit, and perhaps injured our reputation.'

In these details, our readers will perceive the elements of that discontent which afterwards broke out even amongst those who had derived the greatest benefit from Mr Watt's inventions. Mr Watt, however, made the best preparation for this outbreak, by taking out fresh patents for the new improvements, which deep thought and practical experience had suggested to him. In 1781 he took out his *second* patent for obtaining a circular motion from

the reciprocating movement of his engine; but the method was not brought into use till he had taken out his *third* patent in 1782, 'for certain new improvements upon steam-engines, and certain 'new pieces of mechanism applicable to the same.' In this patent he specifies his invention of the *expansive steam-engine*, with six different contrivances for equalizing its power;—the *double-power steam-engine*, in which the steam is alternately made to press on each side of the piston, while a vacuum is formed on the other; and a *new compound engine*, consisting of *two* or *more* distinct engines made to work together. In this patent, the beam works with toothed racks and sectors, in place of chains; and the fly-wheel, and the fine contrivance of the sun and planet wheels, appear for the first time in the drawings of the steam-engine.

Perfect as this beautiful machine now was, defects still appeared to the penetrating eye of its inventor; and, in 1784, Mr Watt took out a *fourth* patent for certain new improvements upon it, and also for a *portable steam-engine, and machinery for moving wheel-carriages*. One of these inventions was the *parallel motion*, by which the piston-rod was made to move in a perpendicular, or other straight lines, so as to *push* or *pull* the extremity of the beam. This ingenious contrivance, together with the *fly-wheel*, and the *governor*, for regulating the admission of the steam by the variation of the centrifugal force of two revolving balls, has rendered the steam-engine as efficacious for carrying on the most minute and elegant manufactures, as it had previously been for developing the most gigantic power.

The steam-engine was now complete; and the time had come when Mr Watt's intellectual property was to be seized, and his genius set at nought. With the instinctive sagacity of beasts of prey, his enemies had lain in ambush till he had poured forth the full exuberance of his genius; the proprietors of English mines, and the manufacturers of abortive engines, marshalled their combined strength against his rights; the ingenuity of lawyers was levelled against his specifications; the skill of pirates was called forth to vary and disfigure his inventions; and the Cornish miners, who had grown rich by the labours of their benefactor, refused to pay the stipulated tribute. 'We have been so beset 'with plagiaries,' says Mr Watt in a letter to Dr Black, 'that 'if I had not a very good memory of my doing it, their impu-'dent assertions would lead me to doubt whether I was the author 'of any improvements on the steam-engine; and the ill-will of 'those we had most essentially served, whether such improve-'ments have not been highly prejudicial to the commonwealth.' It is interesting to see the view taken of this question by a fo-

reigner of M. Arago's talents, himself a legislator, and free from all the prejudices with which the subject has been surrounded in our own country.

'Men,' says he, 'readily make up their minds to pay the rent of a house or farm; this good-will deserts them when there is question of an *Idea*, whatever advantage, whatever profit it may have been the means of procuring. *Ideas!* But are they not conceived without fatigue, and without trouble? And who can show that, in process of time, they could not have occurred to any one? In such matters, a few days, or months, or years of priority, should give no claim to any exclusive privilege.

'To these opinions, which surely in this place I am not called upon to characterise as they deserve, custom had all but given the force of settled law. It seemed as if men of science, *inventors of ideas*, were to be for ever debarred from material enjoyments: it was natural that their history should continue to resemble a legend of martyrs.

'Whatever may be thought of these reflections, it is certain that the Cornish miners paid every year with greater reluctance the rent which was due to the Soho engineers. They took advantage of the first difficulties thrown in the way by pirates of the invention, to pretend that they were freed from all their obligations.'—P. 78.

When M. Arago wrote these lines, he was probably not aware that it was a settled point in the Patent Law of England, that a patent could not be given for an *idea* or a *principle*, however valuable and fertile it might be, and however susceptible of being embodied in a machine, or in a process of manufacture capable of producing a new combination. The necessity of such a provision in the statute is obvious. Without it, *ideas* and *principles* would have lain in state in the Patent-Office for fourteen years, without any practical application; and real and valuable inventions embodying such principles, and giving them their only value, would have been put down by the penalties of the law.

In 1792, the discontents of the Cornish miners broke out into open rebellion. An engineer, of the name of Bull, had constructed and sold divers engines in imitation of Mr Watt's, and the consequence of this was an action at law on the part of Messrs Watt and Boulton. The cause was tried before the Chief-Justice at the sittings after Trinity term, in 1793; and on this occasion General Roy, Sir William Herschel, Dr Robison, Deluc, Rennie, and many other eminent individuals, hastened to supply that kind of evidence which the law required. They established the great value, as well as the originality, of Mr Watt's inventions, and the still more essential point in a patent trial, 'that a mechanic could, by the specification, construct 'fire-engines on the principle invented by Mr Watt.' The Lord

Chief-Justice gave no opinion, but reserved a case for the decision of the Court, which embodied the preceding admissions, and left it to be decided—

1. Whether Mr Watt's patent was good in law, and was continued by the Act of Parliament 1775? and,

2. Whether the specification, in point of law, supported the patent?

The case was tried on the 16th May 1797, before the four Judges of the Common Pleas, Heath, Buller, Rooke, and Eyre, when the last two were for supporting Mr Watt's patent, and the first two for setting it aside. The Judges Heath and Buller founded their opinions on the statute, and dismissed wholly the irrelevant considerations of *merit* and *value*. Mr Watt received a patent for '*using, exercising*, and *vending his new-invented* '*method of lessening the consumption of steam and fuel in fire-* '*engines;*' and, in his specification, he described certain *principles* as '*his method* of lessening that consumption.' He gave no drawing, no model, no description either of an improved engine, or of any of its parts. The Act of Parliament of 1775, was still more vague than the specification. In reciting the patent, the Act stated that the *patent* was granted for making and vending *certain engines;* and it gave him for twenty-five years the privilege of constructing and vending the *said engines.* The Act, therefore, gave Mr Watt *nothing;* because it gave him only the right of making the engines described in his patent, whereas that patent described no engine at all.

The Court being equally divided, the parties put the case upon the record in the form of a Special Verdict, to be tried as a case in error in the Court of King's Bench. It was accordingly argued in 1798; and in 1799 it was directed by the Court to be *again* argued, because, as Lord Kenyon remarked, 'it involved 'some points of great novelty, nicety, and importance to the law.' Sergeant Le Blanc was counsel for Hornblower and Maberly, the plaintiffs in error, and Mr Rous for Messrs Watt and Boulton; and it was *unanimously* resolved that the invention was the subject of a patent, and the patentee's right valid. However much we rejoice at this result, as the friends of Mr Watt and of inventors of every rank, we must beg leave to express our conviction that the decision was ill-founded;—that the Judges strained the Statute of 21st James I. to its last and weakest fibre;—and that the Parliamentary grant, the high merits of Mr Watt, and the splendour and utility of his invention, were, what they should not have been, powerful auxiliaries against the pirates. We cannot, therefore, agree with M. Arago in the following opinion of our English Barristers;—

'That it is a singular feature in the history of the human mind, that some of the barristers—that barristers, to whom malice is wont to ascribe a luxuriant superfluity of words—*reproached* Watt, against whom a formidable array of them had been retained, *with having invented nothing but ideas.* This, I may just mention, brought upon them, in presence of the bench, the apostrophe of Mr Rous:—"Go, gentlemen, and approach this *intangible* substance, as you are pleased to call it—this pretended abstract idea,—you will be crushed like flies, and leave no trace of your existence."'—P. 82.

Now, it is not correct to say that the Barristers ever uttered such a reproach. They knew and acknowledged the ingenuity, and materiality, and power of Mr Watt's engines; but they maintained that his patent was taken out only for methods and principles. The concluding flourish of Mr Rous, too, has neither wit nor meaning. The *intangible substance* was not the engine of Mr Watt, nor even his separate condenser. It was his *method* and *principle* of separate condensation; and even if this apparatus, in which these principles were embodied, had, in its tangible form, been let loose upon the bar, it would scarcely have drenched the flies of the court, and still less would it have disturbed the equanimity of the Barristers. If the crushing power of a steam-engine were to be pled in aid of a patent, even Papin's might have incommoded the gentlemen of the long robe; and Newcomen's would certainly have flattened the roundest and lengthened the shortest of the enemies of *Ideas.*

But why is it that we, the friends of Mr Watt, and almost the worshippers of his genius, should avow this opinion of his patent right? It is that the Legislature of England, and the constituency which prompts them, may see the folly and injustice of our present Patent Laws; and the inefficiency of the Statute of 21st James I. as a protection to inventors. Had the Court of Common Pleas, yielding to the opinions of Judges Heath and Buller, found that the statute could not sustain a patent like Mr Watt's, exhibiting such genius—teeming with such advantages to the nation, and such benefit to mankind—so peculiarly marked by the honesty of its specification,—a declaratory act would doubtless have passed the Legislature, modifying the original statute;—at least in so far as it has been differently interpreted by distinguished Judges, and thus preventing, in future, conflicting decisions, and that mass of litigation, which, in ruining many unfortunate inventors, has injured the best interests of the country. We are well aware of the perplexities which beset this subject when viewed in all its generalities, and of the difficulty of reconciling all interests in a new and comprehensive measure of reform. But no consideration save the most selfish,

and no interest but the most ignoble, can be urged against an explanatory statute, and against the abolition of all taxes upon inventive genius.*

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* Among the distinguished individuals whose names will be for ever associated with that of Mr Watt, we cannot pass by the name of Mr Murdock, a native of Scotland, who has died, at the advanced age of eighty-five, since this article was written. Mr Watt himself informs us, (Robison's Works, vol. ii. p. 141, note,) that he was the author of many ingenious improvements in the manufacture of his steam-engines, and in the machines and tools used for that purpose; and that he made a great improvement on the regulators and valves, in which they are raised and depressed by means of machinery fixed on the outside, in place of the inside. Mr Watt also mentions, with great praise, Mr Murdock's excellent sliding-valve for the admission of steam into, and its exit from the cylinder, for which he took out a patent in 1799.

Mr Murdock has also the merit of having made the first *locomotive engine* ever applied to the drawing of carriages, and upon the principle of that described in the fourth article of Mr Watt's first specification. This engine was made in 1787, and persons are still alive who saw it in that year drive a small waggon round a room at his house at Redruth in Cornwall, where he then resided. Among those who saw it was Richard Trevithick, who, in 1802, took out a patent for a similar invention.

Mr Murdock was born in 1754 at Bellow Mill, near Old Cumnock, in Ayrshire. His father was an ingenious millwright and miller; and under his roof his son acquired his taste for mechanics. In 1777, at the age of twenty-three, he offered his services to Messrs Watt and Boulton, who appointed him to superintend the erection, and take the general charge, of their engines in Cornwall. In 1798, however, he returned permanently to Soho, where he superintended the erection of the machinery at Soho Foundery, and sometimes the erection of steam-engines at a distance. Mr Murdock's claims, however, to the gratitude of the world, rest on his 'Application of the Gas from Coal to Economical Purposes.' He began his experiments in 1792; and having perfected his apparatus, he lighted up with gas the front of Mr Boulton's manufactory at Soho, on the occasion of the peace of Amiens in 1802. He afterwards lighted up some cotton-mills at Manchester, beginning with that of Messrs Phillips and Lee; and, having published an account of his invention in the Philosophical Transactions for 1808, the Royal Society awarded to him the Rumford gold and silver medals. On that occasion, the writer of this article met him at the dinner of the Royal Society Club, along with the illustrious Cavendish. The noisy hilarity of the engineer was strongly contrasted with the modesty and aristocratic reserve of the philosopher. Mr Murdock died in November 1839, and was buried in Handsworth Church, near his friend Mr Watt. A fine portrait of him was presented by Mr James Watt to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

A mind so richly endowed as Mr Watt's, was not likely to have exhausted its powers on one subject. So early as 1765 he invented a very ingenious perspective machine, a great number of which were ordered at the time and sent to different parts of the world. In 1772, he constructed two new and ingenious micrometers for measuring distances which could not be ascertained by the chain; and in 1781, he invented a machine for drying linen by steam, which was put into operation by his relative Mr Macgregor. Mr Watt communicated descriptions and drawings of these inventions in 1816, to Sir David Brewster, to be published in any way he thought proper, and they have accordingly appeared in different works.

Among the other inventions of Mr Watt, we may enumerate his copying press for letters, for which he took out a patent in 1780; his flexible water pipe for carrying water across the Clyde; a plan of constructing Lighthouses of iron, which he mentioned to ourselves; and a method of heating apartments by steam, which was invented and first applied by himself.

Towards the close of Mr Watt's life, his mind was occupied with the construction of a machine for copying and reducing all kinds of sculpture and statuary.* When he was about to secure his right to this valuable invention, he found that a gentleman in his neighbourhood had made considerable progress in constructing a similar machine. The writer of this article has seen at Heathfield some beautiful specimens of the work executed by Mr Watt's machine; and on that occasion he stated to us, with that candour which so eminently characterised him, that he believed his rival in the invention had no knowledge whatever of his invention.

In the enumeration of Mr Watt's intellectual labours we must now draw our readers' attention to one of great interest, which has already given rise to a painful controversy, calling forth national feelings, and involving the personal honour and the scientific reputation of distinguished individuals. We approach this subject with a deep sense of the delicacy which surrounds it, and with an anxiety which we are sure our readers will share, to allay feelings which should never have been roused, and to reconcile interests which in the equipoise of justice are not at variance. The controversy to which we allude, relates to the *history of the discovery of the composition of water*. The Chemists of our own and of foreign countries, had, by acts of omission, deprived Mr

* The only one of these instruments we know of, made by Mr Watt's own hands, is in the possession of Sir David Brewster, to whom Mr Watt presented it.

Watt of an honour to which he is clearly entitled; and it therefore became the duty of his biographer to collect and sift the evidence which relates to it. Having been present at the sitting of the Institute at which M. Arago's *Eloge* was read, Lord Brougham was induced to investigate the subject, on his return to England; and the result of his enquiry has been published in the appendix to M. Arago's work. In following the track of two such distinguished individuals, we shall be careful to separate facts from opinions; and, when we have ascertained what was actually done by Watt and Cavendish, we must leave it to Chemists to determine the relative value of their labours, and to award the honours which are respectively due them. The *first* is a question of *Evidence*, which admits of little controversy—the *second* a question of *Opinion*, which will occasion much. M. Arago thus opens the question of evidence:—

'In the physical world there are some volcanoes which have made only a single eruption. In like manner, in the intellectual world also, there are men, who, after a flash of genius, disappear entirely from the history of science. Such a one was Warltire, of whom the chronological order of dates leads me to mention a truly remarkable experiment. In the beginning of the year 1781, this philosopher imagined that an electric spark could not pass through certain gaseous mixtures, without causing some change in them. An idea so novel, which was not then suggested by any analogy, and of which such happy use has since been made, ought, I think, to have led all the historiographers of science not willingly to omit to make honourable mention of its author. Warltire was deceived as to the real nature of the changes which the electrical matter produced. Luckily for himself, he foresaw that they would be attended by an explosion; and it was for this reason that he first made the experiment with a metal vessel, in which he had enclosed some common air and hydrogen gas.

'Cavendish very soon repeated Warltire's experiment. The certain date of his labours (by *certain* I mean any date which can be proved by an authentic record—a memoir read to a society, or a printed paper) is not later than the month of April 1783; since Priestley quotes Cavendish's observations in a paper dated the 21st of the month. From this quotation we gain only one other piece of information; viz. that Cavendish had obtained water by exploding a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen; a result already established by Warltire.

'In his paper of the month of April 1783, Priestley added one important circumstance to those which followed from the experiments of his predecessor: he proved that the weight of the water which is deposited on the sides of the vessel, at the instant of the explosion of the oxygen and hydrogen, is the sum of the weights of these two gases.'—P. 99.

And in a succeeding page M. Arago adds,—

'Priestley records in detail, and as his own, experiments which prove that the water produced by the combustion of a mixture of hydrogen

and oxygen, has a weight exactly equal to that of the two gases which are burned. Cavendish some time after claims this result for himself, and insinuates [openly declares] that he had communicated it verbally to the chemist at Birmingham.'—P. 104.

In this extract there are several inaccuracies of very considerable importance. All the praise given by M. Arago to Warltire belongs to Priestley; and this mistake, owing to his having overlooked the last paragraph of Warltire's letter, has been, to a certain extent, corrected both by Mr James Watt and Mr Muirhead. The first real step towards the discovery of the composition of water was made by Dr Priestley,* previous to the 17th April, the date of Warltire's letter. In firing a mixture of *common and inflammable air* in glass vessels, he observed, 'that 'though the glass was clean and dry before, yet after firing the 'air *it became dewy, and was lined with a sooty substance.* Warltire made the same experiment, and thus describes it:—'I have 'fired air† in *glass* vessels *since I saw you venture to do it*, and 'have observed, *as you did*, that though the glass was clean and 'dry before, yet after firing the air it became dewy, and was 'lined with a sooty substance.'—(*Letter to Priestley*, Obs. on Air, vol. ii. p. 396.)

The other experiment mentioned by M. Arago was made by Warltire in order to determine whether heat was heavy or not. He had been deterred from making it from a dread of the danger attending it; but he was encouraged by Priestley, who had previously made it with a different view, in the more dangerous form of using a glass vessel; so that Priestley has all the merit of originating this class of experiments with the electric spark. The passage which we have quoted from M. Arago contains several other inaccuracies.

1. Warltire *did not* obtain moisture by exploding a mixture of *oxygen and hydrogen.* He and Dr Priestley exploded *common air* and *hydrogen.*

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* It is a curious fact, which deserves to be well weighed by those who are deciding on the claims of rival discoverers, that this *first step* in the discovery of the composition of water, is ascribed by Mr Watt himself to Cavendish. (See *Phil. Trans.* 1784, p. 332, note.) Cavendish, committing the same oversight as M. Arago, ascribes it to Warltire, (*Phil. Trans.* 1784, p. 126,) 'while Warltire ascribes it to Priestley. (Priestley's *Experiments and Observations on Air*, vol. ii. p. *396. It is quite certain, that all of them made the experiment in succession, *first* Priestley, then Warltire, and then Cavendish.

† That this was a mixture of common and inflammable air, is distinctly stated in Priestley's Annotations on Warltire's letter.

2. The experiment of Cavendish, quoted by Priestley in his paper, (Phil. Trans. 1793, pp. 426, 434,) was not the explosion of *oxygen and hydrogen*, but 'the RE-*conversion* of air into water, 'by decomposing it in conjunction with inflammable air.'

3. The experiment of Cavendish differs essentially from that of Priestley and Warltire, in so far as the *water was pure*, without sooty matter.

4. Priestley, in his repetition of Cavendish's experiment, found no sooty matter; thus confirming the result obtained by his predecessor.

5. Priestley did not prove that the weight of the water was *equal*, or *exactly equal*, to the weight of the two gases. His experiment was rude, and made with a balance not so nice as he could wish for the purpose. The two weights were equal, as *nearly as he could judge*, and *as nearly as he could pretend* to weigh so small a matter. He considered *the result such as to afford a strong presumption that the air was reconverted into water*. Priestley's experiment was made with *oxygen* and *hydrogen*; and it is probable that Cavendish's was also made with these two gases; but we cannot infer this from the words used by Priestley.

The Experiments on Air, by Mr Cavendish, were read to the Royal Society on the 15th January 1784; and in this elaborate Memoir he details the results of several careful experiments, in which he fired various mixtures of *common air and hydrogen*; and also different mixtures of *oxygen and hydrogen*, the oxygen being obtained from various bodies; and by these experiments he proved beyond doubt, and states it as his opinion, (see p. 140,) that water was composed of oxygen and hydrogen.

Such is, we believe, an accurate account, founded on the original printed documents, of the different *experiments* made in England previous to the 15th January 1784, relative to the composition of water. Let us now see what had been previously done by Mr Watt.

Previous to the 21st April 1783, at a time when Dr Priestley had made some experiments which 'favoured the idea of the con-'version of water into air,' he communicated the experiment to Mr Watt; who was thus led to form a '*hypothesis* on the pro-'bable causes of the production of water from the deflagration of a 'mixture of dephlogisticated and inflammable airs in some of Dr 'Priestley's experiments.' Mr Watt communicated his hypothesis in a letter addressed to this active chemist, dated April 26, 1783, with a request that he would lay it before the Royal Society. Before, however, Dr Priestley had an opportunity of doing this, he found that the apparent conversion of water into air was not a *real transmutation*. Mr Watt, who had learned this

fact, thought it proper to *delay* the publication of his letter, that he might examine the subject more deliberately. But although Mr Watt's letter was thus lying in abeyance, so far as its reading to the Society was concerned, it had been shown by Dr Priestley (who received it in London) to several fellows of the Society, and delivered to Sir Joseph Banks for the purpose of being read. In this state of matters, Mr Watt received a letter from M. Deluc, giving him an account of experiments lately made at Paris on the same subject, with large quantities of these two kinds of air, (of oxygen and hydrogen;) by which, as Mr Watt says, 'the essential point seems to be clearly proved, that the deflagra-'tion or union of dephlogisticated and inflammable air by means 'of ignition, produces a quantity of water equal in weight to the 'airs.' Finding his hypothesis thus confirmed, Mr Watt requested his Letter to Dr Priestley to be read, which was done on the 22d April 1784. Now, Mr Watt must have received Deluc's letter, containing an account of the Parisian experiments, *before the 26th November* 1783, the date of the letter in which he mentions them. This letter, embodying almost *verbatim* his first letter to Dr Priestley, was read on the 29th April 1784, and contains his hypothesis, expressed in the following manner:—

'Are we not then authorized to conclude, that water is composed of dephlogisticated air and phlogiston, deprived of part of their latent or elementary heat; that dephlogisticated or pure air is composed of water deprived of its phlogiston, and united to elementary heat and light; and that the latter are contained in it in a latent state, so as not to be sensible to the thermometer or to the eye; and if light be only a modification of heat, or a circumstance attending it, or a component part of the inflammable air, then pure or dephlogisticated air is composed of water deprived of its phlogiston, and united to elementary heat?'—*Phil. Trans.* 1784, p. 333.

Having thus established, on the authority of printed documents, the priority of Mr Watt's hypothesis to the experiments and deductions of Cavendish, let us now see how far this decision is confirmed or unsettled by the evidence of individual statements.

Mr Cavendish admits the priority of Warltire's and Priestley's experiment, in which moisture was deposited, along with a sooty matter, in the glass globe; but he declares that in the summer of 1781, his experiments 'were mentioned by him to Dr 'Priestley, who in consequence of it made some experiments of 'the same kind.' 'During the last summer,' he adds, (in 1783,) 'a friend of mine (Sir Charles Blagden) gave some 'account of them to Lavoisier, as well as of the conclusion drawn 'from them, that dephlogisticated air is only water deprived of

'phlogiston.' This statement is confirmed, in so far as Lavoisier is concerned, by Blagden and Lavoisier himself. Lavoisier states, that Blagden was present at his experiments of the 24th June 1783; and informed him that Cavendish had already burned inflammable air in close vessels, and obtained a very perceptible quantity of water. Blagden affirms that he gave Lavoisier the additional information, that the weight of the water was precisely equal to the sum of the weights of the two gases.

None of these testimonies affect in the least the priority of Mr Watt's hypothesis. Cavendish does not say that he communicated any thing to Priestley in 1781, beside his experiment; and it is manifest, from Priestley's declaration in his paper of 1783, (p. 416,) that Mr Watt's idea of the conversion of water or steam into permanent air was *new to him*, and that he had acquired no such information from Cavendish. But not only does Priestley say that Watt's idea was new to him, he states also, that Mr Watt had been led to it 'by some appearances in the working of his steam-engines:' and hence there is reason to believe that Mr Watt had entertained this idea '*for many years*,' as he himself assures us—at all events so early as December 1782, as is proved by his unpublished letters.

It is not necessary that we should animadvert on the conduct of Mr Cavendish in omitting all notice of Mr Watt's hypothesis in his paper of 1784, as at first read to the Society. After Mr Watt's paper had been read, Mr Cavendish did insert with his own hand the following important reference to it:—'As Mr 'Watt, in a paper lately read before this Society, supposes 'water to consist of dephlogisticated air and phlogiston deprived 'of part of their latent heat, whereas I take no notice of the 'latter circumstance, it may be proper to mention in a few words 'the reason of this *apparent difference between us*.' Here, then, we have Cavendish's own testimony to the fact, that the difference between Mr Watt's hypothesis and his conclusion was only *apparent*.

Nor is it necessary to determine whether Cavendish or Sir Charles Blagden had seen the manuscript of Watt's first letter to Priestley; because it cannot be doubted that they had both seen Mr Watt's opinion of the composition of water in Priestley's paper of 1783.

We have not thought it necessary to say any thing of the claims of French Chemists to a share of the honour of discovering the composition of water. Cuvier informs us that Monge had made the same experiment, and drawn the same conclusion,

as Cavendish; and that he communicated them nearly about the same time to Lavoisier and Laplace;* and we are disposed to think with Lord Brougham, that Lavoisier was the 'first person who presented the new doctrine in its entire perfection and 'consistency.'

Having thus obtained for Mr Watt's *hypothesis* a decided priority—or, to use Lord Brougham's words, having shown that he was the first 'to reduce the theory of composition to writing'—we shall now consider the view which Mr Watt himself has taken of his own speculation. Mr Watt never pretended to have discovered the composition of water. In his letter to Deluc, 26th November 1783, he says,—

'I send you an account of the *hypothesis* I have *ventured* to form on the *probable causes* of the production of water, &c. I feel much *reluctance* to lay my *thoughts* on these subjects before the public, in their present *undigested* state, and without having been able to bring them to the test of such experiments as would *confirm* or *refute them;* and should therefore have delayed the publication of them until these experiments had been made, if you, sir, and some other of my philosophical friends had not thought them *as plausible* as any other *conjectures* which have been formed on the subject; and that, though they should not be verified by further experiments, or approved of by men of science in general, they may perhaps merit a discussion, and give rise to experiments which may throw light on so important a subject.'—*Phil. Trans.* 1784, p. 329.

In this passage, Mr Watt speaks of his *hypothesis* as a plausible conjecture, which might be refuted by subsequent experiments; and as he never wrote another word on the subject, nor made a single experiment after this paper was printed, how is it possible to identify this hypothesis with the discovery of the composition of water? The illustrious Dr Black thus views the hypothesis of his friend, and the labours of Cavendish and the French Chemists: †—'This idea of the nature of water was sug-'gested by Mr Watt, (Phil. Trans. 1784;) Mr Cavendish, how-'ever, was the first who gave it solid foundation and credibility, by 'his accurate examination of the consequences of setting fire to a 'mixture of hydrogen gas and oxygen gas in a vessel in which 'they were confined. M. Lavoisier and other French chemists, 'seeing the vast importance of this experiment in their system,

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* Recueil des Eloges Historiques, par M. Le Chev. Cuvier, Art. Cavendish. tom. ii. p. 87.

† Black's Lectures on Chemistry, edited by Dr Robison, vol. ii. 710.

'immediately repeated it, with much larger quantities of the materials, and with an excellent apparatus, and the most scrupulous accuracy. They added several other experiments, which concur to establish the opinion of the compounded nature of water.' *

In Lord Brougham's historical Note on the discovery of *the 'theory* of the composition of water,' he has been, generally speaking, cautious in characterising Mr Watt's hypothesis. He never once claims for Mr Watt the *discovery of the composition of water.* He always speaks of Mr Watt's *theory;* but in one or two places he applies the word *conclusions* to what was done by Watt and Cavendish. But Mr Watt's *conclusion* was a *hypothesis;* Mr Cavendish's an irresistible *physical truth.* Mr Watt *conjectured,* to use his own word, or *suggested,* to use Dr Black's, that water was composed of oxygen and hydrogen; but Cavendish proved by infallible experiments, that water consisted of oxygen and hydrogen, and therefore discovered its composition.

In M. Arago's able discussion of this question, he has, inadvertently no doubt, employed very different terms in characterising Mr Watt's hypothesis. The proposition with which he sets out is, that Mr Watt's name is *illustriously united* to the greatest *and most prolific invention of modern chemistry*—the composition of water; and, in our opinion, he amply establishes this proposition. But in conducting the argument, he applies the terms *hypothesis, theory,* and *discovery,* indiscriminately to Mr Watt's labours; and in some places he assigns him only *a share in the discovery,* and awards a considerable portion of the honour to Priestley. In this way the glory of having discovered the composition of water—that is, of having established it as a *physical truth*—is transferred in *small* shares to a joint-stock company, and *not one of these* is given to Mr Cavendish! Mr Watt himself speaks

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* Dr Robison was no doubt acquainted with Mr Watt's paper in the Philosophical Transactions, and with the hypothesis which it described. If he was not, the fact would be very strange and inexplicable. If he was, he did not consider it as anticipating the positive discovery, by direct experiment, of the composition of that element, afterwards made by Cavendish; for in the preface to Dr Black's Lectures, dedicated to Mr Watt himself, and said in that preface to be edited with his assistance, he makes the following statement:—'The Hon. Mr Cavendish has discovered that aquafortis consists of two kinds of air: of vital air, the support of life and of fire, and mephitic air, which extinguishes both. And he discovered that water, which, since the first dawn of natural philosophy has been considered as an element, is also composed of vital air, and of that air which sometimes takes fire in our coal-pits, and lays all waste by its explosion.'—*Preface,* p. lvii.

of 'his contempt for the modicum of reputation which would result 'from his own theory.' He felt a just indignation at the idea suggested by Deluc, of his not claiming the merit which belonged to his hypothesis; but we are sure that his astonishment would be equal to ours, were he to learn that that *hypothesis* had been made to supersede and cast into oblivion the grand experimental discovery of Cavendish. The great merits of these two great men are fortunately not in collision. Mr Watt will for ever enjoy the honour of that singular sagacity which presented to him the *hypothesis* of the composition of water; and Cavendish will never lose the glory which belongs to him, of having given that hypothesis, whether he was cognisant of it or not, the force and stability of truth.

Such is our opinion, deliberately and impartially formed. We have no doubt that we have pronounced the decision which time will sanction; and we appeal for the confirmation of it to the distinguished chemists of our own country.

We cannot conclude this part of our subject, without adverting to the discussion of it which emanated from the Chair of the British Association at Birmingham. We regret that such a meeting should have become the arena of a controversy involving feelings so deeply personal as well as national. Had the question been agitated in the Chemical section, where doubtful statements and rash opinions would have been subjected to the ordeal of rival discussion; and where the sagacity and learning of individual minds might have prepared the evidence for the verdict of the public, our objections would have been somewhat diminished; but emanating as the discussion did from the Chair of the President, the friends of Mr Watt were virtually silenced by official privilege; and injustice was done to his genius before crowds who knew and who loved him—within the walls of a city which his genius had enriched—within the very sound of those mighty establishments to which he had given life and being—and in sight of the hallowed fane where moulder his earthly remains.

Scotland will not soon forget the attempt which was lately made, by one of the Council of the British Association, to rob our illustrious countryman Dr Black of his grand discovery of latent heat;* and it is an unfortunate circumstance, that the President should have been specially requested by the same Council to draw up a discourse, in which another of our countrymen should have been deprived of an honour so justly due to him. The whole of the argument employed on this occasion rests upon the

* See this Journal, Vol. lxvi. p. 148.

assumption that *hydrogen* and *phlogiston* are not convertible terms; and hence it is concluded that Mr Watt's hypothesis does not describe the true composition of water. It might be a sufficient answer to this argument to say, that Mr Watt himself declared it to be his *perfect conviction* that inflammable air or hydrogen was the real phlogiston; and hence these three terms must be regarded as convertible in his writings; but we can go much farther, and prove that both Cavendish and Black considered Watt's hypothesis as indicating the true composition of water. Cavendish, as we have already seen, declares that the difference between Mr Watt's views and his own is only an apparent one. 'If there be any such thing,' he continues, 'as 'elementary heat, *what Mr Watt says is true.*'* Now, he afterwards adds, 'I have chosen to avoid *this form of speaking*, 'because I think it more likely that there is no such thing as 'elementary heat,' &c. Here, then, we have Cavendish's direct testimony to the fact, that the two doctrines differed only in appearance and form of expression.†

But while we thus differ in opinion with the learned and eloquent President in all that he says about Mr Watt's hypothesis, we heartily concur with him in all that he has said of Cavendish—in his opinion of his discoveries, and in his enthusiastic admiration of his genius. With the single exception of the omission of Mr Watt's name in the original MSS. of his Memoir on Air, (an omission, however, which he did in good time supply,) we consider the whole conduct of Cavendish, as well as that of Sir Charles Blagden, and the other functionaries of the Royal Society, to be without a stain; and we therefore sincerely regret that M. Arago should have cast even the shadow of an imputation upon an illustrious name, which will ever be embalmed in the affectionate recollections of his countrymen.

From these controversial details we must pass to the peaceful close of Mr Watt's life. After remaining some years a widower, he married Miss Macgregor, a lady of congenial mind, by whom he had two sons. About the year 1800, on the expiration of his patent, Mr Watt retired from business, and he continued to reside during the rest of his life on his property at Heathfield, near Soho, which he had acquired about 1790. His distinguished partner Mr Boulton, now upwards of seventy-one, also gave

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* Philosophical Transactions, 1784, vol. lxxiv. p. 140.

† The same Memoir proves that Mr Cavendish himself regarded *inflammable air* and *phlogiston* as the same thing. The conclusion communicated by Sir C. Blagden to Lavoisier was, 'that dephlogisticated air (oxygen) was only water deprived of its phlogiston.'—*Id. Id.* p. 134.

up business; and the great establishment at Soho was carried on with renewed ardour by the present Mr Boulton and the Messrs Watts, all of them distinguished by talents and acquirements of no ordinary kind. In the year 1804, the serenity of Mr Watt's mind was disturbed by an event of the most afflicting kind. His youngest son Gregory, the issue of his second marriage, who had given high promise of literary as well as scientific eminence, was seized with a pulmonary affection, which carried him off at the age of twenty-seven. Mr Watt bore this heavy loss with the feelings of a father and the resignation of a philosopher. The reed was bruised but not broken; and time and mental occupation, the usual anodynes of grief, added their soothing balm to the sure anticipations of the future.

In the year 1808, Mr Watt was elected a Corresponding Member of the Institute of France; and in 1814, the Academy of Sciences of the Institute nominated him one of its *eight* Foreign Associates.

In 1813, when Sir David Brewster was requested by Sir John Robison to superintend the publication of the works of his distinguished father, he was fortunate enough to prevail upon Mr Watt to undertake the revision of the Treatise on the Steam-Engine. Mr Watt began this irksome task about the middle of December 1813; and in announcing its completion, in June 1814, he says: 'It has been a heavy job to me; and had I been 'aware how much so it would have proved, I doubt whether I 'should have undertaken it.'—Owing to causes over which neither Mr Watt nor the editor had any control, his treatise was not completed till 1817; but this was not without its advantages; for it gave Mr Watt ample leisure to correct and enlarge his work, and thus to render it a most valuable contribution to science.

Mr Watt had scarcely completed this treatise when he was seized with erysipelas in his legs and arms; but after an illness of nearly two months he recovered his health; and during his visit to Scotland, (the same year, 1817,) the last which he ever paid, 'his friends,' as Lord Jeffrey remarks, 'never saw him more 'full of intellectual vigour and colloquial animation—never more 'delightful or instructive.' This state of corporeal and mental vigour continued throughout the year 1818. In the next year, however, his health began to decline; and in the early part of the summer dangerous symptoms alarmed his physician and his friends. Mr Watt was sensible that this was his last illness. Resigned himself, he endeavoured to make others resigned. He pointed out to his son the topics of consolation which should occupy his mind; and expressing his sincere gratitude to Providence for the length of days he had enjoyed, for his exemption from most of

the infirmities of age, and for the serenity and cheerfulness which marked the close of his life, he expired at Heathfield on the 25th of August 1819.

Mr Watt was interred in the parish church of Handsworth; and over his tomb his affectionate son erected an elegant Gothic chapel, in the centre of which is placed a beautiful marble bust by Sir Francis Chantry. Another marble bust, by the same distinguished artist, has been placed in one of the halls of the College of Glasgow; and a colossal bronze statue, by the same artist, resting on a granite pedestal, has been erected in that city. The most useful memorial of Mr Watt, however, is a handsome building for a library, which the present Mr Watt has erected in the town of Greenock, at an expense of £3500; the inhabitants of that enterprising place having subscribed for a marble statue of their illustrious townsman, which was lately placed in the library, with an inscription from the pen of Lord Jeffrey.

Notwithstanding these displays of filial and municipal affection, a national memorial was still wanting to testify a nation's gratitude. Early in 1824, a proposition was made to Government to sanction a Parliamentary vote for the erection of a monument to Mr Watt. Reasons were instantly started against this proposal: there were no precedents for it! and the Government might be embarrassed with similar claims! Mr Watt's inventions, it might have been replied, had no precedent; and similar claims should have been welcomed as a blessing to the nation. But the argument of the Government had as little foundation in truth as it had in feeling and in justice. Numerous monuments had been reared to naval and military men; and Lord Liverpool's Cabinet are committed to the opinion, that intellectual services to the country, however beneficial and freely given, sink into insignificance before the remunerated efforts of warlike skill. Among the wonders of the age to which we belong, posterity will record it as one of the greatest—and among the acts of responsible ministers, it will brand it as one of the meanest—that a nation deriving annually FIFTEEN MILLIONS STERLING from Mr Watt's inventions, in the saving of power alone, refused to erect a monument to his memory! The Sovereign, however, and his Premier, proffered their countenance to a public subscription; and a meeting was held in the metropolis in June 1824, at which many admirable orations were made on the genius and *national* services of Mr Watt. A large sum of money was thus obtained, and a colossal statue of Carrara marble, from the chisel of our English Phidias, graced and honoured the recesses of Westminster Abbey. And thus did a monument, reared by private admiration, occupy the pedestal on which should have rested the monumental gratitude of a nation.

In the eloquent conclusion of his *Eloge*, M. Arago has quoted Lord Liverpool and Mr Huskisson's high appreciation of the services which Mr Watt has rendered to his country and to mankind; and he contrasts that opinion with the conduct of the Government to which they belonged. But as there are topics which a foreigner could not have been expected to notice, we shall make a more ample selection from the expressed opinions of some of our most distinguished statesmen. 'His inventions,' says Lord Liverpool, 'have augmented incalculably 'the resources of his own country, and even of the whole 'world.' 'I have known in time of war,' he continues, 'when 'the fate of a campaign, *and possibly the fate of a war*, might depend upon getting a fleet out of port; contrary winds have 'prevailed for months, *and the whole objects of Government have* 'been thereby defeated. Such difficulties can now no longer 'exist. Let the wind blow from whatever quarter it may, you 'have the power and the means by the steam-engine *of applying* 'that force at the proper time and in the proper manner.' Mr Huskisson, in a powerful speech, represents Mr Watt as entitled to rank in the highest class of the benefactors of mankind. In enumerating the blessings which he has conferred upon our own country, Mr Huskisson states, that 'they have contributed not only to advance 'personal comfort and *public wealth*, by affording to *industrious* 'millions the facility of providing for their individual wants, *by* 'means which directly conduce to the general power and greatness 'of the state, but also to the general diffusion of a spirit of improvement, a thirst for instruction, and an emulation to apply 'it to purposes of practical utility, even in the humblest classes 'of the community. * * * Looking back, however, to the demands which were made upon the resources of this country 'during the late war, perhaps it is not too much to say, at least 'it is my opinion, *that these resources might have failed us* before 'that war was brought to a safe and glorious conclusion, but for 'the creations of Mr Watt, and of others *moving in the same* 'career, by whose discoveries those resources were so greatly 'multiplied and increased. It is perhaps not too much to say, 'that but for *the vast accession* thus imperceptibly made to the 'general wealth of this empire, we might have been driven to 'sue for peace, before, in the march and progress of events, Nelson had put forth the last energies of his naval genius at Trafalgar, or, at any rate, before Wellington had put the final seal to 'the security of Europe at Waterloo. If, therefore, we are now 'met to consider of placing a monument to the memory of Mr 'Watt beside the monuments of those who fell in the splendid 'victories of the last war, let it not be said that there is no con-

'nexion between the services of this modest and unobtrusive 'benefactor of his country, and the triumphs of the heroes which 'those monuments are destined to commemorate.' And Lord Brougham concludes his beautiful and eloquent speech on the merits of Mr Watt, with the following noble sentiment:—'If in 'old times the temples of false gods were appropriately filled 'with the images of men who had carried devastation over the 'face of the earth, surely our temples cannot be more worthily 'adorned than with the likenesses of those whose triumphs have 'been splendid indeed, but unattended by sorrow to any—who 'have achieved victories not for one country only, but to enlarge 'the power and increase the happiness of the whole human race.'

'Such,' says M. Arago, 'is a brief account of what was thought and said of Watt by the ministers of the crown, the statesmen, the philosophers, and the manufacturers, who could best appreciate his value. He was the creator of six or eight millions of labourers—of indefatigable and assiduous labourers, among whom the law will never have to suppress either combination or riot—of labourers working at wages of five centimes a-day. He it was, who, by his brilliant inventions, supplied England with the means of maintaining a deadly struggle on which her very existence as a nation depended. And what was done to honour, during his life, this new Archimedes, this benefactor of the whole human race, whose memory generations yet unborn will for ever bless?

'A peerage is in England the highest of dignities, the greatest of rewards; you naturally conclude that Watt was made a peer.

'It was never even proposed!

'To speak plainly, so much the worse for that peerage, which the name of Watt would have honoured. Well might I be amazed at such an omission on the part of a nation so justly proud of her great men. On my enquiring the cause of it, what think you was the reply? A dignity such as that of which you speak, is reserved for officers of the Army and Navy, for influential orators in the House of Commons, and for members of the aristocracy. "*It is not the custom.*" I am not inventing—those are the very words. "It is not the custom to grant it to scientific or literary men, to artists or to engineers!" I well knew that in the reign of Queen Anne it was not the custom; for Newton was not made an English peer. But after a century and a half of progress in science and philosophy; and since each one of us, in the short period of his life, has seen so many wandering kings, deserted, proscribed, supplanted on their thrones by soldiers without genealogy, and sons of their own swords, had I not some right to expect that men were no longer to be thus circumscribed; that, at least, no one would dare openly to say to them, like the code of the Pharoahs which altereth not, "however great your services, your virtues, and your knowledge may be, not one of you shall clear the limits of his caste;" that, in a word, an absurd custom (since custom it is) would no longer be suffered to disgrace the institutionsof a great nation?

'Let us reckon upon the future. A time will come when the science

of destruction shall bend before the arts of peace; when the genius which multiplies our powers—which creates new products—which diffuses comfort and happiness among the great mass of the people—shall occupy, in the general estimation of mankind, that rank which reason and common sense now assign to it.'—Pp. 147, 149.

We quote this eloquent passage, not with the intention of discussing its merits, or of recommending its sentiments to the adoption of our readers; but for the purpose of making known the views of foreigners respecting the national customs which it describes; and of exhibiting the noble enthusiasm of an illustrious Philosopher for the advancement of the order which he adorns. He who has witnessed, under the magnanimous despotism of Napoleon, the rewards and honours which were conferred on Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, and Berthollet, may be excused for his simplicity, in expecting that *our* Newtons and Watts would, in this great and free country, receive similar rewards. With all his knowledge of England, M. Arago has mistaken the character of her institutions. It is not on imperial thrones, and under royal diadems, that despotism exercises her most malignant influence against the intellectual advancement of the people. She works with a powerful but insidious under-current amid democratic institutions: among the oligarchies of rank and commercial wealth, she exerts a divided but not an enfeebled authority. Ever restless in her anxieties—ever agitated with false alarms—she is startled at noon, and haunted at midnight, with the spectres of knowledge and reform. Her imagination arms the schoolmaster with a dagger; and the banners of the Covenant appear to float over abolished Sees and Deaneries. She discovers a guillotine among the inventions which an unshackled patent right would encourage; in the cheap intercourse of minds, she beholds the instruments of conspiracy and combination; in the extension of manufacturing industry, she trembles before a visionary phalanx of Chartists; and in National Education, without Bishops and Presbyters as sentinels, she sees the triumph of Popery, the spread of infidelity, and the ruin of the Established Church!

In societies thus constituted, M. Arago could not expect to see a different sight from that which Solomon witnessed, when 'he *returned and saw under the sun that there was neither bread to* 'the wise, *nor riches to men of understanding, nor favour to men* 'of skill.' It is only under renovated institutions—under an educated people—and under wise and virtuous rulers, that we can expect that moral revolution, when '*wisdom shall cry out* 'and utter her voice in her chief places of concourse,' when '*she* 'shall find out the knowledge of worthy inventions,' and when '*the* 'remembrance of the wise shall be more than that of the fool for 'ever.'——

ART. VII.—1. *Speech of the Earl of Roden on moving for a Select Committee on Ireland. March* 21, 1839. (Mirror of Parliament, p. 1422.)

2. *Report of Select Committee on Crime in Ireland, with Evidence and Appendix.* 4 vols. folio: 1839.

IT may seem an humble task to contrast Lord Roden's promises with Lord Roden's performances. But it is less so than it seems, and it will not be an useless one. The noble lord's station amongst public men may not be high, but it is conspicuous; and he wields a power in one branch of the Legislature, which, combined with the fact of his being the champion and organ of Irish Orangeism, entitles his proceedings to considerable attention. The public assurances, too, which he rarely fails to give, that he is one who carries religion into the concerns of life—that he is in all things guided by its precepts and controlled by its sanctions—naturally invest his statements with a solemnity which would not attach to them, if they were considered the mere effusions of a political partisan. Moreover, the occasion to which we are alluding, furnished no excuse for hastiness or intemperance. He had deliberately chosen it himself; his attack had been long premeditated; his statements and charges had been carefully prepared; and it was but charity to believe that one, who warns his hearers that he is always speaking under a consciousness of the presence of the God of truth, would never have uttered the awful charges contained in his speech against individuals, and against large classes of his fellow countrymen, if he were not able fully to substantiate them. Besides all this, the question placed at issue by Lord Roden is that of the principles on which Ireland should be governed; and this is a question which becomes each year, almost each day, of more importance. The cry of 'Down with the Ca-'tholics!' is once more sent forth, and there is the old storm whistling in the wind in reply to it. But even those who do not object to persecution on principle, may well pause before they begin the momentous struggle, and ask, 'Can we 'afford it?' Wholesale persecution has always been an expensive amusement; and in Ireland it will now be far more so than ever. Those whom we persecute there have tried their strength, and know, by the experience of fifty years, that they can conquer with it, in spite of all the laws and armies which we can send against them. When, therefore, the Orange party in Ireland denounce the system of government which a liberal

Ministry has pursued—when they assert that it has led to unparalleled crimes, and to the complete disorganization of the country—and when, moreover, in calling for legislative interference to change it, they meet with ready assent from the House of Lords, it is surely a duty for all who would be guided by political prudence, and a sense of justice, dispassionately to consider the Evidence adduced in favour of these charges, and the arguments for a recurrence to Tory principles. To this work we shall now apply ourselves, conscious of the disadvantage under which we labour, in having only to deal with the tedious details of that very voluminous Evidence; yet deeply impressed with the importance of the result to the interests of England and Ireland, and to the cause of liberty, of justice, and of truth.

Lord Roden moved for and obtained a Committee of Enquiry into the State of Ireland, as to the Crime and Outrage which *had rendered* life and property insecure since 1835;—that is, since the commencement of Lord Normanby's Government. To vote before enquiry that it *had* been so rendered, and thus to prejudge the case as regards Lord Normanby, was not such a form of proceeding as might have been expected from the highest court of justice in the realm. It was upon the faith, however, we suppose, of the statements in Lord Roden's speech; and it is the question—how far that confidence was well placed, that we must now examine. Lord Roden asked for the Committee on four distinct grounds, which we will state as nearly as possible in his own words. *First*, that Ireland was plunged into a state of misery and distress through crime, which in his lifetime had been altogether unknown; or, as he expresses it in another part, that throughout the whole country life and property had never been so insecure, and the bonds and framework of society so entirely broken and destroyed, at any period since the Union. *Secondly*, that there existed throughout Ireland a systematic, organized, and secret conspiracy, having for its objects entire separation from England, and the annihilation of the Protestant faith; and further, that its members subjected to the greatest cruelties all persons, and especially peaceable farmers, who refused to support their *treasonable* objects. *Thirdly*, that it is chiefly owing to the violence of the Roman Catholic priesthood that Ireland is a prey to all this misery and agitation; and that if it were not for the lessons which that priesthood inculcate upon the poorer classes, many individuals from those classes would long since have abandoned their vicious and criminal courses. And *fourthly*, that Lord Normanby had suffered crime to go on unpunished; that, when he had met with it, he had neither grappled with it nor subdued it; and that upon him consequently rested the responsibility for

all those tears of sorrow and streams of blood which had marked the career of his viceregal authority. These are the charges which the House of Lords believed as soon as they were stated, and which Lord Roden undertook to prove upon the faith of a Christian man. We propose to apply the tests of evidence to each, and in the order in which we have placed them.

Lord Roden asserts, not only that crime 'in its most repulsive 'form' exists in every county of Ireland, but that it does so in a far greater degree than ever before in his lifetime. It is necessary, therefore, before looking into the evidence as to the actual state of the country since 1835—that we should cast a glance back at its condition between that time and the Union; and we would willingly go through the circumstances of each year, taking our view not from the prejudiced and passionate statements of partisans, but from authentic returns, and from the statements of ministers speaking under a sense of official responsibility. We should, however, only tire our readers, and we must content ourselves with briefly calling to their recollection some notorious facts respecting Ireland, during the period in question. In 1801, a select committee reported that a secret and extensive conspiracy existed throughout the country, with definite objects, against the Government; and in 1803, a rebellion broke out; a message from the Throne was brought down to Parliament, and an Act was passed, suspending the Habeas Corpus, and establishing martial law. In 1806, appeared the combination of 'the Threshers', a most extensive association, for regulating tithes and priests' dues, and the prices of all articles in which the poor are interested; and they effected their lawless purposes by means of the most savage cruelties. In this year the judges could not move through the country without an escort of soldiers. In 1807, Parliament passed another Insurrection Act. In 1811-12-13, the Lord-Lieutenant declared, 'that 'the greater part of Ireland was a prey to the most frightful ex-'cesses. Armed bodies of men paraded the country, levying 'contributions—administering oaths—enforcing their regulations 'about land—inflicting the most cruel punishments—searching 'for arms—breaking into the houses of respectable people in the 'open day, and making a stand against the military sent to dis-'perse them.' During 1814, in one part of Ireland, the Caravats were levying contributions by day and night on all who did not belong to their body; in another, the horrible and revolting cruelties of the Carders, who tore men's flesh from their bones, were practised upon all who disobeyed their mandates. Two coercive measures then passed the legislature. In moving for the second, Mr Peel said, that since he had last addressed the House on this subject,

he had endeavoured to collect information from every quarter as to the state of Ireland; and that it was with particular pain he had now to state, that the disturbances which existed were of a most alarming description. He regretted to say, 'that in those parts 'of Ireland where the laws had been administered with the great- 'est severity, and where the greatest number of convictions had 'taken place, the terror arising from these convictions had scarcely 'survived the cause, when new combinations of an extensive and 'dangerous character had obtained birth; and these combina- 'tions were carried on with a degree of secresy which defied the 'operations of the law, as it at present existed.' By the Act then passed, power was given to the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim a district; or, in other words, to put it out of the pale of the British Constitution. Trial by jury might be dispensed with; the military used on all occasions; and houses broken into at the will of the magistrate. In 1816, Sir J. Newport brought forward his motion for enquiring into the state of Ireland, expressly on the ground of the enormous army of 25,000 men, which in a time of profound peace was necessary to secure her internal tranquillity. Mr Peel then also gave a sketch of the state of the country, and maintained that the military force could not be reduced with safety. He said, 'that formerly tumults and outrages 'could be traced to particular causes; but those which now pre- 'vailed seemed to be the effect of a general confederacy in crime '—a comprehensive conspiracy in guilt—a systematic opposition 'to all laws and municipal institutions.' In 1817, the Insurrection Act was again argued to be indispensable. In 1821, nearly the whole of Munster, and a considerable portion of Leinster and Connaught, were in a state of insurrection; many districts were proclaimed, and the law executed upon the offenders with the utmost severity. Large bodies of troops were dispersed over the disturbed districts, but with little avail; for we find the next year (1822) ushered in by an announcement from the Throne, that a spirit of outrage, which has led to daring and systematic violations of the law, has arisen, and still prevails in parts of Ireland. The address, in answer to the speech containing this announcement, was moved by Lord Roden, who deplored the agitated state of his country, throughout the greater part of which, as he said, a system of outrage had led to daring and systematic violation of the law. Lord Wellesley in his despatches had thus described its state in its four provinces:—'In nearly the whole of 'Leinster and Munster, disturbances of an aggravated kind had 'occurred. In the province of Connaught, the great body of the 'people had taken secret oaths; and in Ulster, strong indications 'were generally manifested of resistance to the process of the law.'

This was the precursor of another edition of the Insurrection Act; and in moving for it Mr Goulburn stated, 'that the system 'of insubordination, of which the distinctive marks were to be 'found in every part of the country, had been for some time pro- 'gressively increasing, and had in one district been matured into 'open insurrection and rebellion, and warfare with the King's 'troops. It would be most painful for him to state, and for the 'House to hear, the excesses, the outrages, and the cruelties 'which had been committed—the violations of property, the 'robberies, the burnings of houses, the murders which had 'afflicted and disgraced Ireland.' In 1823, we find an earnest recommendation from the Lord-Lieutenant that this same Insurrection Act should be renewed. Law was described as being utterly powerless before the mass of crime which pervaded every part of the country. In 1824, the Government again proposed the renewal of this fatal Insurrection Act; and maintained that it was impossible to keep crime in check, and to protect the peaceful and orderly part of the population, without the extraordinary and unconstitutional powers with which they were invested by it. Each year, however, has presented its own peculiar feature of crime; but our space will allow us to allude but to one more, (1829,) the memorable year in which Catholic Emancipation was carried; and in order clearly to elucidate the justness of Lord Roden's views of the comparative tranquillity of Ireland before 1835 and after it, let us pause a moment to consider the well-known case of one man in connexion with that question. The leading Minister in the House of Commons had signalized the whole course of his public and official life, during twenty years, by an able and uncompromising opposition of the Catholic claims. He had been rendered powerful by the support of the great anti-Catholic party in this country; he was the chosen champion of their cause, and the elevated representative of the seat of Protestant exclusiveness. Implicit confidence was placed in one who had always predicted the downfal of the constitution in Church and State, if once the Catholics were relieved from their civil disabilities. Two years before the time we speak of, his matured judgment, he said, had so convinced him of the soundness of his views, that he resigned his high office, from the fear that Mr Canning's premiership might give a moral and indirect support to the claims of the Catholics. In 1828, he reiterated these opinions in Parliament, and avowed his intention of still acting on the grounds on which he had hitherto acted. Yet, in 1829, we find him not only moderating his feelings and modifying his principles, but veering right round from negative to positive;—admitting the arguments of his op-

ponents, repudiating his own, and granting to the Catholics all that they demanded; thus presenting to the world what his former supporters called an astounding instance of apostasy, but what to the sober-minded was only another proof that pledges of unalterable constancy to political opinions, however much they serve the purposes of ambition, reflect but little credit upon the sagacity and foresight of a statesman. On announcing his change of opinion, he had to endure, as he said, 'the scurrility of abuse, 'the expression of opposite opinions both vehement and general, 'the deprivation of political confidence, and the heavier sacrifice 'of private friendships and affections.' And why were all these sacrifices to be made? And why was the empire now to be exposed to all those alarming dangers which he had passed his whole public life in warning it to avoid? We will give again his own words:—'A dreadful commotion distracts the public mind in Ire-'land—a feverish agitation and unnatural excitement prevails, to 'a degree scarcely credible, throughout the entire country—so-'cial intercourse is poisoned there in its very springs—family is 'divided against family, and man against his neighbour. In a 'word, the bonds of social life are almost dissevered—the foun-'tains of public justice are corrupted—the spirit of discord walks 'openly abroad, and an array of physical force is marshalled, in 'defiance of all law, to the imminent danger of the public 'peace.' A deplorable picture, in truth, of any country, and one which we can hardly contemplate without emotion. It is drawn, moreover, by one of great ability, of great discernment; as a Minister possessed of accurate knowledge of all the facts; as a man with the strongest private interest drawing him to a different conclusion, or at least to seek for a different escape from his perplexity; but all his ingenuity could devise none such; for there was this melancholy fact presenting itself to him, that '*for 'scarcely one year during the period that has elapsed since the 'Union, has Ireland been governed by the ordinary course of 'law.*' Insurrection Acts, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, martial law, had all been tried in succession, and the result was a state of social disturbance wholly unprecedented. All the inveteracy of bigotry, and all the malignity of faction, joined to the inflamed hostility of his honest opponents, were employed in inventing means for defeating his measures, and covering him and his principles with universal obloquy; but none ventured to impugn his facts. They were too notorious not to be admitted. Many contended that the measures would not be a cure for the evils; but no one ventured to assert that the evils did not exist, and in the frightfully aggravated form in which they had been presented to notice by the Minister. And yet we are to be told

that now, in a time of apparently perfect tranquillity, Ireland has never before, in the recollection of the present generation, presented such a horrible and revolting scene of turbulence, misery, and crime!

But, marvellous as the fact must seem, Lord Roden has offered to prove it, and the evidence which he adduced for the purpose is before us. We will first look to what the Crown Solicitors say about the state of the country. It is their business to communicate with the magistrates and gentlemen of each county respecting crime committed on their circuits; to receive informations as to crime, and to search after and examine not merely those who are brought into court as witnesses, but all persons, however remotely connected with each offence. It is evident, therefore, as they all affirmed, that they have the most extensive means for obtaining accurate information as to the state of crime in every part of Ireland; and it is impossible, as one of them remarked, that a system of crime and outrage of any nature could prevail on their Circuits without their knowledge. They are gentlemen of great experience, and all received their appointments long before the accession of a liberal Government. In reporting their evidence, we shall confine ourselves as much as possible to the very words of the witnesses. We will begin with the Home Circuit, which consists of six counties, some of which have always been the most disturbed in Ireland. Mr Geale, who has been the Crown Solicitor for *twenty-two years*, thinks the whole of it much more peaceable than it was in former years. Mr Seed, his assistant, says, that within the last two or three years the state of it is generally more tranquil than it was in former years; and of the counties separately it is thus reported:—

Kildare (one of the disturbed counties in 1833) is very peaceable.

Carlow has had some homicides lately, arising chiefly from disputes about property.

Queen's County is very much more peaceable than it was six or seven years ago. Its state then was very bad; every species of crime and outrage was perpetrated, and a special commission was sent down to try prisoners.

King's County is more quiet than it was; there have not been many prosecutions latterly in it. In former times it has been much disturbed.

Meath is perfectly tranquil, and has been so during the last five or six years. Before that time, there were many executions for heinous crimes which are seldom heard of now.

Westmeath is more to be found fault with than the others; but

it is decidedly more tranquil than it was in former years. The offences are of a less aggravated kind.

Leinster Circuit consists of five counties, and Mr Kemmis has for thirty-eight years been Crown Solicitor for it, and for the county and city of Dublin. The state of the counties is as follows:—

Wicklow has been gradually improving, and is as tranquil as any county in England.

Wexford the same; and there is nothing peculiar in the nature of such crimes as are committed there.

Kilkenny is in a tranquil state; a few years ago it was much disturbed. There were Whiteboy offences, such as attacking houses, and murders, and different outrages of that kind. In 1838, there was only one Whiteboy offence. There was also much agitation against tithes, which has entirely ceased.

Waterford is in a tranquil state, and has become so gradually. There has been one murder in it in consequence of land; and that was of a Roman Catholic, a subscriber to Mr O'Connell's fund, and the agent of a Roman Catholic landlord. So much for the conspiracy directed exclusively to the annihilation of the Protestants.

Tipperary has from all times been the scene of outrage. Almost every year for the last twenty-five years has been marked by some crime of a peculiarly savage nature, which has in all cases been committed in consequence of disputes about land. These crimes are still committed; but there are parts of the county very tranquil; and in general it may be said that crime has certainly not increased, as might be expected, in proportion to the population.

Dublin (county and city) was formerly much agitated by extensive combinations for illegal purposes. These have greatly decreased within the last five years, and are still decreasing. Crimes in Dublin, though numerous, are trifling.

Mr Hamilton has been Crown Solicitor for the *North-Eastern Circuit of Ulster*, consisting of five counties, for nine years, but has been acquainted with the circuit, under his father, for sixteen years.

Down, he says, is very tranquil; there is not a more tranquil county in Ireland. This is the county, we believe, under Lord Roden's personal observation!

Lowth is not a very tranquil county, being characterised by some Whiteboy offences. It is, however, in no way worse than it was five or six years ago; and one great cause of outrage has been removed, by there being no longer a collection of tithes made among the poor.

Antrim.—Violence has decreased in this county during the last few years, and it is now particularly tranquil.

Monaghan is more tranquil than it was two years ago, as there is less of Whiteboy outrage.

Armagh is the most disturbed county on any circuit, which is entirely owing to religious party differences. Orange processions, which still continue, irritate the Catholics; dreadful affrays ensue, and a bad spirit is engendered, which is sure to be gratified at one time or another.

Mr Tierney, Crown Solicitor for the *Northern Circuit* during twelve years, describes the state of counties in his circuit as follows:—

Longford.—Part of this county is disturbed with respect to all those crimes that are considered as Whiteboy offences—arising from the letting of land and dispossessing former tenants.

Cavan was in a bad state during the last year, for the business was heavy at the last assizes.

Fermanagh is not in a bad state—a better one than usual, and has no peculiar disturbance in it.

Tyrone and *Donegal* are not in a bad state. They are also both better than usual.

Derry.—There is scarcely any crime in this county. There was not a case of homicide tried in any of these four counties in the last assizes.

Mr Hickman has been Crown Solicitor for the *Connaught Circuit* during more than twenty-five years. It embraces the entire province of Connaught, which consists of the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway. This witness was not examined directly as to the state of each county, but expresses himself thus as to the state of his circuit generally:—
'What has been the state of the circuit for some years gone by?'
'The state of my circuit was very much disturbed in 1821 and
'1822.' 'Was it more disturbed than it is now?' 'Oh! consider-
'ably; so much so, that I got an order from the Government
'at that time, when I was at Roscommon, to repair to Galway,
'the outrages were so very prevalent there; the breaking into
'houses, and taking arms, and serving threatening notices.' 'Since
'that time has it become more tranquil?' 'Considerably.'

Mr Barrington, Crown Solicitor for the *Munster Circuit* during a period of twenty-five years, describes the state of the counties on his circuit as follows:—

Cork, the largest and most populous county in Ireland, and, as is well known to all who are acquainted with the history of Irish disturbances, for a long time distinguished by the most

atrocious and sanguinary outrages, is now more tranquil than any other in Ireland, and as tranquil as any county in England.

Kerry is equally tranquil.

Limerick, in that portion of the county which bounds Tipperary, and in the barony of Kerry, has some disturbances.

Clare is tolerably tranquil. There were lately some few outrages from a desire to get land for potato-ground, but they have been put an end to by the ground being granted. Its state is greatly improved; for in 1830 and 1831 it was in a state of rebellion.

Mr Barrington adds, with the exception of the disturbances in Limerick, that his circuit is now perfectly tranquil. Since the Act of last year, all the outrages on the subject of tithes have altogether ceased; and he has not heard of an assault or attack even upon a clergyman, which was so common till last year. After describing some of the horrid cruelties practised formerly by the Whiteboys, the Threshers, and the Carders, he says that no cases of that kind occur at present. A decided change for the better has taken place in this respect.

The results, then, at which we have arrived from the evidence of these gentlemen, may be expressed thus:

	Counties perfectly tranquil.	Counties not quite tranquil, but more so than usual.	Counties disturbed, but not more so than usual.	Counties which in Lord Roden's lifetime have never before been so convulsed.
Home Circuit, .	2	4	0	0
Leinster Circuit, .	5	0	1	0
N.E. Circuit of Ulster,	2	2	1	0
N.W. Circuit, .	1	3	2	0
Connaught Circuit,	0	5	0	0
Munster Circuit, .	2	1	1	0

Making twenty-seven counties out of thirty-two which are either perfectly tranquil, or considerably improved in latter years; and the remaining five, though not tranquil, are in no way worse than they have always been.

We will next briefly advert to the opinions of the Stipendiary Magistrates as to the state of the districts which are intrusted to their superintendence. It is to them that all outrages are report-

ed. They are resident in the counties to which they are appointed, and they have at least more constant, if not better opportunities of judging of the state of crime than even the Crown Solicitors. They not only act judicially as other magistrates, but their especial duty is to collect all possible information about the state of their districts, both as to crime and in all other respects, and to report it to the Government.

Captain Despard, Stipendiary Magistrate in the county of Meath, has resided in the county for sixteen years, and states that it is now tranquil;—far more so than it has been for some years. That it is not only more free from riots and faction-fights, but from outrage of every description. Captain Vignoles, a Stipendiary Magistrate, who has acted in different places over the whole of Ireland during nine years, says, that when he was first employed, outrage was general all over the kingdom, and in some parts of it raging to a great degree, but that during his period of service it has greatly decreased. When he left the county of Carlow, two years ago, it was in a state of comparative tranquillity; and during the two years that he has been stationed in Limerick, there have been but one or two instances of agrarian outrage; and he pronounces the state of his district to be singularly peaceable. He adds, with respect to faction-fights, that just before he went to the district they had existed to a very great degree—to the loss of life; but that latterly there has not been a blow struck.

Mr Tracy, a Resident Magistrate in the county of Limerick, and connected with the constabulary during fifteen years, states that his district is comparatively tranquil. From his own personal observation he can state, that there has been a great diminution of outrages in the county.

Captain Warburton, a Resident Magistrate, who has been employed in different parts over the whole of Ireland during fifteen years, describes the part of the county of Galway under his charge as much more tranquil than it has been in former years. There has not been any thing like the same extent of crime and outrage latterly, that there was some seven or eight years ago. There was then scarcely a night, or day, that there was not some very violent outrage. Rents, he adds, are well paid in this county.

Mr Tabiteau has been for seven years a Resident Magistrate in the county of Tipperary, and he states that it was much disturbed at the time of his appointment, but that it is now considerably improved; and that particular species of disturbance called faction-fights has very much decreased, owing to different measures adopted by the Government. When he first went into Tipperary, parties collected for several days before a fair, for the pur-

pose of fighting; and the factions have been known to amount to between 300 and 400 men on each side. Now, affrays occur from time to time, but there are very few engaged in them, and they are without previous arrangement. This county, however, is always the scene of agrarian outrage; and Mr Tabiteau does not think that the right of ejecting persons from their holdings can be safely exercised in all parts of it; but this state of things has in no way increased during the last five years.

Mr Greene, a Resident Magistrate in the county of Kilkenny during the last eight years, states, that he has known the county when it has been much disturbed, when every species of outrage abounded in it, and when it was impossible to get any respectable person to act as juror. In 1833, it was proclaimed under the Coercion Act. Its present state is perfectly tranquil. It has become so gradually; being better in 1838 than in 1837, when the improvement had also been most decided. He thinks that no outrage can take place in the county without his being cognisant of it. He now scarcely knows of a faction-fight, and they were before most common. There is no instance now of a magistrate going out armed as a public officer; and he himself never, by night or day, takes arms in the present state of the county. To illustrate his view of the improvement in the country, he mentions, that when an outrage was committed last year upon a gentleman's estate, there was a meeting of his tenants, and they subscribed liberally to get information and prosecute the persons who were concerned in it. They also presented him with an address expressing their regret, and in gratifying terms their respect for him as their landlord.

Mr Barnes, Stipendiary Magistrate of Longford, says, that the state of his county was worse in 1838 than in 1837; but that in 1839 it is better than it was in either 1838 or 1837. Some murders had been committed in the county since it was placed under his charge; but, with the exception of two, they have been confined to one district. They occurred upon Lord Lorton's estate; in consequence of persons having been turned out of their lands. The frequency of elections, and the severe contests which have taken place, have had much to do with the disturbances in the county. The number of ejectments in the county has been very great; and he believes that some of them have taken place in consequence of feelings connected with the electors.

Mr Brew has been a Stipendiary Magistrate in Clare and Galway during the last eight years, and has been in the commission of the peace more than thirty years, and was at one time the most extensive landed proprietor in Clare. He speaks the language of the peasantry, and has had a great deal of intercourse with them;

and there is scarcely a man, woman, or child in the county that he does not know. He says with respect to Clare, that in 1828, 1829, and 1830, it was getting more and more disturbed; that in 1831 it assumed a still worse aspect. The peasantry, under the name of Terryalts, commenced a frightful system of outrages—plundering arms, levelling fences, and in many instances committing murders. The state of the county now, and for the last few years, is as peaceable as any in Ireland. Mr Brew states, he is satisfied of that fact; and it is the more remarkable, as there is great destitution still existing. He adds, that riots at fairs and faction-fights have greatly diminished, and that prosecutions are carried on a great deal more systematically than formerly; and that not a single homicide has occurred for some years past, without the parties being brought forward and made amenable to justice.

Mr Rathbone has acted as Stipendiary Magistrate in the counties of Wexford and Galway, and has been upwards of twenty years in the commission of the peace. This gentleman states, that in 1819 and 1820, and again in 1831, the county of Galway was very much disturbed; but that for the last few years it had become very peaceable. With respect to the county of Wexford, he states that in 1837 and 1838 there were great disturbances connected with tithe; that troops were used for the purpose of collecting it; and that he has himself taken out a hundred of the military and a hundred of the police in executing tithe processes. This cause of disturbance has been entirely removed. He adds, moreover, that all fighting at fairs is much less common than it was before; and that the general state of that part of Ireland with which he has been best acquainted during the last four years, has been very peaceable.

Mr Sylvanus Jones has been stationed a Stipendiary Magistrate in the counties of Galway, Mayo, and Waterford. He states that Galway was very much disturbed in 1831, but is at present in a very peaceable state. Waterford was very much disturbed in 1833, principally from faction-fights and riots at fairs. Vigorous measures were taken to repress them, and the county is now in a very peaceable state.

We have now given an abstract of the evidence of ten out of twelve Stipendiary Magistrates; the examination of the other two having turned almost exclusively upon Ribbonism. We might go on farther, and quote, in corroboration of the views both of the Crown Solicitors and Stipendiary Magistrates, the evidence of the sessional prosecutors, and of the chief agents of police from every part of Ireland. But a detail of their evidence would not be compatible with our limits. We will content ourselves, therefore,

with pointing out the evidence of two men, who, whether we consider their characters, or their means of acquiring information upon the subject of crime, must be considered as authorities of the highest order. We mean Colonel Shaw Kennedy, and the Right Hon. Arthur Moore, for twenty-three years a justice of the Common Pleas.

Colonel Shaw Kennedy, as is well known, was from 1836 at the head of the whole Police Establishment in Ireland. A more important and responsible office cannot be conceived. It is one which, of necessity, would compel the holder to become acquainted, not only with the general character of outrages, but with every individual instance. This gentleman states, with respect to the condition of the country during the two years of his service—*First*, that the levying of tithes formed a sure subject of difficulty, and required the constabulary force frequently to be called out to support the civil power in putting the law into effect. In disturbed districts it greatly aggravated the disturbances, and that he always felt the greatest anxiety when the police were called upon for this purpose, from the fear of collision. *All crimes and outrages springing from this source have been at once removed by the Act of* 1838. *Secondly*, that when he went on his tour of inspection in 1836, faction-fighting was in its full vigour; that in these dreadful combats there were sometimes from two to three thousand persons engaged; that the Government then used every means in their power to suppress them, and that *by the time he left Ireland they were almost entirely at an end. Thirdly*, that with respect to all crimes over the whole of Ireland, taking the first three months of 1836, 1837, and 1838, crimes had diminished in 1837 as compared with 1836, and in 1838 as compared with 1837.

Mr Justice Moore has been a Judge nearly twenty-three years, and conceives that he has been more employed in holding investigations respecting outrages in different parts of the kingdom, than perhaps any one since the days of Sir John Davis. He was employed in this way as sergeant in 1801, and as criminal judge ever since. The history which this experienced man—who has passed the third of a century in enquiring into evidence, and in sifting truth from falsehood—gave of Ireland, at the different epochs of its disturbances, when he was sent on special commissions to try the numerous criminals throughout the country, must, we think, have sounded unpleasantly in Lord Roden's ears; and his general views, which we subjoin, could hardly have been satisfactory to a Committee which had been appointed for the purpose of arriving at such very different conclusions. His words are these: "My opinion then is, that though there is,

'including all sorts of offences, a considerable deal of crime in 'Ireland, yet I can perceive a general tendency to moral, and 'a manifest physical improvement in the appearance of the coun-'try, and throughout Ireland. I think, excluding politics and 'party dissensions of different kinds, that with respect to the 'moral condition of the country, there is, and has been for some 'time, *a tendency to a state of order and improvement which 'did not exist in the former periods of which I have been speak-'ing;* and that there is generally in the country *a greater dispo-'sition to abstain from the commission of violent crimes than here-'tofore.*'

Finally, Mr Drummond, in his most able and instructive evidence, after detailing all the various improvements in the constabulary and police of Ireland, and the character of other measures that had been devised during Lord Normanby's government for the improvement of the condition of society—for the more effective administration of the law, and for the diminution of crime—presented to the Committee various returns, showing the results which had been obtained in this latter respect. These returns are complete. They show the number of outrages and offences reported to the constabulary office during the years of Lord Normanby's government, and also compare the amount of them in the three last years with the amount committed in 1826, 1827, and 1828. We must content ourselves with referring our readers to these tables, and to Mr Drummond's explanation of them. It would be in vain to endeavour to compress them, and our limits of course forbid our transcribing any integral portion of them. They are, however, of the last importance to all those who in truth and honesty really desire to know the actual and comparative amount of crime in this distracted country.* The points which Mr Drummond aims at proving are—*first*, a *diminution* in the amount of *aggravated crimes* rather than in the total amount of all offences; *secondly*, an increase of committals in proportion to offences, consequent upon the superior vigilance of the police; and *thirdly*, an increase of convictions in proportion to committals, consequent

* The Committee have rendered a great public service, (however little they may deserve credit for it,) in being the means of calling Mr Drummond's evidence into existence. In addition to the opportunities afforded him by his high official situation, his duties as railway commissioner have led him to make the most extensive enquiries of all classes in all parts as to the moral and social condition of the people; and he has brought to bear upon the matter thus collected, all the energies of an enlightened and intelligent mind.

upon the *greater facilities afforded for the administration of justice.* The results completely bear out his expectations. Thus, taking the mean of crime for 1836, 1837, and 1838, and the mean for 1826, 1827, and 1828, and comparing them together, we find that, allowing for the increase of population in the latter period, and looking to crimes which exhibit a bad and disturbed state of society, there has been a decrease as follows:—

	Decrease.
Murder and manslaughter,	10 per cent.
Shooting at and stabbing,	46 —
Conspiracy to murder,	29 —
Burglary,	56 —
Assembling armed, and appearing armed by night,	26 —
Housebreaking, &c.,	86 —
Cattle, horses, sheep, pig stealing,	34 —
Assaults with intent to rob,	54 —

So much for the deterioration in the state of Lord Roden's unhappy country, which never in his lifetime has been so convulsed, and so utterly a prey to every species of crime and outrage! But at the same time we find that there are four great heads of increase, which are—*First*, assaults, comprising every variety of common assault. *Secondly*, riots, breach of the peace, pound breach, &c. This class includes all disturbances of the peace, and faction-fights at fairs and markets. *Thirdly*, larceny. *Fourthly*, misdemeanours, with intent to steal, &c., as not otherwise described. Now, these are precisely the classes in which the increase is attributable to the exertions of a more vigilant police. With respect to the proportion of Committals to Convictions, a table is given of the two from 1826 to 1838; and it will be there seen, that in the former years the number of convictions was little more than one-half of the number of committals, while in the latter year it is somewhat more than three-fourths.

We have now, for the sake of comparison, referred to different periods in the history of Ireland since the Union. We have given the substance of the evidence of all the Crown Solicitors, whose business it is to prosecute crime—of the Stipendiary Magistrates, whose business it is to investigate the circumstances of every crime and outrage committed in their district—of the Inspector-General of Police, who was acquainted for two years with all that concerned crime over the whole of Ireland—of an experienced Judge, who had been engaged for thirty years in trying offences of all kinds in every part of the country; and, finally, we have referred to the official tables of crime produced by Mr Drummond. We have seen,

too, what a remarkable concurrence amongst all these witnesses there has been; and we will now contrast with it Lord Roden's view of the state of the country. In the course of his speech, he requested the attention of the Lords to what he was going to state; and then added, that 'the astounding fact remains undis-'puted, that at the present moment animosities in Ireland are more 'prevalent, religious distinctions more marked, the social bonds 'more extensively broken, the Protestant faith more assailed, and 'life and property less secure, than in any former period since the 'passing of the legislative Act of Union.' It is idle to ask to which of these two statements the country will give credence. The one which is the most probable is also proved to be true; for it is supported by evidence upon oath of disinterested witnesses, whose official duty it is to be conversant with every detail of the matters on which they speak; the other is supported, we fear, by nothing but the prejudices and passions of the most anti-national oligarchy that ever crushed the people whom it professed to govern. There is one more proof of the increased tranquillity, and above all, of the greater security of property, which we must not omit, for it is one which no declamation can ever shake. In the volumes before us, there are the statements of fourteen different land agents and valuers of estates—men who have sold land in Ireland to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds—*all agreeing that the value of property has of late greatly increased. In almost all parts of Ireland, land will sell for at least five years' purchase more than it would in* 1835. Estates which formerly hung on hand have now sold easily; there is great competition for land, and English capitalists make extensive investments in it. Will any man believe that this could be the case if property had, since 1835, been rendered insecure; or if Ireland was in a state of misery and agitation unprecedented since the Union?

Beaten as to the general state of the country, Lord Roden will perhaps fly to the *Second* ground upon which he demanded this Committee of Enquiry. We shall give it in his own words:—'The subject to which he would now call the attention 'of their Lordships, is that of a conspiracy in Ireland—a con-'spiracy, systematic, organized, and secret, and which is directed 'against the life and property of all who will not join it, and 'support the *treasonable* objects which its members have in view. 'The poor farmers,' (that is, the poor farmers all over Ireland,) 'however anxious for peace and quiet they may be, yet if they 'refuse to join this conspiracy,' (viz. this treasonable conspiracy,) 'are visited at night, beaten, maltreated, and exposed to the 'greatest cruelties.' 'The objects and ultimate aim of this

'(Ribbon) conspiracy are exactly the same as those of the Precur-'sor Association, viz. *separation* from England; in which is in-'volved the annihilation of the Protestant faith.' Now, it will be evident to those who have followed us through the evidence as to the actual amount of crime in Ireland, that this statement at once falls to the ground; that no such crimes as torturing men into becoming members of a secret treasonable conspiracy, (however reasonable such a course seems to be,) can possibly be known to the authorities, either central or local, or the fact must have appeared in evidence. Besides, being an entirely new source of crime, generated under Lord Normanby's government, how is it possible that the class of aggravated crimes should have decreased in the last five years, as is proved by Mr Drummond? And again, to suppose that these crimes are committed all over Ireland, without being known to the authorities, is to suppose that these poor tortured farmers are the most patient and long-suffering of created beings;—it is to suppose, that not only they do not complain of their sufferings, but that they are at pains to conceal them, and could succeed in doing so. The absurdity, then, of a *treasonable* conspiracy, showing itself by deeds of violence upon all peaceable persons, which, however, never come to the ears of a most vigilant police, at once disproves itself. But as the examinations on the subject occupy the greatest portion of these massive folios, and as it appears from them that *Ribbonism* is something besides a name, we ought to impart to our readers all the information concerning it, which, by a diligent perusal of the evidence, we have been able to collect. Many witnesses assert that *it* exists; but when asked *what* exists? they can make no answer—no man can say what it is—whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. And yet this is the *only* point which it was of the least importance to prove. Far be it from us to deny, (for the fact is notorious to any one that ever opened a book of Irish History,) that a disposition to combine for illegal purposes is the characteristic of the Irish peasantry; and that, by the instrumentality of these combinations, they have from time to time effected the destruction of property, and perpetrated the most cruel outrages upon all who thwarted or opposed them. Far be it from us to deny that this disposition still exists. There are many districts where, if the wretched peasants, who have nothing under heaven to look to for the support of their wives and children but their potatoe ground, are dispossessed of their holdings, and turned out of their huts, it is almost certain they will combine and wreak a cruel vengeance on those who have ejected, or on those who have succeeded them. Again, in those parts of Ireland, as in the north and to-

wards the centre, where the Protestants and Catholics are mixed, and most decidedly where they are evenly balanced, there may be said to exist a permanent confederacy on each side against the other; and the parties are generally designated by the names of Orangemen and Ribbonmen. It cannot be denied, moreover, that the lower classes in Ireland are very easily led into confederacies without any definite object. They swear to be true and faithful to each other; and they have a vague notion of security to be effected by this mutual defence, or of aid in redressing imaginary wrongs; or (what is more to the purpose) of having some one to stand by them at fairs and riots. They are in these instances generally the dupes of designing men, who head the confederacy for their own power or profit. It is in this last class principally, that the bugbear of a political conspiracy is perpetually haunting the conscience-stricken aristocracy that has so long misgoverned the country. 'The wicked flee where no 'man pursueth. It is the sound of the driven leaf that 'chaseth them.' What, however, we do deny is, that a systematic, secret, and organized conspiracy, having for its object separation from England, and the annihilation of the Protestant faith, exists over the whole of Ireland, or any part of it; and we confidently assert, that there is not one tittle of valid evidence throughout the whole of these folios to establish that such is the fact; nor indeed to do any thing, but render it the grossest improbability that it should be so. The fact is, that Ribbonism owes its chief importance to being purposely confounded with Whiteboyism. The trick that is practised is, first to declare the existence of a great conspiracy against the monarchy and the constitution; secondly, to recite some instances of those outrages called agrarian, which are unfortunately but too well known in Ireland, and to dwell upon their horrors; and then to leave it to be inferred, that these two stand to each other as cause and effect; whereas a moment's reflection must show that they are rather in a relation of antagonism. If men are deeply engaged in an organized conspiracy against the Throne and the institutions of the country, surely the last thing they would think about would be making a disturbance in order to settle the price of land and potatoes; or fighting for their holdings, and murdering those who took land over their heads, and fixing a maximum for priests' dues. All such petty warfare exposes their lives—exhausts their energies—places them within the reach, and under the power of the law; and must destroy the hope of effecting any of the objects of the great work they have in hand. We earnestly recommend to all who may read this Evidence, to bear these remarks in mind. The confusion we allude to is con-

stantly made. The Committee was appointed to enquire into a seditious and treasonable conspiracy, having for its objects the destruction of the Monarchy, and the annihilation of the Church; and yet, whenever it comes out in evidence that any outrage for the purpose of keeping possession of a potatoe ground has been perpetrated by some of these local combinations, (which some one chooses to call Ribbon,) the Committee appear to dwell upon it, as if it went to prove their case; or as if, indeed, it did not prove the contrary.

We find that for years every thing has been done to investigate the subject. All the witnesses admit the extraordinary anxiety which was manifested by Lord Normanby's Government to obtain any information respecting this pretended plot; and above all, such information as might support a prosecution. Positive directions were given to all the magistrates and officers of the constabulary in those parts of Ireland where it was supposed to exist, to spare neither pains nor money to get at the truth of the matter—every assistance and facility was afforded them—rewards were granted to those officers who were most diligent in their researches. The amplest protection was promised to prosecutors and witnesses, with subsequent security and reward. A Roman Catholic policeman initiated himself for the purpose of learning its objects;—an inspector of police was sent to England to get information from an Irish soldier, because he was removed from the influence of his friends, and from all apprehension of danger; but all that the anxiety of the Government, and the activity of the police could do, in the course of five years, was to procure a mass of reports from informants,—many of which were absurd and contradictory,—and only one case upon which any lawyer could be found to recommend a prosecution, and *that* broke down in the trial. There was, of course, no lack of these informants, as no expense was spared; but they seem to have been of the lowest order, and for the most part wholly unworthy of credit. Some of them were ignorant criminals in jail, who did not understand their own objects, nor even which society they belonged to. One is described as 'the most specious and consummate villain in all Ireland;' another, as 'an infernal blackguard;' another had been 'three times convicted of felony;'—all were distressed and importunate, and hoped that the better lie would bring the better pay. Moreover, they had to violate their oath to the society, when they became informants; and this not from wishing to cast off the intolerable burden of secret sin, but solely to make money by betraying their confederates. The evidence, therefore, of such men was worth nothing without corroboration. But that could in no shape be procured; they never gave information which led to the preven-

tion of crime; they never brought the police upon a Ribbon meeting, under circumstances that would afford ground for prosecution,—though they always promised to do so, as well as to show where the arms of the conspirators were kept in store; and they have invariably declined to appear as prosecutors, although protected from all danger if they should. This alone affords the strongest presumption of falsehood. They were sure of the amplest reward, if their evidence bore scrutiny on the day of trial; but they also knew they should be prosecuted for perjury, and transported if it did not. One of these professed Ribbonmen stated, that all the peasantry over the whole of Ireland, between sixteen and fifty years of age, were engaged in the conspiracy; another that it pervaded the whole kingdom, and not only Ireland, but England and Scotland. Other informants have said, the Ribbonmen were in the practice of going out at night, sometimes to the amount of one hundred men, to be drilled in the use of fire-arms and pikes;—a fact which, if true, might easily have been proved. Another statement is, that in this terrific confederacy the utmost attention is paid to character—no bad man is admitted; and that one of the regulations is, that the members are not to get drunk. One informant, however, had told a magistrate that he left the society, because he found 'that the worst 'blackguard was considered the best man:' and can there be any thing more ludicrous than the notion of an universal conspiracy over Ireland, professing a strict rule of sobriety, when under the new Spirit License Act 40,000 persons were taken up last year for drunkenness? But most of these informers, who ventured to swear to their information, have been convicted of perjury, and transported; and, as nothing could be made out of their absurd and contradictory tales, a vast deal of importance appears to have been attached to certain papers connected with the so-called conspiracy, of which the police had got possession. Some were taken from the person of one who is described as a low, drunken attorney's clerk. Others were found in the houses of noted bad characters. They consist exclusively of pass-words, of what are called quarrelling words, of divine precepts, and the obligations and regulations of the society; but *never* (and this is important) *have any books of the society, or lists of members, or accounts, or correspondence been found.* We have no space to enlarge upon the precepts, pass-words, &c., of these societies. The regulations prescribe allegiance to Queen Victoria, and mutual aid to each other in all *things lawful.* The pass-words consist of doggerel lines, and several questions and answers; and of course could never, from their length, have had any practical use. Not one informant could ever repeat his own. It is, moreover, proved in

evidence, that different pass-words were in possession of members at the same time. But, supposing they are of use, what degree of fraternization does this great conspiracy exhibit? It turns out, that, far from being one and indivisible, it is cut up into a variety of small combinations, which entertain the greatest animosity and hatred against each other. In Dublin, before the new police was established, these rival Ribbon parties caused the most violent disturbances. Official reports also state, that formidable encounters are constantly taking place between large parties of Ribbonmen in those parts of the centre and north of Ireland, where alone any traces of this kind of combination have been found. In the county of Lowth, the chief constable last year reported that in one district there are two distinct societies of Ribbonmen, who, as he quietly says, 'have 'been beating each other a great deal for some time past;'—that in the said county, a man of the name of Smith had organized a Ribbon party of his own, after beating another set out of the village in which he lived; and that since that time a deadly feud has subsisted between the Ribbonmen and the Billy Smiths, who waylay each other coming from a dance or from chapel, and whichever is the strongest gives the other a good drubbing. Now, as all the peasantry in Ireland are engaged in this treasonable conspiracy, and unanimous in the intention of effecting its objects, these are surely rather inconsistent concomitants of that 'strong pull and pull altogether' which is to pull down the Throne and the Church. But again, where is the head that governs the fraternal members of this confederacy? A society of ignorant peasants, even if we suppose with Lord Roden that the conspiracy is universal, and still less if we consider it, with all the witnesses before the Committee, as a collection of idle, worthless vagabonds, can never effect any great political revolution of themselves. They may supply the hands to execute, but where is the head to regulate this dangerous plot that has appalled the House of Lords? The strictest orders have been given to every authority in the country, for years, to look after him, but not a trace of him has been found. Mr O'Connell, whose elevation to the throne is supposed to be the object of these societies, openly denounces them, affords to the Government every facility for acquiring information about them, and excited once by his opposition so strong a feeling of animosity against himself, that he was obliged to be put under the protection of the police. Where, then, is the disinterested being, who, effectually screened from all observation, unknown even to his followers, has been engaged for years in working out for another, and against the will, and in spite of the opposition of that other, the purposes of an unlawful

ambition; and who is content to work on, year after year, without advancing one step towards his objects, or producing or attempting to produce the smallest visible effect? Really, if it were not that the spirit of faction sits brooding over these puerilities, and converting them into engines of political attack, they would be almost too ludicrous for notice. But when they are gravely uttered in high places—when they are made the ground for a demand 'for legislative interference,' (those fatal words for poor Ireland!)—and when one branch of the legislature is made to believe every thing which is told them against that unhappy country, the matter becomes too serious to be passed over. Talk of a conspiracy of the poorer orders against the richer! Who must the poor themselves think are the conspirators against them, when year after year they see a band of privileged men, their hereditary oppressors, leave the shores of their country, laden with charges and calumnies against them, and against all whom they have ever learned to love and respect?—when they find themselves denounced by these men to the legislature as murderers and traitors, undeserving of the rights and liberties of British subjects, and fit only to be gagged by coercion laws, and trampled down by soldiers? And what respect can they feel for the legislature which lends a willing ear to their accusers, and becomes an instrument for effecting their hostile purposes?

Having allowed the absurdities of the Ribbon societies to expose themselves, it only remains for us to state what seems from the evidence before us to be the real origin and objects of these mischievous combinations. They appear to have existed for many years; how long is uncertain—the witnesses differing on that point to the extent of from seventeen to forty years. They are found in those districts where there is a mixed population of Catholics and Protestants; and it appears probable that they are composed entirely of Catholics;—a principle of association which is found to exist in all cases—as in benefit and burial societies, and even temperance societies. They appear originally to have been set up in opposition to the Orange societies, and at nearly the same period; and they seem to have been an almost necessary measure of self-defence; for no bounds were set, as is proved by this very evidence, to the wanton insults and cruelties which the Orangemen were allowed, we fear we must say encouraged, to practise upon the Catholics. But the Orange societies since 1836, having either decreased, or been effectually repressed, the opposition to them has constituted less of an object with the Ribbon societies; and they have consequently much changed their character, and have now no definite objects. They consist, by the admission of all the witnesses, of the very lowest

part of the Catholic population — the worst description of labourers and farmers' boys; not a single respectable farmer, shopkeeper, or artisan, however small his business, has ever been discovered to belong to them. They are set on foot by the idle vagabonds of each district, who prefer living upon their neighbours to working themselves; and they owe such kind of rude organization as they have, to the small crafty publicans at whose houses the meetings are invariably held. With them originate the pass-words, and quarrelling words, and cant words, invented to keep up a belief in the minds of such of the peasantry as join them, that there is some real meaning in these trashy mummeries. It appears that not only have the publicans the advantage of the increased custom at their houses, but that, on the admission of every new member, a shilling is paid to them. Secondly, at every ordinary meeting each member pays sixpence, one-half for drink, the other for a fund for private uses, which nobody but the publican, as 'master,' knows any thing about. And thirdly, every time their pass-words are changed, which is regularly once a quarter, as well as whenever it is pretended that they have been discovered by the police, threepence more is paid to them by each member. Of these funds so received, no account is ever rendered. In order to give greater importance to their scheme, the publicans throughout a district, which however is never of considerable extent, will agree upon the same pass-words and the same regulations; and of course it is pretended to the deluded members, who like other poor people seldom go far from their homes, that the extent of this correspondence is far greater than it is; and they talk mysteriously of great and powerful leaders, whose names are never to be mentioned. Committeemen and delegates are appointed, who conduct the communications with their neighbourhood, and share in the profits arising from the fees. The scheme being thus profitable, new establishments are of course often set up by other publicans, and the rival societies thus formed, are inspired by their leaders with deadly animosity to each other. Riots and conflicts will ensue between them; and this is one source of crime arising from these societies. It is possible, also, where ejections from small holdings have taken place, and the starving and exasperated peasants look for instruments for effecting their vengeance upon those whom they deem their oppressors, that these societies may afford a facility for collecting all the desperate characters of the adjacent parts for that purpose. At the same time, there is not a particle of valid evidence to prove, that at any of the regular Ribbon meetings outrages of this kind have ever been planned: but supposing they were, what would that prove as to the crime

of treason? Every outrage is clearly traceable to a local cause, connected with the means of subsistence of the lower orders; and in every instance where the offenders have been discovered, they have been persons of the neighbourhood where the crime was committed. These societies, again, appear to have been totally unconnected with the Precursor Society; and not the smallest trace was discoverable, even in Dublin, of their feeling any interest in the proceedings of that society. In short, as might be expected from all that is discovered of their recent history, they are in no way concerned with politics. As Ribbon societies they exercise no influence upon elections; and if it were attempted to lead them out in political insurrection, they would, from their worthless elements and their inherent disunion, to use Mr Drummond's words, 'fall to pieces like a rope of sand.' The whole scheme, in short, as that gentleman says, is one for making money—the promoters are knaves, and the members their dupes. Were there, however, no other reason for putting down such societies, this alone would be sufficient, that they rob the labouring poor of their hard-earned gains, and keep in mischievous activity the dissolute and designing knaves who impose upon their credulity. It appears still farther, that they may in some instances facilitate the commission of those crimes which are so fatally characteristic of Irish society; and therefore it is the duty of every government to use its best endeavours to root out the pernicious system; but this is precisely what it is established beyond all dispute, by this evidence, that the present Government have done. They have spared neither pains nor money in ascertaining the full extent of the evil. They have seized with avidity every occasion for detecting and exposing the system, and for prosecuting every one who was connected with it; and to facilitate these prosecutions they applied to Parliament for a more stringent act against illegal oaths, which, being a repressive measure, was allowed to pass without a word of dissent from those who represent the Irish Peerage.

It now remains for us to turn to those accusations which Lord Roden, not content with libelling his poorer countrymen, has thought fit to bring against the ministers of their religion, and the Government which has befriended them. Now, if it be indeed true, as he would have us think, that he has practised justice; that he is guided, as a statesman, by public principle; above all, if, as he would have us believe, he is endowed with those Christian graces of which charity is the crown, it was in an evil hour for his reputation that he uttered the charges which it is our task to expose. The charges which he has brought against a large body of Christian ministers are these—that the Ro-

man Catholic priesthood impede the Protestants in the exercise of their religious duties—that the misery and agitation which exist in Ireland, arise chiefly from the violence of the Roman Catholic priesthood—and that numbers of the poorer classes would, to his knowledge, leave their vicious courses, and become good and virtuous members of society, if it were not for the lessons instilled into them, and the corrupting influence exercised over them by the ministers of their religion. The question now is, has he proved these very heinous charges? After perusing every line of the Evidence, we answer peremptorily—that he has not. On the question of the zealous, persevering, and successful efforts of the priesthood as a body to repress and prevent crime, there is positively no conflicting testimony. The fact is affirmed by every witness, and in the strongest terms. We have the evidence of those who are placed in every part of Ireland for the especial purpose of detecting crime and its causes—who are in constant intercourse with all classes of the community on the subject—who have to deal with facts, and not with opinions, (a mighty difference in that distracted country,)—who have many of them been engaged in this service for more than twenty years—who hold not their offices at the pleasure of the Government—and who, if they could forget the obligation of their oaths, and their honour as gentlemen, have no interest under heaven, as a class, in stating any thing but the truth. Some of these witnesses say that the Roman Catholic clergy are by far the best police—that their constant exhortations from the altar against riot and every species of crime, have the greatest effect: others, that they have told the police of the concealment of arms. Criminals, again, have been apprehended, prosecuted, and convicted, solely through informations furnished by the priests; and so decided is their opposition to Ribbonism, that they refuse to hear confession from any one who belongs to a secret society, or to administer the sacraments to him, or attend him when dying. And yet, as Ribbonism, according to Lord Roden, is an universal conspiracy in Ireland to set up a Catholic king, and to annihilate the Protestant faith, it would no doubt have been thought likely that the priests would have taken part in it. They are poor, and might like the Church revenues; they depend for support upon fees paid by the lowest classes, and they would not dare to oppose a combination in which all were engaged; they dislike Protestantism, and might wish to exterminate it; they have been persecuted so long, that they might desire to have their turn once more. All this sounds very plausible; but we must keep to the fact, as we have sworn evidence before us; and it goes undeniably to this, that from the Catholic Primate down to the parish priest, the whole system of secret

societies has been powerfully denounced and opposed. Mr Drummond, after mentioning many instances in which this calumniated body had rendered important assistance to the Government, sums up the case in these words:—'I ought to add, that 'the Constabulary Reports *abound* with instances of exertions 'made by the Roman Catholic clergy, both with regard to these 'societies and to every other cause which tends to a violation of 'the law. I cannot express myself, therefore, too strongly when 'a question is asked as to my belief in their sincerity.' Of course, we do not for one moment think of denying that there are some bad individuals in the Roman Catholic priesthood—that there are some who pervert truth instead of ministering to it—who inflame the angry passions of men instead of quenching them—who soil religion in the mire of politics—who dishonour their Master, and as partisans disgrace their own cause, by the unbridled licentiousness of their tongues. There are such men in every priesthood; but we deny that such characters form the bulk of the Irish clergy. In the volumes of Evidence taken before this Committee, of which the majority were their bitter enemies, and who had been specially appointed to enquire into the alleged flagitiousness of their conduct, there is not a fraction of testimony, valid or invalid, against the *general* character of the body; and there is, as we have shown, abundance of the most convincing evidence in their favour.

Let us, then, turn from this refuted calumny to the last head of accusation—the direct charge against the Government, and especially against the individual who was at the head of it during the period over which this enquiry was to extend. We indeed should be content to judge the tree by its fruits; and to say at once that the facts which we have already noticed respecting the state of the country, furnish a complete and triumphant answer. The charge, however, is so direct—in its terms so express, and in its character so serious—that it would be unfair towards the parties accused, if we did not directly refer to the refutation of every word of it which is to be found in the pages before us. Lord Roden, in the speech upon which the House of Lords appointed this Committee—after detailing the fearful increase of crime and outrage, and the wholly unprecedented state of convulsion and misery into which Ireland had been thrown during the last five years—turned to Lord Normanby, and accused him as its author. He told him, that 'it is he who has suffered crime to go on in a 'way that never had been known before; that he had every 'where met with crime, but that, unmindful of the example of 'his predecessors, he had chosen neither to grapple with it nor 'subdue it; that after having caused the bonds of society to be

'broken, and every institution of the land to be assailed and 'shaken, he had contented himself with the shouts of a mob, 'ordered to attend him by the priests, or sent to applaud him by 'the demagogues; and that it is he who is responsible for those 'tears of sorrow and streams of blood which have marked the 'career of his viceregal authority.' Heavy as were the accusations he had made against Lord Normanby, the noble Lord, at the close, expressed a hope that he had not hurt the feelings of any one! How was it possible, when Lord Roden charged the late Lord-Lieutenant with having caused universal misery in Ireland, with having suffered crime to go on unchecked and unpunished, and with having reduced the country he was sent to govern to a state of anarchy, but that he should have been deeply pained—pained at the exposure, if he were guilty—pained at the unjust accusation, if he were not. We will say nothing about the impropriety of these charges being preferred in the House of Lords. If there had been a remote possibility of proving a tithe of what Lord Normanby was charged with, he ought to have been impeached and tried by those peers as judges, who were now acting as his accusers. This topic was enforced in the House of Commons, and has never been answered. It was, however, thought decent and seemly by the House of Lords to enquire into this matter for impeachment by a select Committee of their own body; and, as it consisted mostly of Lord Roden's friends, it must of course be supposed that they proved all the charges which were capable of being proved: they could call for all witnesses and documents they chose, and conduct the examination as they liked. Now, with respect to the most serious charge against the Irish Government, namely, 'of having suffered 'crime to go on, and of having refused to grapple with it,' it is remarkable that *not one man, out of the seventy or eighty witnesses called, ventured to say that such was the fact.* One or two country gentlemen, indeed, complained that the Government did not support the magistrates; but, as they probably meant themselves, we think, judging from their state of feeling, that the Government would not have done its duty if it had supported them. Some few also appeared who had their own particular grievance against the Government. One, for instance—a noble lord of ejecting notoriety—took it amiss that the Government had refused to come into his plan, 'for transporting, as he calls it, some of the un-'fortunate wretches to America.' But, we repeat, not a single individual before this Committee—not one of the tried and chosen friends whom Lord Roden must have brought to back him—*dared to say that the Irish Government had for the last five years suffered crime to remain unpunished.* They did not dare to

say so *there*, because they were on *oath*, and because for very shame they must have supported their statements. Elsewhere, without doubt, the same calumnies will be as loudly and as unscrupulously repeated; for Lord Roden and his Irish party have and will ever retain a deep-rooted hatred against Lord Normanby and his Government.

Ireland has been governed during the last five years by the ordinary course of law—none of the Orange specifics have been resorted to. Speeches from the Throne have not again and again asked for powers to keep the Irish in awe; fresh troops have not been poured in; the Habeas Corpus Act has not been suspended; trial by jury has not been abolished; courts-martial have not been substituted for the courts of law; men's houses have not been broken open and searched at all hours of the day and night, at the will of a magistrate—and yet Ireland has, to say the least of it, been governed. The Irish Lords cannot, at any rate, deny that there is the whole machinery of Government at work. There is a Lord-Lieutenant quite as safe at the Castle as any Lord-Lieutenant who ever put an insurrection act into force; all the general and local authorities are each at their several posts, quite as composed as when beacons were blazing on every hill, and hundreds of armed men were parading the country, committing savage outrages by day and night. We indeed should go further, and say, that not only has government been carried on, but that the country is at this moment quieter than it was any year during the five-and-thirty that it had been governed by Tory insurrection acts; that life is more secure, and that property is more valuable; and, thanks to the malice of enemies, we have sworn evidence to prove that it is so. But we shall wave this for the moment—we shall only require that it be granted to us, what cannot be denied, that Lord Normanby's Government, somehow or other, did go on from 1835 to 1839. How, then, was it carried on? There was some meaning of old, we suppose, in the Tories asking, year after year, for despotic power in Ireland; there was some good and sufficient ground on which to rest the demand, or surely the House of Commons would never have been base and treacherous enough to have deprived any portion of British subjects of their constitutional rights. And we do not deny that the necessity for these coercive measures may have been shown to exist. Ireland has from time to time since the Union been in a frightful state; and perhaps in no country that ever existed, has such an amount of insubordination and disorder of all kinds been exemplified. But her rulers never thought of any thing but one course. No matter how unsuccessful was their policy

—no matter how clear it was that their engines played oil, not water, on the flames; yet year after year it was still the same story—fresh disturbances, and fresh powers to quell them. The question, then, had long arisen, and in 1835 it appears to have presented itself in an impressive shape to those who governed the country, whether another course might not be devised? And it was to solve this problem that Lord Normanby's mission to Ireland took place. It is for zealously and perseveringly acting upon the principles which a new and better course involved—principles upon which the House of Commons has declared that the Irish Government shall be conducted—that Lord Normanby has incurred the hatred of the privileged ascendancy in Ireland. But those who will read the evidence collected against him, will see that they have been digging a pit for another, and have fallen into it themselves. They have caused the history of Lord Normanby's Government to be known as it never otherwise would have been known. Its peculiar character is distinctly traced out and recorded; and there is no just and patriotic mind that will not rejoice to see the principles upon which it was conducted, and the results to which it led.

Of the improvement in the general state of Ireland which took place under it, we have already spoken—of the wise and prudent measures which led to that improvement, so fully developed in the pages before us, we can give but an imperfect sketch. It appears that in dealing with the crime of the country, three great objects were perseveringly and successfully pursued, namely, to repress and check it—to remove the causes of it—and to secure its punishment by promoting the administration of justice. We shall briefly indicate what was effected under each of these heads.

In repressing crime, the first point to which the attention of the Government was directed, was the state of the Police force in Dublin, and of the Constabulary force over the whole kingdom. In Dublin, the outrages arising from the Trades' Unions had increased to a most formidable extent; assaults were committed by the members even in broad daylight, and in some instances in the crowded streets of the town; and to cope with this system of open violence, the Government found only a few watchmen, decrepid old men, who never appeared on duty by day, as their presence alone would have excited a disturbance. A bill was therefore immediately prepared for establishing a new body of police upon the London model. It passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. This, however, was too bad to be persevered in; and the next year it was allowed to pass. There is now a force of a thousand able and effective men in Dublin,

organized and disciplined by efficient officers. The results produced by this force are most striking. Combination assaults fell in one year from 97 to 8 !

Burglary diminished from	54 to 38
Horse and cattle-stealing from	31 to 15
Infants exposing, &c., from	38 to 26
Homicide, (there was no murder,)	16 to 5
Riot, . . .	95 to 29
Highway robbery, .	16 to 9

And in all the minor classes of crime there was a considerable increase in the committals, proving the superior vigilance of the police. Great improvements were at the same time effected in the constabulary force of the country;—partly by Act of Parliament and partly by regulations. These also were delayed one year, in consequence of the rejection of the bill by the Lords. But now, without any material increase in numbers, the force has been rendered, by superior organization and discipline, the finest and most effective body of police that exists in any country. This we believe the enemies of the Irish Government do not venture to deny. As soon as perfect reliance could be placed upon this force, it was proposed to direct its operations against the Orange disturbances in the north;—arising out of illegal processions, the riots at fairs and markets, and the faction-fights in the south. These were classes of offences in which large bodies of men were concerned, producing violent disturbances and bloodshed. In the north, the magistrates for the most part refused to co-operate with the Government in suppressing the Orange processions. These often consist of hundreds of men, and, as our readers know, are manifestations for the purpose of insulting and provoking the Catholics. An abundance of stipendiary magistrates were therefore placed there to direct the constabulary, and the results appear to be as follows. In the first six months of 1835 there were fourteen processions; in 1836, twenty-seven; in 1839, five; and of disturbances which have arisen from Orangeism, but not immediately connected with the processions, in the first six months of 1835 there were nine, in the first six months of 1836, five, and in the first six months of 1839, none. We may also add, that the peace and tranquillity which prevailed throughout the north of Ireland on the last 12th of July, was unexampled in the memory of the present generation ! In the south, incredible as it may seem, *it had been the custom for the police to keep away whenever those sanguinary and furious conflicts, which are known as faction-fights, were expected;* and, when the order was given by Lord

Normanby, that they should never fail to attend on every occasion, and use their utmost vigilance in preventing all hostile collisions, one of the provincial inspectors begged the Government to pause, as they could hardly be aware of the very serious consequences which might result from such an order. The detestable principle from which this policy originally sprung was, that if the people were engaged in fighting with and killing each other, their fury would be spent, and they would think less of combining against their superiors. It was the old medical principle—*malum bene positum ne moveto.* In later times, the dread professed was, that a greater loss of life would be occasioned by collisions with the police. Now, in the whole of the evidence, *this is the only instance which we have found of crime having been met with by the government, and* '*neither grappled with nor subdued;*' and the instance may have been present to Lord Roden's mind when he used those words; but he unfortunately forgot that Lord Normanby's happened to be *the only government to which they were not applicable.*

Complete success has attended the exertions of the police. Those deadly feuds between families and districts, which were universal throughout the south of Ireland, and kept the people wild and barbarous, have almost disappeared. A premeditated faction-fight, which was of weekly, if not daily occurrence, is now unknown. Riots at fairs, and on other public occasions, have also been greatly diminished, owing to the vigilance in repressing them, and in part to the provisions of the Spirits License Act;—another measure emanating from Lord Normanby's Government, which gave a power to the magistrates to strike the booths at an early hour, before the intoxication of the people had begun. These were among the measures then taken for repressing crime.

The next grand object was to remove the causes of crime—those long-standing grievances which kept up active irritation in the minds of the people, and accustomed them to fierce and savage hostility to the operations of the law. Foremost amongst these stood the payment of tithe by the lower orders. The frenzied energy with which the collection of it was resisted—the organized combinations to prevent it, acting as one man, issuing fearful menaces, and savagely executing them; and then the riots, the cruelties, the murders, and the widespread misery and convulsion that followed, are recorded for ever in the history of Ireland, and recorded in characters of blood. And where are all these atrocities now? The cause has been removed, and all its fatal consequences have ceased; and the Tithe Act, which has thus dried up the very source of crime, was the work of this traduced Government! Other measures having

the same object, and, only second to this, the most important, have also been passed. An iniquitous and vexatious process of the law existed, by which the poor holder of a small portion of potatoe-ground, having paid his rent to the man of whom he hired it, not being the landlord, but a tenant, might be called upon, as the actual occupier, to pay his rent over again to the landlord; and this as many times as there were intermediate tenants between himself and the owner of the land. Of course he resisted, and, when his goods were distrained, he called his neighbours and friends together, and a fight and riot ensued. *This process was abolished by law in the first year of Lord Normanby's Government.* By another law also, a power was given to the inferior local courts, of serving their processes in such a manner as to prevent all collisions between the process-servers and the parties. Affrays from this cause were universal, and the military were often called in to aid the police.

The third duty of the Government in respect to crime, was, if possible, to render the punishment of it more certain, by promoting the administration of justice. To effect this, it is proved in evidence, that, to a greater degree than any former government, they have protected witnesses, encouraged them to come forward, and placed them in security both before and after they have given evidence. The next important step was the undertaking to prosecute several classes of offences, which before were left to the parties aggrieved. The poorer classes, it was found, had often no confidence in the courts of law; they had, moreover, slender means and imperfect knowledge of how they should proceed, and were often induced, by threats or bribes, to enter into compromises; so that, in hundreds of cases, the guilty parties were known, but were either never brought to trial, or, from want of proper preparation, the prosecutions failed. Directions were accordingly given to the Crown solicitors greatly to increase the number of their prosecutions. Cattle-stealing, robberies connected with private property, rapes, &c., are among the offences now prosecuted by them, which were not so before. But besides this, in the first year of Lord Normanby's Government, Crown prosecutors were appointed for the quarter-sessions, one for each county. Their business was to prosecute large classes of minor offences, such as assaults, breaches of the peace, &c. These persons have acted with vigour, and by this measure alone an immense number of offenders have, during the whole course of his government, been brought to justice, who, had matters stood as before, would have defied the law, and

offended again and again with impunity. And yet this Government is to be told that it has been false to its most sacred trust, and that it has permitted and fostered crime wherever it has met with it!

The greatest difficulty, however, which attends the administration of law in Ireland, arises from the *feeling* of the people against it. They believe, and they have had good reason to believe, that the laws have been framed not for their protection but for their oppression, and that they have been executed in a spirit of hostility. They therefore distrust alike the law and the authorities. This feeling it is which has induced them to substitute their own system of legislation for that of the state. The course of justice also is impeded by an organized system of intimidation, bearing with terrific force upon informers, witnesses, and jurors. Now, if this spirit could have been crushed by violence, Irish and English Parliaments wanted neither power nor inclination for the task. But violence is the very source from which it springs, and the food on which it lives. It is its mother and its nurse. And after proving the failure of the experiment for six or seven hundred years; after persecuting the Irish for their race, and then for their creed; making them ten times more savage in the one case, and more bigoted in the other, men's eyes are beginning gradually to open,—we dare not yet say to the principles of mercy and of justice,—but to the sense of what their own true interests require. Iniquities such as those which have been perpetrated against the Irish people, cannot have been perpetrated with impunity. We are atoning for what our own generation has done amiss, and, according to an eternal decree, we are atoning also for the sins of our fathers. But shall we go on for ever to do so? Shall we for ever heap coals of fire on our heads, and for ever allow that unhappy country to be our weakness, our sorest trouble, and our bitterest reproach amongst the civilized nations of the world? Men's interests tell them that these things should be changed—that the inveterate distrust and hostility of the Irish to our Government must be overcome; but, as Bacon says of all men, 'they desire 'the end without enduring the means.' Kind consideration for the feelings of a sensitive and misguided people—justice, not unmixed with mercy, to the crimes which spring from their wants—respect to their religious instructors—patient attention to those who plead their cause—and, above all, law, not changed upon every emergency for the sword,—these are the means for leading them into the ways of peace and order—of reconciling them to our sway, and making them *respect* our laws, without which

they never will *obey* them. It is precisely for using these means that Lord Normanby has been abused and vilified. He has been said to be priest-ridden, to be demagogue-ridden, to have sacrificed every principle of good government, and violated his most sacred duties to gain for a day the plaudits of a mob. Open enemies vociferated these charges, concealed ones put them into epigrams, and candid friends felt themselves compelled to admit, that certainly, though from a good motive, there had been too much yielding to popular impulse. Calumny, of course, won the day; that, indeed, seems to be about the surest game that is played. Truth, as usual, retired to her well, and we know not if she ever would have been got out, if success had not intoxicated the slanderers, and deluded them into the notion that they could prove by evidence the monstrous charges which they had preferred. They got a Committee of Enquiry; and how much of this base subserviency to priests and demagogues, and of this dereliction of duty, did they prove? It is placed beyond a doubt in this evidence, that Mr O'Connell, the Ribbon King, dined with the Lord-Lieutenant on a particular occasion; that, in the appointments made in the constabulary, no question was asked about the religion of the party; but that it had been afterwards ascertained, that though nearly all the officers were Protestants, a large portion of the men were Catholics, and so devoted to the service, that 'they would seize the Pope, if required;' that other appointments of more importance have been given to Roman Catholics; and, in short, that in all instances eligibility for office, and not the religious creed, appears to have been the ground for all appointments. We admit that all this has been proved. Farther, it is proved that, with a view of begetting a confidence in the people, trials are fairly and justly conducted; that the Irish Attorney-General had given orders to the Crown solicitors not to enforce capriciously the unlimited power of challenging jurors—above all, not to challenge them solely on the score of their supposed religious and political opinions, nor unless they were connected with the case; and if, for any other reason, it seemed expedient to the Crown solicitor to challenge, he was to act upon it, but to take a note of the reason. We also find in the Evidence that memorable answer of Mr Drummond to the unreasonable complaints of the Irish magistracy against the people. And we say that Lord Normanby's Government would have rendered service enough to Ireland, if it had done nothing else than proclaim from the seat of Government the pregnant truth, that '*property has its duties as well as its rights.*' It makes an era in the administrative government of Ireland

It can never be recalled. It is one of those truths which, 'once 'glanced, must ever fly irrevocable.' England may again send the Tories to govern Ireland, and they may bind and gag her as they have always done; but they will never root out the recollection of these words. They lead the mind to all that has caused the miseries of Ireland—they point to all that may remove them; and they have been spoken at the very moment they are most wanted, when hundreds are exposed to be driven for ever from their lands and houses.

But we must now pass on to the climax of all bad conduct—Lord Normanby's acts of clemency in the year 1836—we will use the words of our opponents—his wholesale acts of clemency. When Lord Normanby increased the efficiency of the constabulary, and determined to put down large classes of offences which never had been touched before—when he determined that the Crown should prosecute offences which it had before left to parties to hush up as they would—when, in short, he determined to repress and punish crime by the increased means which he had procured for himself, and with the greatest vigour of which these means were capable,—he also desired to reconcile the people to this strictness, or rather severity; by proving to them that its sole object was to promote peace and order, and that it proceeded neither from angry nor vindictive feeling; and to exercise a softening influence on their minds, by showing that those who governed them would feel tenderness and compassion for them. In the second year of his government, therefore, and at the very time when all his measures of increased vigour against crime were coming into operation, he determined upon making, in different parts of the country, a display of mercy for past offences,—and this, not as has been falsely stated, and which makes the gravest part of the charge, as a system, but simply as an experiment once for all. In doing so, he appears to have been much guided by the advice of a gentleman of great experience in Irish character, of long standing in his profession, and who, as Sessional Judge for twelve years, had earned the good opinion of men of all parties, in the two troubled counties where he had been employed. Mr Howley was examined before this Committee, and he avows that he strongly urged upon Lord Normanby the expediency of extensive acts of mercy—feeling sure, as he says, that any thing which would induce the Irish people to regard the authorities of the state with affection, would more promote the tranquillity of the country, than the severest penalties most rigidly enforced. A considerable number of persons, then, were at this time liberated from the jails, or received a mitigation of their

sentences. Those were selected chiefly who were in confinement for the slightest offences—above all, those who were in confinement for riots and fighting offences, which the Government had now the means of checking; and those also who had borne the best characters since their conviction.

In some cases, Lord Normanby visited the jails, and liberated in person those whom he selected as being likely to make a greater impression both on the individuals and the country. That he did not in these instances consult the Assistant Barrister, or the judge who had tried the cases, is true—it would have been absurdity in him to have done so. The judge could only have decided upon the legal merits of the case, which were wholly beside the question. The political expediency of trying once for all an experiment of mercy, was surely a matter which the Executive Government was alone competent to entertain and decide.

Another instance of the exercise of clemency by the Lord-Lieutenant, on the same extensive scale, appears by some strange accident to have escaped the notice of Lord Roden and his supporters—the only one of Lord Normanby's misdeeds which has not been worn threadbare by the Orange lords, in their bitter speeches against him. It has crept out, however, in the Evidence, and we will therefore be candid enough to put our enemies in mind of it. No sooner had the resolutions respecting Orange Societies (another measure, by the way, for the peace of Ireland passed in the first year of Lord Normanby's Government) been voted in the House of Commons, and followed by the submission of the leaders of those societies, than an order was sent from Dublin to the northern counties, *to stop all proceedings in the case of Orange riots, and to relieve all persons from any liabilities arising out of those transactions;* and in the order it was further stated, that the Lord-Lieutenant earnestly hoped that the spirit which had led to these unhappy violations, might from henceforth give place to a better feeling among all classes of the community. A considerable number of prisoners were hereupon set at liberty, and discharged absolutely without recognisances. We mention this, because, if there were not superabundant evidence to the same point, this alone would prove that the extensive exercise of clemency *at this time, and at no other*, was part of a system, or rather part of the foundation upon which a system was to rest, of governing Ireland by ordinary constitutional means, and through the affections, instead of in spite of the hatred, of the people. In treating of the effect of this experiment, it must of course be borne in mind, that

such various and complex causes operate upon the general state of crime in a country—that it is difficult to ascertain the share in which each may have contributed to the general result. It is most certain that no evil effect has been traced to it—there has been a general improvement in the state of the country—Orange processions, and the riots springing out of them, have greatly decreased—faction-fights have wholly ceased—riotings among the people are much diminished; and these effects are clearly traced, in the Evidence before us, to the mercy extended to former offenders, as well as to the preventive vigour of the police. Even the jailers—of whose evidence we heard so much—and whose accents were such music to the ears of the Committee—were forced to admit that it had produced the best effects in the counties. One says, 'none of those in prison for 'fights at the time of discharge, have been in again. They have 'since made friends one with another, are married, and are liv-'ing peaceably.' Another says, 'that the Lord-Lieutenant's 'clemency had had an equally good effect upon the feelings of 'the relations and neighbours of the party liberated, as upon the 'parties themselves; and that to his jail, being the one from which 'the greatest number had been discharged, only two had been 'recommitted,—one for breaking windows, being an idiot, and 'the other for driving some heifers under a reset charge,—he 'had acted, however, through ignorance of the law, and the judge 'discharged him.' Another says, 'that he does not know whe-'ther the prisoners who were discharged had a feast together or 'not; but this he knows, that persons who had disturbed the 'county for several years at the fairs and markets, did not come 'in contact with each other again.' Of those released, only one had been in custody again for drunkenness and rioting—to be confined for forty-eight hours for each offence. These were in Tipperary and Leitrim; but the same is said both in Sligo and Westmeath,—none recommitted, or only one or two for very slight offences; and generally, the assertion that was loudly made,—that in liberating those who behaved best in jail, the worst men had been taken, and that mercy was blindly administered,—is disproved by the official returns of recommittals. By these it appears, that during the years 1835 and 1836, out of those who received mitigation or remission of sentence, there was only one in twenty-eight recommitted; while of those who underwent their full sentence, there was one in every eighteen recommitted.

But, setting aside these considerations, and taking the view which we do of the paramount importance of the great and overwhelming necessity of conciliating the affections of the Irish peo-

ple, if we would have them peaceful and orderly subjects, we are of opinion that the policy of this one season of clemency has been amply justified by the unprecedented popularity of Lord Normanby's Government with all classes of the Roman Catholics. This fact, of course, is not denied; it is proved over and over again in the Evidence; and it is a charge which Lord Roden and his party are never tired of repeating. Upon this fact alone, we should be content to rest its defence. In Ireland, affection for the person of the Lord-Lieutenant, and respect and attachment to his Government, will always bear the fruit of increased tranquillity and subordination among the people. That such a result was obtained in this case, the Evidence before us proves; and we will add to it the authority of the sound and just man who now presides over that country, who—when complimented in a public address upon the improvement which he had effected in Ireland—as publicly declared, that 'his only task had been to preserve the 'peace and tranquillity which *he had found established there, by 'the judicious administration of his predecessor.*'

We will now conclude our summary with the mention of one important fact,—*the reduction of the military force maintained in Ireland.* This has taken place gradually, during the whole of Lord Normanby's Government. When the rebellion in Canada broke out, it was from Ireland that the chief draught of troops was made to send there. Upon several occasions, when disturbances have been apprehended in England, fresh troops have been brought from Ireland; and actually at the very moment when Lord Roden was leading the House of Lords into the belief that Ireland was a scene of unprecedented confusion and misery, from one end to the other, 3000 more troops left that country to engage in the comparatively easy task of keeping down the Chartists; and Mr Drummond states upon his oath, that a part of the force which remains might also be spared with perfect safety, if any exigency required it. The army is now about one-half what it was during almost any period of Tory rule since the Peace; and the result as regards Lord Normanby is, that when he went to Ireland it consisted of 19,022 men, and when he left it, of 13,447. This sentence needs no comment; it speaks a volume; it cannot be explained away; it is a broad fact, looking Lord Roden full in the face, and furnishing a pointed contradiction to his assertions.

There are, of course, many other points connected with the Government of Ireland under Lord Melbourne's administration, which in a history of that Government would form a more important feature than any which we have mentioned; such as

having matured and passed a Poor-Law, the only remedy which can be applied to the sorest disease in the social system of the country; the having carried on, in spite of unmitigated slander and obloquy, a National System of Education; and the vigorous and persevering efforts, defeated year after year by the House of Lords, to procure for the country the advantages of municipal institutions. But these topics are beyond our province. The enquiry before this Committee was directed to the state of Crime, and the measures taken by Lord Normanby's Government to repress it; and to the results of that enquiry we have strictly confined ourselves.

And having now given the substance of Lord Roden's charges, and shown that his whole case, from first to last, has utterly and disgracefully broken down, we come to the last consideration—What does Lord Roden himself think of the result of the trial upon which he put Lord Normanby? It is fair that he should speak for himself. He forced the House of Lords into the injustice of being accusers of the man whom, as judges, they would have to try; and of prejudging the case by voting that life and property in Ireland had been rendered insecure. He solemnly engaged to prove his charges; and was therefore bound to collect the evidence and conduct the enquiry. He asked, too, for this select tribunal, (let this never be forgotten,) because a conspiracy was hatching treason in every part of the country; because Ireland was in a state of misery that called for legislative interference; because the arm of the assassin must be instantly stopped; because the wicked Government of Ireland, having encouraged crime instead of punished it, the administration of justice had come to an end; and because the canons of Rome had superseded the laws of England. He gained his object; he got a Committee, and it was composed of an overwhelming majority of his friends. They sat for four months, and put 15,384 questions;—a rather leisurely mode of proceeding, as it seems to us, when instant murder and treason were in question. Still, perhaps, they were only slow to be the more sure. Lord Roden had said there was a necessity for legislative interference; they were, therefore, maturing a really good and effective Coercion Bill—something to bind this race of murderers and conspirators hand and foot, or to allow just that quantum of muscular power to be free which would suffice to do the work of their taskmasters. Did they produce such a Bill, and, pointing to the overwhelming proofs of its necessity, carry it by acclamation? No—not a line of the sort; nor is there evidence of such a measure having been in contempla-

tion for one moment. Let us make another supposition, then. Perhaps, as Lord Normanby had vacated his post, and been succeeded by an able and excellent man, it might be hoped that a brighter day had dawned upon Ireland, and therefore the Committee might have thought it well to let the country be governed a little longer by the ordinary laws. Still the high offences of Lord Normanby would have required punishment. Justice called for it; the necessity of striking terror into the minds of all corrupt and unprincipled rulers demanded it. It must therefore have happened that some one of the chosen few who represent Lord Roden in the House of Commons, should rise up in his place, and propose the impeachment of Lord Normanby. But, strange to say, there is not a trace of such a motion in the journals of the House. There is then but one alternative. Lord Roden failed to prove his charges against Lord Normanby. If so, of course we shall find a record of it. The Committee will have reported that the characteristic crimes of Ireland still exist, but in a mitigated form; and that there has been no evidence to prove that the Executive Government, during the last five years, have been wanting in alacrity and zeal to detect and punish crime. Lord Roden surely can never have been so unjust, as, in the face of the country, to bring forward specific charges of the gravest nature against a high public functionary—pledging himself to prove them by sworn evidence—and then, when he has failed, not to come forward and avow the fact, and strive to make all the reparation in his power. Again, however, we are compelled to say, that *not one word of this appears*. What course, then, has been pursued by him and his Committee? What have they Reported, or how have they fulfilled the duties intrusted to them? They were to tell the House how it was that life and property had been rendered insecure during Lord Normanby's Government—they were to find out the means of arresting the arm of the assassin, and of setting free the course of justice. *Nothing of the kind has been attempted.* They have just piled upon the table of the House four thick folios, containing sixteen hundred pages of evidence and papers;—recommending the Peers to read them—well knowing that not one in fifty will have time or inclination to do so—and then conclude by dropping a hint about being appointed again next session. *And this is what Lord Roden calls a triumph!* It is one which few will envy him. The House of Lords may applaud him, and his friends in Ireland may greet their hero, as they did, with the assurance 'that they honour him as the appointed means which 'Providence has blessed for the protection of their Protestant

'rights, and the discomfiture of the enemies of their faith;'* but this will never remove from him the imputation of having brought forward charges which he could not prove, and of seeking to perpetuate the injury which those charges had inflicted.

We shall say no more. The questions we have discussed are of vital importance to England—she is deeply concerned in the character of her public men—she ought not to allow them to be trifled with, and to be wantonly sacrificed to serve the ends of party. And as regards the Government of Ireland, we pray that, for her own sake, she may never again suffer it to be conducted on the exclusive principles, and with the bitter passions of a sect; and that she may long continue to pursue the free, paternal, and enlightened policy of that Government which has been so unjustly maligned. We say *for her own sake;* for the Irish will now take care for themselves. In vain will the rash bigots, who are now clamouring for the repeal of the Emancipation Act, attain to power. They may for a season hold Ireland in military subjection; they will never govern her; they will never tranquillize her; they must always fear her, and they will end by yielding to her.

'The power of armies is a visible thing,
Formal and circumscribed in time and space;
But who the limits of that power shall trace
Which a brave people into light can bring
Or hide, at will—for freedom combating
By just revenge inflamed?'

* Address from the gentry of the county of Down, October 1839.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Ninth Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Management of the Post-Office Department. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.* 1837.

2. *Post-Office Reform—its Importance and Practicability.* By ROWLAND HILL. London: 1837.

3. *First, Second, and Third Reports from the Select Committee on Postage; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed.* 1838.

4. *Facts and Reasons in support of Mr Rowland Hill's Plan for a Universal Penny Postage.* By W. H. ASHURST. 1838.

5. *The Post Circular.* Nos. I. to XIV. London: 1838.

6. *Du Service des Postes, et de la Taxation des Lettres au Moyen d'un Timbre.* Paris: 1839.

IN the beginning of the year 1837, a pamphlet was published, developing a plan by which, according to the calculations of its author, letters might be conveyed through the post, from one end of the kingdom to the other, at the uniform rate of one penny per half ounce, without any great ultimate loss to the revenue. This bold project did not obtain authority from the name of its author, who was little known to the world. It did not seem capable of being made subservient to the objects of party politics, and it was far out of the region of polemics. Its boldness was, therefore, likely to be quietly contemned as empirical rashness by a busy population like our own, whose curiosity has been palled by the fallacious hopes of advantages which have been so constantly obtruded on the public attention. No scheme, therefore, was ever promulgated with less probability of success from adventitious causes; and yet no scheme ever made its way in so short a time to the convictions of mankind, not only in this country, but wherever a post-office is to be found.

In two years and a-half, the theory of a private individual became the law of the land; and efforts are making in France, Germany, and other countries, to introduce into their own systems the principles on which the plan is founded.

It would be useful, and not less interesting, step by step, to trace the progress of this plan. It would show the rapid and consentaneous movement of the national mind in an aspect somewhat new, and highly satisfactory. The numberless individuals, bound together by no party ties, who sprang forward in all parts of the country, to labour, each in his own way, for the common object; the various public bodies who examined, discussed, sanctioned, and supported it; the newspapers in their unwearied exertions, although their conductors

might not unreasonably have been afraid that the facility of advertising by circular letters would be adverse to their interests,—all these acting towards one end, and influencing the public and the legislature solely by the array of facts and arguments which they were able to adduce, present a spectacle peculiar to our age and country;—a spectacle, too, of the best omen, at a period when good omens are by no means too common.

But our space precludes the possibility of such details; and we must be satisfied with a very hasty review of the principal steps in this extraordinary movement.

A Commission was sitting when Mr Hill's pamphlet appeared, charged with an 'Inquiry into the Management of the Post-Office 'Department.' The Commissioners, Lord Duncannon, Mr Labouchere, and Lord Seymour, had already concluded their investigation as regarded the general post, and were engaged in the twopenny post department of the metropolis. The Commissioners summoned Mr Hill, and subjected his plan to careful examination;—comparing his statements and opinions, as they were expressed, with the evidence of Mr Smith, the chief of the department, who was examined at the same time. We may here remark, that the gentlemen of the Post-Office have necessarily been placed in a difficult and somewhat invidious position. All public offices are besieged by *plan-mongers*, whose projects, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, are not worth the paper on which they are set forth. Between these schemers, who are by no means a patient and long-suffering race, and the executive officers of the different boards by which the complicated machine of government is kept in motion, there is a feud of ancient standing. The projector and the officer are therefore of necessity placed in a hostile attitude. In short, they are natural enemies. The plan is considered by the officer, under the strong presumption that it is built on some fallacy which he is bound to detect and expose: add to this habit of mind, that it is not pleasant to find a stranger claiming to instruct one in his own art and mystery, and we shall not wonder at the slow progress which improvement must perhaps ever be destined to make, in places where the improver has no power of stimulating either by the hope of profit or the fear of loss.

But this state of things, be it remembered, is not productive of unmixed evil: the officer makes an excellent Devil's advocate. All the zeal which a knowledge of practical difficulties, and a keen suspicion, not to say insurmountable distrust, of every thing speculative, can bring to oppose the reception of a theory in which his microscopic glance can detect aught unsound, is brought into full activity.

In July 1837, the Commissioners, having concluded their investigation, reported in favour of Mr Hill's plan, so far as regards the department in reference to which the examination had been made. 'We propose (say they) that the distinction in the rates 'and districts, which now applies to letters delivered by the two-'penny and threepenny post, shall not in any way affect corres-'pondence transmitted under stamped covers; and that any let-'ter, not exceeding an ounce in weight, shall be conveyed free 'within the metropolis, and the districts to which the town and 'country deliveries now extend, if enclosed in an envelope, bear-'ing a penny stamp.' *

In May of that year, a Petition in favour of the plan was presented to both Houses of Parliament, signed by merchants, bankers, insurance companies, men of science, solicitors, publishers, printers, and others, comprising in each class the most important names which the metropolis can furnish. About the same time a Memorial to a similar effect was presented to the Lords of the Treasury by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and in the course of the same year, the question was warmly taken up by the Common Council of London and the Councils of several provincial towns.

Parliament met in November, and Mr Wallace, who has been a most zealous leader in the cause of Post-Office Reform, obtained a Committee—'To inquire into the present rates and 'mode of charging postage, with a view to such reduction there-'of as may be made without injury to the revenue; and for this 'purpose, to examine especially into the mode recommended for 'charging and collecting postage, in a pamphlet by Mr Rowland 'Hill.'

It has been erroneously stated, that Mr Wallace had the nomination of this Committee. The nomination was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now, there are some qualities which so certainly enter into the composition of every Chancellor of the Exchequer who ever lived, that we have sometimes thought we could, Crambo-like, imagine that functionary in the abstract, without any reference to either the House of Commons or Downing Street. The most remarkable of these qualities is an *ex-officio* sensibility to an approaching depression in the revenue, of the most delicate kind. No one, therefore, was less likely to submit a plan which was founded on so startling a reduction of charge to a slight or partial examination. Neither, in point of fact, as most of our readers already know,

* Ninth Report, p. 7.

was the scrutiny less than most severe. The Committee sat sixty-three days; and they examined, besides the Post-Office functionaries and officers of the Stamp-Office, eighty-three witnesses. The Postmaster-General and the Secretary, though favourable to a reduction in postage, objected, it is known, to the penny rate, as destructive to the revenue; and expressed great doubts as to the principle of uniformity. They were, very properly, invited to send for examination whatever witnesses they chose to select; and several were examined, who entertained more or less the same objection to the plan as their chiefs. The investigation was therefore by no means *ex-parte;* and it is admitted on all hands, that the Committee spared nothing which could be supplied by zeal and industry to arrive at the truth. Nor is it less notorious that they contained within their body men peculiarly conversant with the subject of enquiry; and others who, from their avocations, were intimately acquainted with the bearing of the established rates of postage on the business and comfort of all classes of society. The result to which the Committee ultimately came, is no doubt fresh in the minds of our readers. They decided for uniformity of charge—for pre-payment by stamps; and they Reported, that in their opinion the establishment of a penny rate would, after some temporary depression, produce no ultimate loss to the revenue.

But having formed the opinion, that the terms of their appointment precluded them from recommending any plan which involved an immediate loss of revenue, they restricted themselves to a uniform twopenny rate.

This Committee, as we have seen, was appointed in November 1837. In the month of February following, several of the most eminent merchants and bankers of the city of London, with Mr Bates, of the house of Baring and Company at their head, formed a committee for the purpose of collecting evidence to lay before the Parliamentary Committee. This mercantile committee, including men of all political parties—men who had nothing in common, except that they stood at the head of their class for wealth, intelligence, and respectability—has of late been charged with undertaking this important and necessary duty from selfish motives, and with prosecuting it by unworthy means. With equal truth it has been asserted, that the public desire for the reduction of postage has been created by the labours of this body; whereas it has been seen, that before the mercantile committee came into existence, that feeling had obtained sufficient weight to induce the House of Commons, without a dissentient voice, to grant a committee of inquiry. No doubt, it was the prevalence of that feeling which called the mercantile committee

into existence: those who impugn its labours, therefore, are mistaking the effect for the cause. The popular desire for any measure, when it reaches a certain height, always produces an organization to give it practical effect; but to suppose that the mercantile committee could create such a feeling as we all witnessed during the progress of this measure, is to the last degree absurd. Are the clergy of Wells, who canvassed the city for signatures to the postage petition, under the control of the London merchants? Did the Board of Scottish Dissenters, or the Ministers of the Congregational Churches in Durham and Northumberland, petition for penny postage at the nod of the London mercantile committee? It has been a gratifying circumstance to observe the well-directed zeal of the clergy, as manifested in their support of the penny rate. If any class of men is acquainted with the wants of the poor, it is the working clergy of these kingdoms. It is therefore no mean testimony in favour of the measure, as a boon to the labouring classes, that it has called forth so much activity among the clergy of all denominations.

In the Session of 1838, 320 petitions, with 38,709 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons alone. In the session of 1839, which was after the publication of the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee, and the report thereon, the number was 2007 petitions, with 262,809 signatures. It should be remarked, however, that the number of signatures gives a very inadequate idea of the number of persons concurring in the petitions, or of the importance of the classes from whom they proceeded. For instance, in the Session of 1839, we find 148 petitions from town-councils, 58 from mechanics' institutes and societies of a similar nature, and 83 from various associations of professional men,* the greater number of which would, of course, bear but one signature to each.

Thus stood the question when Ministers brought in their bill for the adoption of Mr Hill's plan to its full extent. That, with an eye to revenue alone, a great reduction of the rates of postage was absolutely necessary, every man admitted—that, on the amount of that reduction, as on every question of mere degree, there was some differences of opinion, cannot be denied. But the nation at large had decided for Mr Hill's plan; and of those who thought its adoption would materially injure the revenue, some of the highest note expressed a decided opinion that his plan gave a better chance of success than any other. Thus, on the debate on the second reading in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wel-

* See 'Analysis of the Parliamentary Petitions for the Uniform Penny Postage.'

lington 'admitted that Mr Hill's plan, if adopted exactly as Mr 'Hill had proposed it, was of all plans the most likely to be suc-'cessful.' And the Duke of Richmond pressed upon Ministers, 'that if they brought forward a plan for a uniform postage at all, 'they should bring forward Mr Hill's plan of a penny rate, and 'not one of twopence, as was recommended in the Report of the 'Committee of the other House. He felt perfectly certain, that if 'the measure were to be put in execution, it ought to be on the 'more liberal footing of a penny rate, or there was danger that the 'plan might prove detrimental to the revenue.'

Lord Ashburton and Mr Samuel Jones Loyd had expressed a decided opinion against the propriety of making the Post-Office a subject of revenue at all. Lord Ashburton thinks it the 'worst of our taxes:'—'none have so injurious a tendency.' And Mr Loyd is of opinion, 'that if there be any one thing which 'the Government ought, consistently with its great duties to the 'public, to do gratuitously, it is the carriage of letters.' Lord Lowther* had long ago called the attention of Government to the principles upon which the Post-Office was founded, as avowed in the early Acts, to show that public convenience was the primary object in view, and that revenue was a secondary and subordinate matter. Mean time, no counter plan was proffered; and none, we firmly believe, could have been set forth, which would not have been found beset with far more potent objections than have been yet discovered to the penny rate, after the most rigid scrutiny.

In this state of things, the path of Ministers was clear. A most obnoxious impost had been submitted to examination. Inquiries and discussions, almost without number, had resulted in the firm and universal belief, that the rates then imposed were pregnant with enormous evils, deeply affecting the welfare of the community. The question being thus narrowed in all minds to one of revenue, the House of Commons, by an overwhelming majority, pledged itself to afford a substituted tax, if, upon experiment, any substitution should be found necessary. Ministers did their duty, and the bill passed into a law.

But the introduction of the bill into Parliament produced some curious phenomena out of doors, worthy of a moment's attention. The Journals whose duty it is to prove Ministers in the wrong, whatever side of whatever question they may elect to take, had seized upon Mr Hill's plan as a godsend. That any Chancellor of the Exchequer should have the courage to adopt such a re-

* See Evidence of Lord Ashburton, 8126; of Mr Loyd, 10,378; also Lord Lowther's Report on Prices Current.

duction of rates never entered their imagination; but they knew very well that the change would be extremely popular, and that abundance of fact and argument could be adduced in its behalf. Here, then, was a prize—faction served and popularity gained by the same course. Accordingly, none were so loud and long in favour of penny postage as the Tory Journals—none so intolerant of delay. 'Of all reforms, the reform of the Post-Office' seemed to the *Morning Post*, on 30th March 1839, 'to be one most justi-'fied by common sense, and most called for by the circumstances 'of the country. It doubted, whether, in seeking revenue from 'the Post-Office, we are not abstracting seed, instead of glean-'ing from the harvest.' The *Standard*, on the 29th May, 'promised the hearty concurrence of the Conservatives to a prac-'tical measure like the penny postage;' and pronounced it a 'superior means to all others for promoting popular education.' 'The only question with the *Times* of the 16th April 1839, was—'Will the Ministers have the honesty and courage to try 'it?'—'It may well be termed the cause of the whole people 'of the United Kingdom against the small coterie of place-'holders in St Martin's le Grand and its dependencies.' And on the 31st May it declared, 'into such a question it would be 'utterly repugnant to reason and common sense to allow party 'feeling for a moment to enter.'

But their prayers are at length heard—their aspirations for a penny rate are about to be accomplished. What, then, is their course of action? Do they rejoice in their success? Not at all. On such occasions, Journalists are in the habit of making somewhat liberal claims on the public approbation for their own share in the struggle; and they attribute, perhaps, sufficient potency to their own exertions and influence. But with exemplary modesty and forbearance, our Tory 'contemporaries' refrain from a single note of triumph. They rarely break silence at all, and when they do, it is to hint a doubt of the soundness of their own views. Their occupation is gone!—at least for a time. The change in the political atmosphere produced a corresponding change in the Dutch weather-house of Tory politics. Fair-weather Joan retired from view, and foul-weather John took her place.

Thus the field is not forsaken. No sooner had the Bill fairly passed, and the perilous attack on 'public credit' became inevitable, than a writer is seen to take the field, in order to assure us that the Post-Office revenue is gone for ever; that the Parliament, the Government, and the Nation, have been the dupes of a scheme at which common sense revolts;—founded on facts which turn out to be erroneous, and on calculations ludicrously false and inconsistent with each other. It is quite clear, unless

the censor is wrong himself—a contingency which never enters his own mind—that if the House had only been wise enough to refer the matter to a class in a national school conversant with the first four rules of arithmetic, the bubble would have exploded at once, instead of being inflated as it was for two years and a half by the breath of millions. How this patriot managed to sleep in his bed we wot not. Seeing, as he did, his countrymen labouring under a delusion which gathered strength day by day, until its destructive powers had consummated their object—he, the sole depository of the wisdom required for dispelling it, sits dumb, and refrains from uttering a single word in season. But no sooner is the catastrophe complete, than his silence is at an end; and he shows very satisfactorily that it arose from no want of words, or of disposition to utter them at sufficient length.*

Still, after all, if this had been done with common fidelity as to facts and references, there would have been no great room for censure. The question before the country and the legislature had, it is true, been settled. That question was, whether sufficient evidence had been adduced in favour of the plan to justify its trial; and Queen, Lords, and Commons, had decided in the affirmative. The measure will now therefore be judged of by its results, and by these alone,—for tried it must be. No one, then, can refer the attacks which are now made upon it to any thing but the spirit of faction; and no doubt, if there were any mode in which the obvious intention of embarrassing this great change could take effect, these lucubrations would deserve a reprehension far more severe than any we now think it worth while to bestow. Being, however, quite harmless in the direction in which they are intended to operate, they may even do good in another way, by inducing thought and reflection in the public mind, on the principles involved in this most important innovation—principles which, if well founded, as we firmly believe them to be, are capable of useful extension through many other departments of the public service.

Want of space will also prevent us from doing more than merely to point the attention of our readers to the just appreciation which the Tory Journals have made of the value of their own opinions, as measured by the length of time which they expect their readers to recollect them. After the lapse of 'one 'little month,' the courteous reader is deemed to have forgotten the ecstatics of the *Morning Post* in favour of the Post-Office Reform; and its indignation, that considerations of revenue

* See *Quarterly Review*, No. 128.

should be allowed to interfere with a reform, 'justified by com-'mon sense, and called for by the circumstances of the country.' And he is supposed to be quite ready for all its subsequent contradictions.

We shall then mainly confine ourselves to a survey of Mr Hill's plan, and the grounds on which it stands; and although neither our space nor our readers' forbearance would suffice for a full and complete answer to what has been urged against it, we feel but little doubt, that after we have drawn attention to its broad features, it will be seen that nothing remains to be done to place any fair mind in possession of all the merits of the controversy.

The overwhelming and admitted vice of the old system, is the enormous price of the article furnished to the public, compared with its natural cost, as measured by the price at which competitors would be content with, if the carriage of letters were a free trade. From this enormous and artificial price results the evasion of the law by an illicit carriage of letters; and, where this is not practicable, an immense suppression of correspondence.

It is obviously impossible to make an exact estimate of the amount of evasion, or to approach the truth within very narrow limits. The evidence, however, clearly proves it to be much greater than could have been thought possible until actual enquiry had been instituted. The evidence of Mr Cobden,* who gives the result of investigations made by the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, goes to show, that the proportion of letters from that town to London sent by post, is only as one to six sent by other means. At Glasgow similar enquiries produced a larger proportion against the Post-Office—viz. ten to one.† It would be too much to conclude that any thing like a similar proportion holds good throughout the country at large; and even as regards the towns in question, some considerable deduction must probably be made; inasmuch as the cases examined were those of persons engaged in trades in which correspondence was a heavy item of expense, and consequently where the motives were strong to reduce the cost as much as possible.

But suppose the number of letters which evade the post to be only equal to those which pass through it—a proportion which no one reading the Evidence will find too large, and which would seem to be admitted by the opponents of the measure—even then evasion becomes an evil, the magnitude of which cannot be tho-

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* Evidence, 6683, &c. † Ibid. 8946.

roughly felt without going through some considerable portion of the evidence before the Committee. It is quite clear, however, that an habitual breach of the law by all classes, is of itself a state of things much to be deplored, and pregnant with the worst consequences. 'I have had my mouth stopped,' writes a clergyman of the Established Church, 'when I have been protesting 'strongly against more serious evasions of the revenue laws as 'disgraceful to those who practised them, by the question, "Pray, "do you never send letters otherwise than through the Post-"Office?"'*

With regard to revenue, it is obvious that the 'principle of 'destruction' is here in full exercise; for it is a mere truism to say, that the illicit correspondence of the country contributes nothing to *that*—a remark which equally applies to the correspondence suppressed, by the high rate of postage, in those cases in which there is no practicable mode of sending letters through other channels than the Post-Office. The vast amount of this suppression is abundantly proved in the Evidence; but the experience of our readers will suffice, not indeed to enable them fully to compute the enormity of the mischief, but to show them that it must be of the highest degree of importance. We are justified in saying, that, for the great mass of our countrymen, the Post-Office does not exist; for the higher and middle classes sink into nothing if measured by numbers against those below them; and it is only necessary to compare the income of a labouring man with his pressing wants, to see that it is idle to suppose he will apply his little surplus to the expensive enjoyment of post-letters. It would be easy to fill pages with instances of pain and misery which result from there being no post-office for the poor. We shall confine ourselves, however, to a few pregnant facts, drawn from the evidence. Mr A. Davidson,† needle-manufacturer, related to the Committee an instance in which a poor man was unaware of the death of his relative for six or eight months after he died; in consequence of the family of neither the one nor the other having been able to afford the postage. Mr Emery,‡ deputy-lieutenant for Somersetshire, and a Commissioner of Taxes, relates several facts which prove at once the desire and the inability of the poor to correspond. 'A person,' says he, 'in my parish, of the 'name of Rosser, had a letter from a granddaughter in London, 'and she could not take up the letter for want of means. She was 'a pauper, receiving 2s. 6d. a-week; and, if you will allow me, I 'will repeat her own words, for I have taken them down:—"She

* Post Circular, p. 34. † Evidence, 7687, &c. ‡ Ibid. 10084.

" told the post-office keeper that she must wait until she received the " money from the relieving officer. She could never spare enough, " and at last a lady gave her a shilling to get the letter; but the " letter had been returned to London by the postmistress. She " never had the letter since." That led me to inquire further; and, ' by going to the different local offices in the neighbourhood, (I ' went to almost every one of them within a circle of fourteen, ' fifteen, or twenty miles,) I made inquiry what effect it had on ' the poor; and I have taken down their answers, just as they ' gave them to me.' These are the answers from the post-office keepers as to the effect it had on poor people. The postmaster of Banwell said,—' My father kept the post-office many years; ' he is lately dead; he used to trust poor people very often with ' letters; they generally could not pay the whole charge. He ' told me, indeed I know, he did lose many pounds by letting ' poor people have their letters. We sometimes return them to ' London, in consequence of the inability of the persons to whom ' they are addressed raising the postage. We frequently keep ' them for weeks; and, when we know the parties, let them have ' them, taking the chance of getting our money. One poor ' woman once offered my sister a silver spoon to keep until she ' could raise the money. My sister did not take the spoon, and ' the woman came with the amount in a day or two, and took up ' the letter. It came from her husband, who was confined for debt ' in prison; she had six children, and was very badly off. I am ' quite sure, if the postage of letters were lowered to a penny, ten ' times the number would be written by all classes of people.' What follows is the answer of another postmaster, at a large village containing 1500 or 1600 inhabitants, called Congresbury:—' I ' have sometimes had complaints made of the high rate of post- ' age; the price of a letter is a great tax on poor people. I sent ' one charged eightpence to a poor labouring man about a week ' ago; it came from his daughter. He first refused taking it, saying ' it would take a loaf of bread from his other children; but, after ' hesitating a little time, he paid the money and opened the ' letter. I seldom return letters of this kind to Bristol, because ' I let the poor people have them, and take the chance of being ' paid. Sometimes I lose the postage; but generally the poor ' people pay me by degrees.' The postmaster of Yatton says, ' The poor, and rich too, complain of the high charge of letters. ' I am quite sure, if they were not so high, Government would ' lose nothing, there would be so many more written. I have ' had a letter waiting lately from the husband of a poor woman ' who is at work in Wales; the charge was ninepence; it lay many ' days, in consequence of her not being able to pay the postage.

'I at last trusted her with it.'—'Sixpence,' says Mr Brewin,* one of the Society of Friends, 'is a third of a poor man's daily 'income. If a gentleman, whose fortune is £1000 a-year, or £3 'a-day, had to pay one-third of his daily income, that is, a sove-'reign for a letter; how often would he write letters of friend-'ship? Let a gentleman put that to himself, and then he will 'be able to see how the poor man cannot be able to pay sixpence 'for his letter. The people do not think of using the post-office; 'it is barred against them by the very high charge.'

This apt and forcible illustration has drawn down on Mr Brewin and M. Piron, the able and experienced *Sous-Directeur* of the French Post-Office, as well as on the Committee, who take the same view as Mr Brewin, the epithet of 'wiseacres.' And their 'short-sighted sophism' is thus exposed by the profound, though somewhat scornful, sage who has discovered it. 'These 'wiseacres wholly forget that a man of £1000 a-year would pro-'bably receive *thirty* or *forty* letters for every *one* which could 'be addressed to a poor labourer. There can be no doubt that, 'generally speaking, the number of letters which any man 'receives bears some proportion to his business, that is to 'say, his income; and if so, even on Messrs Brewin and 'Piron's own argument, the tax falls pretty equally on all. But 'why confine this philanthropic principle to so slight and 'rare an incident in a labourer's life as the receipt of a *letter?*' But why, *we* would ask, is it a 'rare incident in a labourer's 'life' to receive a letter? Has the labourer no relatives—no friends? Do the children of the rich and the poor man observe the same proportion as their incomes; or has nature regulated the affections by the rule of three? A more severe condemnation of the established system could not have been pronounced by its bitterest enemy than is conveyed in the simple statement of the fact, that to receive a letter is a 'rare incident 'in a labourer's life.' The writer actually falls into the blunder of taking that infrequency of correspondence, which is the obvious and necessary effect of high postage, as its defence. He attempts, it is true, to show that soldiers and sailors make but slight use of their penny privilege; and cites the Duke of Wellington as his authority, who is said to have stated that, in a *Scotch* regiment, this privilege produced in six or seven months but sixty-three or sixty-four letters from about 700 men. The name of the regiment was not mentioned by the Duke; inquiries, therefore, cannot be made. But it would be giving much more weight to the

* Evidence, 7961.

anecdote than the Duke of Wellington could have intended, to treat it as an answer to the precise information of Captain Bentham, which is prudently left unnoticed. Captain Bentham, from his experience of the fifty-second regiment, in which he held his company, states that, upon the average, every soldier sent seven letters and a half yearly—that they appeared to value the privilege most highly—that an anxiety to write their own letters, led them zealously to profit by the regimental schools—and that the acquirement of the art of writing conduced to their respectability and good conduct.* Again, the Duke alluded to a *Highland* regiment. This has been changed into '*Scotch*,' and an argument has been founded on the perversion; for, as it is truly observed, 'the *Scotch* are remarkable above all our population 'for education.' But it is known to all the world, that, as compared with the Lowland Scotch, the Highlanders are an uninstructed people. Nor ought it, in common candour, to be forgotten, that soldiers and sailors, giving them full credit for all their good qualities, are not a fair sample of their class, either as regards the disposition or ability to correspond by letter. But Messrs Brewin and Piron receive their *coup-de-grace* by the following notable illustration:—'Why not, it is asked, put the case 'thus? Is it not monstrous that a poor workman should pay for 'a loaf of bread half his daily income? What would a man of '£1000 a-year say, if you were to charge him £1, 10s. for 'every loaf of bread consumed in his house? The same reasoning would apply to the pot of beer, the yard of cloth, the pound 'of leather—ay, and a *thousand times* more forcibly, we think, 'than to postages; and would, in short, require the repeal of all 'taxes that tend to exact from a day-labourer for *any* article, 'either of use or luxury, a greater *proportion* of his income than 'it would cost a man of £50,000 a-year.' The Committee find that the average tax on general post-letters is more than one thousand per cent on the prime cost. Now, we venture to think it probable, that if bread, beer, cloth, and leather were taxed at the same rate, and if the necessary consequence were, that the poor man must live on potatoes and water, and go naked and barefoot, the number of 'wiseacres' who might think such a system of taxation 'monstrous,' would be somewhat large; and that, peradventure, they might enforce their views with arguments more troublesome to deal with than any we have been able to find in the source whence this logic is drawn.

We have no room to dwell on the many ramifications into

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* Evidence, 4759, &c.

which the mercantile correspondence of the country would shoot forth but for the pressure of the tax. Abundant testimony as to this will be found in the Evidence;* and an attentive consideration of the facts will show how much, not only the immediate revenue of the Post-Office, but all other branches, suffer from the consequences of suppression.

The mischiefs to which we have thus hastily adverted, although they could not be known in their full extent prior to the investigation consequent on the publication of Mr Hill's pamphlet, had led him to believe, that, if he had taken a correct view of the case, the history of the Post-Office revenue ought to support and illustrate his conclusions; and, on examination, it appeared that he was amply borne out by the facts. From the year 1815 to 1835, (the last year the accounts of which were published when he wrote,) he found that both the gross and net revenue had been stationary; or indeed, to some small extent, had been retrograde;—a portentous fact viewed in any light, but appalling, if the opinions on which we have been animadverting are founded in truth; for if, while the correspondence of other nations is rapidly increasing, our system is incapable of any but slight improvements, it is difficult to see how we are to keep our present high position. The experience of history is uniform to prove, that the progress of civilisation is intimately and essentially connected with facility of communication. If we trace it to its origin on the banks of the Nile, or among the great rivers of India, or to the islands and promontories of Greece, still we find it keep pace with the means which the nations possess for easy and rapid communication, and interchange of person and property, and with them of thought and knowledge.

In modern times, there can be no surer index of the state of a country than its correspondence; which is found to be extended by every improvement in wealth, in commercial activity, in education, and in the growth of kind affections among the people. If our correspondence, then, is to remain stationary, improvement must stand still, nay, must go backward; for our population makes a steady and rapid progress.

The excess of births above deaths is more than 1000 per diem. If, then, the number of letters written should remain the same,

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* See Evidence of Messrs Christie, 3382, &c.; Dillon, 3525, &c.; De Porquet, 3930, &c.; Desborough, 3996; Moffatt, 4296, &c.; Murray, 5781; Ashlin, 6225; Maury, 6356; Brown, 6572; Cobden, 6682–3; Vickers, 7093; &c. &c.

or should be of slow increase, the inevitable conclusion must be, that we are losing ground in the great race. This, however, is the *reductio ad absurdum*. The Post-Office revenue, we have seen, is any thing but a test of the number of letters written, and still less a criterion of what our correspondence would become, if it were relieved from the pressure of exorbitant taxation.

Till of late, all the world treated the stagnation of Post-Office revenue for five-and-twenty years, as furnishing a conclusive argument that the system was unsound. But the writers to whom we have before alluded, have now discovered this view to be a mere delusion. 'Space,' they affirm, 'is the aliment of the 'Post-Office;' and thus they account for the increase of American postage. 'It is because the territory of the United 'States has been extended:' and yet, with great inconsistency, they pray it may be taken into account, on behalf of our Post-Office, that the increase between the commencement of the century and the year 1815 had been so rapid, that if we take the whole term, viz. from 1801 to 1835, correspondence increased in a greater ratio than population. Now, we beg to enquire which of the British Isles it is that was so much enlarged between 1801 and 1815, as to supply the Post-Office with its 'aliment of space;' and what it was in 1815 that produced a paralysis in that faculty of expansion. So far is the stagnation of the last twenty-five years from being explained by the rapid stream of the former fifteen years, that that rapidity furnishes another and insuperable difficulty to be overcome. To be sure, it is throwing away astonishment to wonder at any extravagance of writers, who, amidst their own irreconcilable contradictions, accuse Mr Hill of inconsistency, because he presents two accounts,—one showing, that if the Post-Office revenue had increased since 1815 only at the rate of population, it would exhibit an increase of more than £500,000,—the other, a table, showing that if it had increased as rapidly as the stage-coach duties, it would exhibit an increase of £2,000,000. Would our readers believe that grown-up gentlemen have gravely propounded for their readers' belief, that, because these two accounts give different sums, they contradict each other?

That correspondence ought to increase at least in the ratio of population, even if our position were in other respects stationary, we have already shown. But when we find that the number of travellers is so much greater than it was,—as is proved by the vast increase in the stage-coach duty,—it is reasonable to believe that other modes of intercommunication would make progress in an equal degree. We believe that correspondence, in a natural and healthy state of the Post-Office, would be multiplied far be-

yond either rate of increase. We never heard of a journey which did not, in one way or another, produce letters, and naturally so, for it multiplies the relations which subsist between the traveller and his connexions. When friends are removed from each other to such a distance that personal communication becomes rare or impossible, it is notorious that correspondence dwindles, and for the most part altogether ceases. 'Ten thousand inhabitants,' it is said, 'added to New York, 'would have little effect on the inland postage; but the ten 'thousand men pushing themselves in long lines down the west, 'must necessarily become customers to the Post-Office.' This assertion is not only not true, it is the direct reverse of the truth. Our proposition is, that a compressed population contributes more to the Post-Office, than the same numbers if spread over a wider space; and consequently, as far as the Post-Office is concerned, that it would have been better for the ten thousand men to remain in New York, than to depart, 'in long lines down the west.' And to prove this, let us take the correspondence of four towns with London—two at a short, and two at a long distance—by which it will be seen that space, instead of feeding the revenue, tends very much to exhaust it.

Chargeable Letters dispatched to London in the week beginning 15th January 1838, (*1st Report*, p. 435.)

	Letters.	Single Postage.	Total Postage.			Population.	Contribution per head, expressed in hundreds of a penny.
		d.	£	*s.*	*d.*		
From Brighton,	3055	8	101	16	8	40,684	.60
—— Reading,	1267	7	36	19	1	15,595	.56
—— Belfast,	363	16	24	4	0	89,149	.15
—— Aberdeen,	362	15½	23	7	7	58,019	.10

We find, too, from analyzing the returns, that of all the letters delivered in London, about one-half are posted within twelve miles of St Martin's le Grand, three-fourths within one hundred miles, and only one-fourth in all the world besides.

That the correspondence of the country labours under an unfavourable pressure, cannot then be doubted, nor indeed is it denied. The only difference is as to the degree. Before the question of

degree can be approached, it is, however, obviously necessary to estimate with exactness the cost of the article.

The cost of postage to the Post-Office is divisible into three heads:—the cost of receiving a letter into the office—of its transmission from town to town—and of delivery to the correspondent. The first and last of these heads, it is clear, must be pretty much the same for all letters: at all events, these heads of cost will not vary according to the distance which the letter travels. The item of transmission would certainly never at first sight be expected to be uniform. Mr Hill, however, as we think, has demonstrated, that it is so small in itself, and is so little increased by any increase of distance, that to consider it as uniform, is a nearer approximation to exact justice than can be made by any variation expressible in the smallest coin. We must refer to the report for the calculations, on which the exact amount is founded. All that we shall here do is, to examine the principle on which this uniformity is founded. It is quite obvious that the essential cost of transmitting light articles is not in the ratio of distance, but in the inverse ratio of numbers. Give a porter a letter to carry a mile, and you will pay him a shilling: give him a hundred letters, to be delivered at one place at a distance of five miles; and, even if he charges five shillings, it is obvious that each of these latter epistles will be despatched at a twentieth of the cost of the former. Indeed, the minute expense of mere transmission of letters in large numbers, has been used as an argument against the possibility of the Post-Office ever entering into successful competition with the smuggler. Colonel Maberly states—'The price 'at which correspondence can be conveyed by a coach, is so in-'finitely lower than any price the Post-Office can put upon it, 'it is perfectly impossible that the Post-Office price can ever be 'one that shall at all meet the smuggler in the market.'

In using this argument, the Colonel forgot for the moment that transmission is only one of the heads, and that his supposed case did not provide for the cost of reception and delivery. It, however, satisfactorily proves the point for which we adduce it; viz. *that the cost of transmission does not depend on the distance travelled over, but on the number of letters which travel together; the cost of each being in the inverse ratio of such number.*

If, therefore, the charge upon letters of equal weight is to vary at all, such variation should be made upon the principle which these facts disclose. No one, however, has ever suggested the propriety of such a rule of charge. Yet it is to be observed, that all the objections to Mr Hill's principle of uniformity, are founded in reality on the difference produced by variation in numbers, and not in distance. Mr Hill took as his example the ex-

pense of transit between London and Edinburgh, a distance of four hundred miles; which he found to be—having regard to the whole weight of the mail—about one-ninth of a farthing for a single letter. To this example it is objected, that if he had taken the mail from London to Louth, a distance of one hundred and forty-eight miles, the cost per letter would have been found to be much higher; the number of letters between London and Louth being, of course, much less than those between London and Edinburgh. How this fact could be supposed to prove that the charge ought to increase in proportion to the distance, it is difficult to understand, when it shows that a transit of a hundred and forty-eight miles may be more expensive per letter than one of four hundred! The principle of uniformity of charge is, then, made out against all objectors at present in the field. If any should arise who would vary the charge, inversely as the number of letters sent, they certainly would stand upon better ground than any yet taken; although, if the time should ever arrive, it would be no hard task to prove that the abstract justice of such a charge, varying as it would from day to day, would be dearly bought, both to the public and the government, by surrendering the principle of uniformity. We must not, however, forget an objection which it is difficult to meet, only because

'Your true no meaning puzzles more than wit.'

It has been urged, that inasmuch as newspapers and franks do not pay postage, therefore, when the cost of a letter is to be ascertained, they ought not to be taken into account! It is indeed a strange fallacy to say, that because franks and newspapers *pay* nothing, that therefore they *cost* nothing. The objector is paying himself and his readers with words. When he says they cost nothing, he ought to mean no more than that they cost nothing to the correspondents, either sender or receiver, which is a truism; but under this equivocal expression, he has deceived himself into believing that they cost nothing to the *Post-Office*. If the cost of production can thus be annihilated by refraining from asking the customer for the price of the article, an expedient is found for getting rid of the necessity, or even the justice, of paying for any thing. It is unfair to the public to give such valuable truths a limited application. This dead-weight of franks and newspapers must, no doubt, be taken into account, though not in the way proposed; it is a sort of revenue in *kind*, and must be considered as an addition to the money revenue paid by the Post-Office into the Exchequer; and the cost which it imposes on the Post-Office must be taken into account when the quantum of net money revenue is calculated as likely to proceed from the penny rate. And thus much as to

the principle of uniformity of charge, which our readers will at once see may be treated quite independently of any question as to its amount.

In order to ascertain the proper amount, the average rate of transit must be found—which is of course done by having regard to all the lines of road, long and short—prolific or sparing in correspondence. It, however, is shown in the Report, by a series of calculations, conducted with great care and unwearied assiduity, that such average for all the mails leaving London, is just what Mr Hill had found to be the actual cost between London and Edinburgh, viz. :—$\frac{1}{56}$ part of a penny.* So that not only is the principle of uniformity set at rest, but it is shown that what has heretofore been considered a principal item of cost, is exceedingly minute. To arrive at the exact fraction of a farthing, which represents this minute cost, doubtless required all the science and labour which have been bestowed upon the task; but the demonstration of the principle may be compressed into a few words. The charge by the mail-contractors will of course be made, and is, in point of fact, made according to the space which they construct in their coaches for the Post-Office bags; it being of little importance to them to what extent that space is filled; and if this charge is to be divided among all the letters, according to the bulk which may be fairly enough considered as measured by their weight, it is evident that the cost per letter will be high when the *boot* is empty, and low when it is full. Now, it is found that the number of chargeable letters might be increased twenty-four fold, without overloading the mails, and without any material addition to the sums paid to the contractors; hence it follows, that even the contemplated increase from the establishment of the penny rate, large as it is, will add little or nothing to the cost of transit of the whole body of letters; while it is clear that it will reduce the cost for each letter to a fraction still more minute.

The cost of transit being thus disposed of, let us see what has been done for that of reception and delivery. This cost, it is clear, must be considerably enhanced by the practice of collecting the postage on delivery—a practice which also causes delay, and may be considered as adding to the price of the service performed, by diminishing its worth;—celerity being one of the most valuable qualities in the article of which the Post-Office is the vendor. But to collect the postage at all through the means of the Post-Office, entails a heavy expense on that department, and leads to serious evils.

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* Third Report, Notes, p. 11.

Each letter forms an item in several accounts—accounts between the various post-offices, and between them and the postmen. The duty of taxing or affixing the charges upon the letters, is another source of expense, and is at once complicated and laborious.

The adoption of a uniform charge for uniform weights, affords an opportunity for transferring the collection of the revenue to the Stamp-Office, from which the public will be supplied with stamped covers and labels, and by which every letter-writer will become his own M. P., and frank his correspondence himself. Into the controversy respecting the practicability of this part of the plan, we shall not enter. The details, we know, have received the most careful and anxious attention. The most eminent men of the country, in practical science, have given them the benefit of their labours; and we have the fullest belief, that in a few years the objections which have been made will appear as ludicrous as those insuperable obstacles now do, which the wisdom of our ancestors predicted would obstruct the route of Mr Palmer's mail-coaches.

The advantage to the revenue of collecting the postage by the sale of stamps, is manifest. At present the receipt of the postage is a retail operation; but, when we buy penny stamps, we shall buy for the most part many stamps at once. Moreover, it has been found by experience that the collection of the stamp revenue is made at less expense than any other having reference to the number and amount of the sums to be received.

To the public the advantages are equally clear. If the postage is paid by the sender, the temptations to fraud in his servants are considerable, and the trouble of petty disbursements is not slight. If paid by the receiver, then comes the delay in delivery.

The whole cost attendant on receiving, transmitting, and delivering a letter, according to the present system, the Committee found to be $\frac{76}{100}$ of a penny, of which the cost of transit is $\frac{19}{100}$, and that of receipt and delivery $\frac{57}{100}$. The fraction $\frac{19}{100}$ will be, of course, reduced by every addition to the total correspondence. The other fraction $\frac{57}{100}$, it is quite evident, would be greatly reduced by relieving the Post-Office from the collection of postage; and, as a large business is always carried on at a less proportionate expense than a small one, the expected increase of correspondence will also operate on this part of the charge, though not so powerfully as on the cost of transit.

On the assumption of a fivefold increase, Mr Hill estimates that the total Post-Office cost of a letter of average weight will be reduced to a halfpenny—an estimate which any one who will take the pains to follow him through all the steps of his investigation, will think sufficiently high.

We have now ascertained two important points; first, the actual cost of a letter on the present system, and the cost estimated with great care of a letter on the new plan; but on that plan a fivefold increase of chargeable letters will be necessary to preserve the revenue from a greater loss than somewhere about £300,000 per annum; while a sixfold increase would more than support it.

It now then remains to examine what are the grounds for expecting a large increase in the number of letters sent through the post.

That a very considerable portion of the letters now written evade the Post-Office, has been already seen; but all the witnesses, as might be expected, agree in stating, that with charges at all approximating to those of the contrabandist, the Post-Office would be preferred. We may then fairly expect to add by far the greater part of this class to the present number. It is, however, proposed to increase the facilities of sending by the post very materially. Indeed, the railway system at one and the same time urges forward such improvements, and furnishes the means of carrying them into effect; and the railways already operate on the transmission of letters far beyond what would be supposed by considering them only as connecting their *termini*, and the intermediate places on their lines. A common road may be compared to a river with a narrow basin; while a railway resembles one with a very wide basin, draining therefore a great breadth of country. Its power of drawing every thing to itself from places which lie at a distance from its line, is prodigious; and this lateral attraction has already loaded the railway mails with letters, which, merely looking to the map, no one would suppose could have their route so much inflected from the straight course, without a loss of time for which even railway speed could not compensate. This fact, we may remark, in passing, explains how the higher charge for the mails which go by the railway, does not of necessity imply that the cost per letter is greater than before. Space for space, the railway serves the public at a less cost than was paid to the coach proprietors. But it can hardly be expected that a travelling post-office, containing many hundreds of cubic feet, can be conveyed, even laying the increased speed out of calculation, for the same sum as the public formerly paid for less than a twentieth part of such room in the *boot* of a coach.

That increased facilities of sending by post will increase the correspondence, is proved by the experience both of England and France. Palmer's improvements, even in the face of enhanced rates of postage, trebled the number of letters in twenty years. 'The new facilities of transmission afforded by the Man-

'chester and Liverpool railway, increased the number of letters 'between the *termini* nearly fifty per cent in six years; postage 'remaining the same.' And in France it is stated by M. Piron, that within a few years a diminution in the time of transmission between Paris and Marseilles, from one hundred and eighteen hours to sixty-eight hours, has doubled the correspondence between those two cities, the rates of postage remaining unaltered.*

The experiment of morning mails is too new to enable us to speak to numbers; but it has been clearly ascertained, that it has produced so large an addition as much more than to justify the change even as a measure of finance. These, and other improvements which are in preparation, would afford a stimulus of a cognate kind with that arising from a reduction of postage. It would give a better article at the same price. But the great public want would still remain unsatisfied. The community who would write more frequently if the mails were despatched more frequently, or travelled with greater speed, are few indeed compared to those who would be satisfied with even a slower rate than the present, if the price could be brought within their means, or down to a fair proportion between the object to be obtained and the price of obtaining it.

The degree in which reduction of postage would operate, cannot be accurately estimated; but Mr Hill has indicated a guiding principle which points at a *minimum* of increase, leaving its *maximum* still to be ascertained. His position is, that no reduction hitherto made in the price of any article in general demand, has diminished the total amount of public expenditure upon that article. And he adduces the following evidence in proof of its correctness:—

'1. The price of soap, for instance, has recently † fallen 'by about one-eighth: the consumption in the same time has 'increased by one-third. Tea, again, the price of which, since 'the opening of the China trade, has fallen by about one-sixth, 'has increased in consumption by almost a half. The consump-'tion of silk goods, which, subsequently to the year 1823, have 'fallen in price by about one-fifth, has more than doubled. The 'consumption of coffee, the price of which, subsequently to '1823, has fallen about one-fourth, has more than tripled. And 'the consumption of cotton goods, the price of which, during the 'last twenty years, has fallen by nearly one-half, has in the same 'time been fourfolded."—*Post-Office Reform*, p. 70.

'2. The sale of newspapers for the twelve months before the

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* *Du Service des Postes*, p. 4. † That is, at the close of 1836.

'late reduction in stamps was—35,576,056,* at an average price, 'say of 7d., costing the public, £1,037,634.

'For the twelve months subsequent to the reduction it was— '53,496,207,† at an average price, say of 4¾d., costing the public '£1,058,779.

'3. The annual number of advertisements before the late reduc- 'tion in the advertisement duty, was—1,010,000, at an average 'price, say of 6s., costing the public £303,000.

'It is now—1,670,000, at an average price, say of 4s., costing 'the public £334,000.

'4. The number of persons paying for admission to the Tower 'was, in the ten months prior to the late reduction—9508, at 3s. 'each (including the warder's fee),=£1426.

'In the ten months subsequent to the reduction it was—37431, 'at 1s. each,=£1871.

'The rule established by these facts, viz. that the demand for 'the article increases in a greater proportion than the price de- 'creases; so that, if one thousand are sold at 1s., many more than 'two thousand would be sold at 6d., is, it is believed, without 'exception.—Certainly the article of postage does not furnish one.

'The reduction of the Irish postage rates which was made in '1827, was immediately followed by a considerable increase in 'the Irish Post-Office revenue, though precisely to what extent 'it would be difficult to state, owing to a transfer that was made 'at the same time of certain receipts from the English to the 'Irish Post-Office revenue. An alteration was made in the year '1831, which was equivalent to a partial reduction, by exempt- 'ing the correspondence of a portion of the metropolis, which 'had paid the general-post rate, from paying an additional two- 'penny-post rate. Consequent on this reduction, though at first 'attended with some loss, the Post-Office revenue was improved 'to the amount of £10,000 a-year, instead of there being a loss 'of £20,000 a-year, as had been expected by the Post-Office. A 'reduction made in 1835, on the rates of ship-letters, has been 'followed by a considerable increase in that branch of the 'revenue.'‡—*Third Report of the Select Committee on Postage.*

'The postage of letters between Edinburgh and the adjacent 'towns and villages was, in 1837, reduced from 2d to 1d. In 'rather more than a year the letters had more than doubled, and 'were on the increase when the last returns were made.‖

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* No. 307, Session 1838. † No. 184, Session 1839.

‡ The increase has been from £84,000 to £116,000 per annum.—(Vide *First Report on Postage*, p. 472.)

‖ Third Report, Abstract, p. 24.

We are informed, on authority on which we can rely, that with regard to all places where the penny rate has been established in lieu of a higher, the result, taken as a whole, has been the same as at Edinburgh; and we have ascertained for ourselves some facts which go strongly to support Mr Hill's position. His account of the Tower fees was taken before the last reduction in May, which brought the fee down to sixpence. Comparing the proceeds during similar months at each rate of admission, the account will stand thus:—

Number of Visiters from May to November.

	Three Shilling Rate. 1837.	One Shilling Rate. 1838.	Sixpenny Rate. 1839.
	7,533	31,333	56,213
Produce,	£1,129, 19s.	£1,566, 13s.	£1,405 : 6 : 6

It should be borne in mind that the Coronation, which took place in June 1838, must, by the concourse of strangers which it caused to repair to the metropolis, have greatly added to the number of visiters to the Tower in that year; and this may be the reason why the increase under the sixpenny rate has not been larger than it is.

From the 1st of July the tolls on Waterloo Bridge, on horses and carriages, were reduced somewhat more than 50 per cent—the penny toll on foot passengers remaining as before; and the result of the reduction, even in its first period, up to the 1st December, 1839, compared with the corresponding five months of 1838, has made, upon an annual toll of about L.3250, a diminution of only L.60. There is now an actual weekly increase, and there can be little doubt that the ensuing year will exhibit a considerable gain caused by the reduction.

But thé effects of the reduction of the duty on tea, furnishes a still stronger case in point. In 1784, Mr Pitt made a large reduction in the duty on tea, which of course led to a diminution in the price of that article. The following table shows the effect on the consumption and on the total expenditure. The quantities of tea sold, are taken from a return ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 23d March, 1813;—the average prices, which are those of the wholesale dealer, and which include the duty and excise, have been determined by careful enquiry.

Before the Reduction.

Years.	Quantities of Tea Sold in lbs.	Average price per lb.	Total Expenditure in Tea.
1781.	5,031,649	6s.	£5,221,352.
1782.	6,495,518		
1783.	5,877,340		

After the Reduction.

Years.	Quantities of Tea Sold in lbs.	Average price per lb.	Total Expenditure in Tea.
1785.	14,921,893	4s.	£9,417,699.
1786.	15,943,682		
1787.	16,222,923		

The result of the reductions in fees for admission to the Tower, is of the most cheering kind. Here is a reduction in the ratio of 6 to 1, and the increase is as 7 to 1. Mr Hill finds that taking all correspondence, short and distant—single letters, double, and treble letters, &c., together—the average postage is 6¼d., and he computes that, taking letters of all weights on his plan, the average postage would be a penny farthing.* A fivefold increase of numbers would therefore bring up the gross revenue to the same point; and, to produce that effect, he proposes to reduce the postage in the same ratio; and this he does in addition to the various improvements to which we have alluded.

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* The very obvious fact, that with a charge of a penny for half an ounce, twopence for an ounce, &c., the average postage *per packet* must be higher than one penny, seems to have been beyond the comprehension of the writer to whom we have so often referred. Mr Hill—he says, 'raises the rate per letter, from *one penny* to *one penny halfpenny*, an 'addition of fifty per cent, which he justifies, no doubt, by the increased 'rate on the excepted classes of letters; but if these excepted letters be 'so numerous as to swell the total by *one-half*, what becomes of all the 'talk about uniformity, dispatch, simplicity, and so forth? The calcula-'tion becomes by one-half less incredible, but the principle of *a single* '*and a uniform penny postage* is gone.'—(*Quarterly Review, No.* 128.) Mr Hill does not raise the rate, nor does he deviate in the slightest degree from the principle, that all letters shall be charged at the uniform rate of one penny PER HALF-OUNCE. Nor is there, in the whole course of his pamphlet or evidence, the most distant allusion to a three-halfpenny rate. Were it not idle to waste words with a critic so unscrupulous as to facts, we would point out how, on the one hand, he reduces the number of ship letters from 1,210,000 to 90,000 per annum, and, on the other, enhances the postage of 'some houses' in London to L.10,000 a-year!—an unfounded and preposterous estimate, which has created some merriment in the city.

What, then, is there unreasonable in the hopes which he entertains? Is it to be said that the reduction is too great, and that the principle holds good only within narrower limits? Without denying that there is a limit, though as yet undiscovered—we answer that the principle has held good wherever it has been tried; and we cite the instance of the Tower, to show its success in a bolder application of it than is to be made in the case of postage. Is it to be said that postage is a luxury? Without conceding the fact, we answer that the admission to the Tower is a luxury; but we answer also, that cheap luxuries are demanded with great avidity by very large and, we devoutly hope, rapidly increasing classes of the community. And, if correspondence is to be called a luxury to the labouring poor, can it any longer be doubted that it is a luxury which they highly prize and anxiously desire? neither is there one the increase of which would so truly mark their improvement as this. Such increase might be viewed as an *exponent* of much great and unobtrusive good—of advance in education, and of increasing strength of the domestic ties. The letters would be from parent to child with heart-warm prayers for his welfare, and with advice which must win for itself respect and confidence never to be obtained by a stranger; from child to parent with the outpourings of gratitude and affection, which may have been checked at home by the common-place feelings induced by daily intercourse, but which become strong to overflowing by separation, unless, as it too often happens, they evaporate from the mere want of their natural outlet.

Nor would there be letters of kind feeling only; many a small sum of money would be thus remitted to assist the parent yet struggling under the burden of his family, or pining under the diminished income of old age. The aid so afforded might often be slight and inefficient; but who does not feel that every shilling so bestowed, would have within itself a power of good which arithmetic is unable to calculate?

These are no mere speculations of ours; the experience of the poor-law authorities has pointed out the absence of the means of transmitting small sums, as a serious hardship on the labouring population.* It is known that much abortive trial and suffering is often sustained by labouring men in seeking for employment. They go into districts where the labour market is overstocked, whereas, had the means of intercommunication been easy, they would have bent their steps in an opposite direction. During this absence of the father, his family

* Fifth Poor-Law Report.

often suffer much discomfort, and even great misery. Mr Henson, a working hosier of Nottingham, says that—'When a 'man goes on the tramp, (*i. e.* when he travels in search of 'employment,) he must either take his family with him, per- 'haps one child in arms, or else the wife must be left behind; 'and the misery I have known them to be in, from not knowing 'what has become of the husband, because they could not hear 'from him, has been extreme. Perhaps the man, receiving only 'sixpence, has never had the means, upon the whole line, of 'paying tenpence for a letter, to let his wife know where he was.'

We have said little of the multiplication of letters on business, and the mode of advertising by means of circulars. That these are prolific sources of increase is sufficiently obvious; and every one, with regard to his own affairs, must be aware how much greater a number of letters he would write, even if his correspondence, measured by the quantity of matter, should not increase.

It has been objected, that circular letters would become so common, that at length the public would be disgusted and refuse to read them, and that consequently they would be discontinued. But this objection applies with greater force to advertisements in newspapers; because in the latter case the advertiser cannot select the class of readers to whom he would address himself, so as to be sure that his advertisement shall come into their hands, as he can in the former; and yet how rapidly advertisements multiply, even under the pressure of heavy taxation, has been seen; and it is equally well known that in the United States, where they are untaxed, their numbers are almost infinite. We therefore, in common with witnesses selected from a great variety of trades, cannot but expect a vast addition to this class of letters.

We now present Mr Hill's own estimate, in which we see nothing immoderate. He gives it, and we adopt it, only as an approximating estimate of the results which may be expected in no very long time from the adoption of the penny rate.

'*Estimate of the Mode in which the required Increase of General-Post Letters may be presumed to take place.*

From the present Letter-writing Class.	'Present number of chargeable General-Post Letters, call this	1
	'Contraband Letters, and evasions by writing in newspapers, &c. [Estimated by many at double the Posted Letters, but consider it equal only]	1
	'Total of Letters now written	2
	'Assume the rate of increase to be only 2 to 1 . .	2
	'Estimated future General-Post Letters, from the present Letter-writing class	

'Invoices—[Estimated by Mr Cobden, and other mercantile men, as 'equal to the present Post Letters, say half only] . . $\frac{1}{2}$
'Additional printed circulars, catalogues, small parcels, &c., say $\frac{3}{4}$
'Letters from numerous classes, who may now be said not to use the 'Post-office at all, say . . . . . $\frac{3}{4}$
'Required increase of General-Post Letters to sustain the gross re- 'venue, (Vide *Third Report*, p. 55.) 6
'That is to say, an addition of fivefold.

That some years may elapse before the Post-Office revenue recovers its position, is highly probable; but in our minds this does not at all affect the propriety of adopting the plan. If its principles are well founded, there should be an increase from year to year; and when the amount arrives again at its present height, there will be nothing in this circumstance to make it stationary. It will go on to a surplus on which we may fairly calculate to counterbalance the deficit of the early years.

It ought always to be borne in mind, that the revenue from the Post-Office differs altogether and in principle from ordinary taxation. It results from the profits of a trade protected by a monopoly, like the monopoly of tobacco in France, and of salt in India, and of most articles in Egypt. The policy of government monopolies is, to say the least, very doubtful. In our own country, as we have advanced in knowledge and freedom, they have diminished in number, until the carriage of letters is the sole remnant of a system which doubtless has antiquity to recommend it, but possibly little else. We, however, do not ask to have it thrown open. Thus much, however, we think the people have a right to expect, that if the Government will enter into trade, it should conduct its operations on sound and enlightened commercial principles. Now, let us suppose this monopoly handed over to a joint-stock company. It is quite clear that the fact of a present loss of profit, or even the necessity for a large immediate outlay of capital, would not deter the undertakers from lowering postage, if, upon a well-considered estimate, the immediate sacrifice would be recompensed by ultimate gain. The railway companies have made, and are making outlays to be computed by tens of millions, for the purpose of carrying passengers at lower fares than were charged by stage-coaches going at half their speed; and this they have done on a mere dry calculation of profit and loss. Let, then, any temporary diminution of income be regarded as an outlay. It would be but slight considered with reference to the objects in view, and yet all that is demanded for the mightiest social improvement ever attempted at a single effort. Suppose even an average yearly loss of a million for ten years. It is but half what the country has paid for the abolition of slavery, without the

possibility of any *money* return. Treat the deficit as an outlay of capital, and those who make a serious affair of it, suppose that a great nation is to shrink from a financial operation which a joint-stock company would laugh at. But enough of revenue. Even if the hope of ultimate profit should altogether fail, let us recur to a substituted tax; and if we are asked, What tax? we shall answer, Any tax you please—certain that none can operate so fatally on all other sources of revenue as this. Letters are the *primordia rerum* of the commercial world. To tax them at all, is condemned by those who are best acquainted with the operations of finances. Surely, then, cent per cent will hardly be deemed too slight a burden; and yet that—nay, more than that—the new plan will yield.

But the country will never consent to adjudge this great cause on points of revenue. That the Post-Office ought to be open to all in practice, as well as in theory, is now felt to be as necessary to our progress in true civilisation as the liberty of the press—the representation of the people in Parliament—public education—sound law reform—the freedom of commerce—and whatever else we require to maintain our 'high prerogative of teaching the nations how to live!'

No. CXLIII. will be published in April.

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ERRATUM.

P. 480, line 13 from bottom, for "no temporary political *mensures*," read "no temporary political *successes*."